

AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

in Roman Transliteration by Sumitra M. Katre

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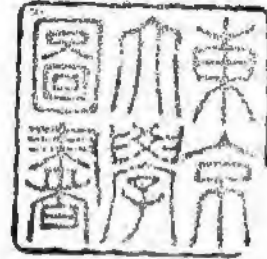
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Abbreviations

ab.	above
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
bel.	below
caus.	causative
cf.	compare
compd.	compound
comp.	comparative
dat.	dative
denom.	denominative
desid.	desiderative
du.	dual
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
ib.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same work
id.	<i>idem</i> , having the same meaning
imper.	imperative
impers.	impersonal
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
inst.	instrumental
interj.	interjection
interr.	interrogative
intr.	intransitive
ipf.	imperfect
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative
n.pr.	<i>nomen proprium</i> , proper name
num.	numeral
opt.	optative
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl./plur.	plural
pluperf.	pluperfect

pp.	past participle (passive)
pron.	pronoun
pronom.	pronominal
q.v.	<i>quod vide</i> , which see
redup.	reduplicative
sb./subst.	substantive
sg./sing.	singular
st.	stem
superl.	superlative
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word as quoted
tr.	transitive
t.t(t).	technical term(s)
vb.	verb

Referenced Texts

Aṣṭ.	Aṣṭādhyāyī
AV	Atharvaveda
Kāś.	Kāśikā
MBh.	Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
RV	Ṛgveda
SK	Siddhānta-Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji
	Dīkṣita
SV	Sāmaveda
TS	Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
Un.	Upanādi
VS	Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā

References Within Aṣṭādhyāyī

DhP	Dhātu-pāṭha
GP	Gaṇa-pāṭha
MS	Māheśvara-sū-tra-s
PS	Praty-ā-hār-a-sū-tra-s
ŚS	Śiva-sū-tra-s
vārt.	vārttika

A Note on the System of Transliteration

and typographical conventions used in the text

System of Transliteration

Vowels: a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ³

 e ai o au ṁ ḥ Xk Xp

Consonants: k¹ kh g gh ṅ c ch j jh ñ

 ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n

 p ph b bh m

Semi-Vowels: y r l v

Spirants: ś ṣ s h

Vedic: ḷ ḷh kṣ jñ

Typographical Conventions

Accentuation

Un-marked vowels represent anudātta vowels. The acute accent marks the udātta and the grave accent marks the svarita vowel. Capital letters indicate the IT markers. Vowels underlined by a single line indicate that they are used for pronunciation of morphemes of which they are *not* integral parts, e.g., nuM stands for an infixed nasal /n/ only. An expression in small capitals indicates that it is an artificial technical term.

¹Syllabics of the Nāgarī script omitted in the transliteration, e.g., k (for syllabic k₂).

Compounds

Division of compound expressions into their component units is generally indicated by a hyphen, separating them when no saṁdhi operation is involved, but by the double hyphen otherwise.

Cross references

When three Arabic numerals are given, they stand respectively for adhy-āy-a, pād-a and sū-tra numbers in that order, e.g., 3.1.1. When two alone are given they stand for the pād-a and sū-tra numbers within the adhy-āy-a which is referred to in the immediately preceding three-figure reference. Similarly, the single number refers to the sū-tra within the pād-a, and adhy-āy-a referred to in the previous two-figure reference.

Markers

The so-called 'IT-markers' are indicated by capital letters. The exceptions are [ch], [jh], [ṭh] and [ḍh] which (though forming part of the IT-class when they occur at the head of affixes) have not been indicated by capital letters since they are not subject to 1.3.9 (being replaced not by Ø as in all other instances but by special morphemes by 7.1.2-7 and 7.3.50-51). Otherwise, by definition they are definitely IT-markers.

Foreword

Besides the capable editing and formatting by Douglas Fix, I would like to acknowledge the work of the following in producing the print-ready copy of the book: Jonathan Carson, Alan Grimes, Nedra McCloud, Earl Roy, Gail Roy, and Becky Woodruff. Funding was provided by a grant from Dr. E. Douglas Mitchell for Indo-European studies, and by the University Work-Study program. We are grateful to the office of the Executive Vice President and Provost, Gerhard J. Fonken, for computer time.

Winfred P. Lehmann

Preface

Although there have been three renderings of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī in modern European languages, they have been particularly addressed to those whose primary interest is in Sanskrit language and literature. The first of these was in German, published during 1839-40 under the title *Pāṇini's acht Bücher grammatischer Regeln* in two volumes by Otto Böhtlingk, consisting of sūtra-s and scholia, German comments on the sūtra-s and various indexes. A new edition in 1887 entitled *Pāṇini's Grammatik* with a German translation and various indexes became the standard reference work on Pāṇini, and was reissued in 1964. Two English translations appeared in 1882, *Pāṇini's Eight Books of Grammatical Sutra-s* by W. Goonatilleke and *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, edited and translated into English by Srisa Chandra Vasu in 1891. Louis Renou's *La grammaire de Pāṇini traduite du sanskrit avec des extraits des commentaires indigènes* in French appeared in three fascicles during 1948-54 from Paris, and a revised edition in two volumes, with the Sanskrit text of the sūtras, appeared in 1966. In all these translations, the sūtra-text is given in Devanāgarī characters. Renou used Roman transliteration for the illustrative examples in his French commentary. The need for an edition which gives the text of the sūtras as well as illustrative material in transliteration appears necessary in the interest of those who are not primarily interested in Sanskrit language and literature, but mainly concerned with it in relation to their work in linguistics.

It was the discovery of Sanskrit grammar in the last quarter of the 18th century and the pronouncement of Sir William Jones, at the inauguration of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, positing a relationship between Sanskrit and the classical languages of Europe, that led in the early 19th century to the development of Comparative Philology and its ultimate transformation into modern Linguistics. The influence of Pāṇini and the Indian schools of grammarians can be gained from the number of scholars who have expressed their appreciation as well as criticism of this tradition, a selection of whose contributions have been presented by J.F. Staal in *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians* (MIT Press, 1972). Recently a great number of studies on this subject have appeared both in India and abroad in the shape of monographs,

research papers and doctoral dissertations. A very comprehensive survey of research on Pāṇini has been published by George Cardona (Mouton: 1978). In view of the importance which Pāṇini's work has for the development of modern Comparative Philology and Linguistics a new edition using Roman Transliteration both for the sūtra-s and the examples used in illustrating them is not out of place. Indeed it has the further advantage that the roman typography with its several faces and upper and lower case letters representing individual phonemes obviates the cumbrous use of Devanāgarī writing which is syllabic. Moreover, the metalinguistic features of Pāṇini's rule-formation can be clearly perceived visually by metalinguistic use of roman, italic, small capitals and capitals and even indicate the use of vowels which Pāṇini sometimes uses for ease of enunciation in presenting morphemes where those vowels are not integral parts of the morphemes themselves.

While no attempt has been made in this presentation at giving a critical edition of the accompanying Dhātupāṭha and Gaṇapāṭha, care has been taken to compare the items as included in several editions and contributory studies. A comparative study of Dhātupāṭha-s as well as Gaṇapāṭha-s formed themes for doctoral dissertations presented to the Poona University, the first having been published by that University in 1957. The text of Aṣṭ. itself has come down with very few alterations since Patañjali's time, and while Kāśikā presents a slightly inflated text, Siddhānta-kaumudī in general preserves the text as given in Mahābhāṣya. The oral transmission of the text from time immemorial has preserved much of the original Vedic and post-Vedic literature, particularly the sūtra-literature. Patañjali indicates in his work that during his time people learned the Vedic texts without prior study of grammar (MBh. I 5, 8-10) and considered the study of grammar as not purposeful, which probably led to the gradual loss of much of Mahābhāṣya itself which was later subsumed by the efforts of savants like Bhartṛhari. We have on the other hand such significant remarks in the Kāśikā [*ā kumāra-n yaśaḥ pāṇine-ḥ* 'Pāṇini's fame has reached the young'] which are supported by the observations of the Chinese pilgrim I Tsing (691-92) such as: "Children begin to learn the Sū-tra when they are eight years old, and can repeat it in eight months' time" (Staal, p. 12), while "Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary (i.e., Vṛt-ti-sūtra or Kāśikā) and understand it after five years" (ibid., p. 14) and with reference to MBh (referred to as Cūrṇi of Patañjali) "Advanced scholars learn this in three years" (ibid., p. 15). Probably the lost tradition which Patañjali mentions was revived after Bhartṛhari's restoration of the MBh.

The advantages of presenting the Sanskrit text in roman transliteration are obvious. Instead of the syllabic orthography we have the single phoneme character of the individual roman alphabet (except for the aspirate consonants kh, ch, ṭh, th and ph) and the process of deriving the surface forms from underlying deep structures appears more elegant. Secondly for those not interested in pursuing special studies in Sanskrit literature, it has the advantage of a universal script which is commonly used in all modern linguistic studies.

Many of the metalinguistic features of Aṣṭ. have found their place in modern linguistics, such as the concept of Ø, the markers with specific functions, etc. The influence of Pāṇini can also be seen in the founding of several systems of grammar following Aṣṭ. in India, and similar systems developed for Pāli, fully influenced by Pāṇini's model, such as Kaccāyana-vy-ā-kar-aṇa and those of Moggallāna and Aggavaṃsa. For other Middle Indo-Aryan languages there are similar treatises composed in Sanskrit. The chief feature of these works is the tacit assumption that Sanskrit is the basis from which the Prakrit languages have sprung, and taking Māhārāṣṭrī as the most favored Prakrit, since it was the medium of poetic compositions, a set of correspondences has been set up to explain the phonology and morphology of these MIA dialects. Indeed, long before comparative philology developed during the 19th century, the concept of a family of languages, derived from a common parent, apparently formed the bedrock on which these grammars were based, though no reconstructions appear to have been attempted. Indeed the tradition of Aṣṭ. was so strong that even grammars of some of the Dravidian languages were composed on its pattern, such as Tolkappiam for Tamil, Līlātilakam for Malayalam, Āndhra-śabda-cintāmaṇi for Telugu and Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa and Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa for Kannaḍa. The latest work in this tradition is the Keraḷa-Pāṇinīyam of Rajarajavarman (1863-1918) in the recent past.

This work was undertaken while I was Director of Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona as part of Pāṇinian Studies, included in its Building Centenary Series. However, the actual work was carried out during my stay in Austin at the University of Texas where I had been invited first as a Visiting Professor in 1966 in the Department of Linguistics and then in 1970 at the recently created Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures. My thanks are due to Professors W.P. Lehmann and Edgar C. Polomé for inviting me to Austin, and for their constant encouragement. The present work has

been made possible by a grant-in-aid by the American Council of Learned Societies for the year 1978-79 (ACLS NEH GIA '79) while I was serving as a Distinguished Visiting Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at California State University, Fullerton. My thanks are also due to Professor V.I. Subramoniam, Vice-Chancellor of Tamil University, Tanjore, and the guiding spirit of the Dravidian Linguistic Association in Trivandrum, for inviting me to visit India under their joint auspices during 1982 to enable me to revise this work and make it ready for publication. I must also express my thanks to Professors M.B. Emeneau and George Cardona for sponsoring my work to ACLS for a grant. In conclusion, I also express my grateful thanks to Douglas L. Fix and the staff of the Linguistics Research Center for formatting the complicated text so carefully and to the University of Texas Press for including this work in its Linguistic Series.

S.M. Katre
September 6, 1985

Introduction

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini is the earliest extant descriptive grammar of Sanskrit as currently spoken during his time (c. 6th cent. B.C.) and occasionally referred to by him as [Bhāṣā], in the north-west region of India (now Pakistan). His extraordinary perception of linguistic facts covered, however, a wider region, since he not only refers to the earlier stage of the language as occurring in Vedic literature, but also spreads over the northern and eastern parts of India whose regional variants he also notices in his majestic sweep. However, it is certainly not the first grammar composed about Sanskrit. Pāṇini mentions ten predecessors [Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Galava, Cakravarmaṇa, Bharadvāja, Śakatayana, Śākalya, Senaka and Sphoṭayana], none of whose works have survived to our days. Of these earlier grammarians two are specifically referred to in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Āpiśali is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his vārttika 2 on 4.1.14 [*pūrvā-sūtra-nir-deśo=vā=āpiśala-m adh-ī-te* 'studies the grammar of Āpiśali'] while Patañjali refers to grammars promulgated by Pāṇini, Āpiśali and Kāśakṛtsna [*pāṇini-nā pr-o-k-ta-m = pāṇin-īya-m, āpiśalā-m kāśakṛtsnā-m* MBh. I 12,5-6] and cites a verse line [*nāma ca dhā-tu-ja-m āh-a nir-uk-t-e vy-ā-kar-aṇ-e śakata-sya ca toka-m* MBh. II 138,14-16] in which Śakatayana is mentioned as holding the view that all nominal stems are derived from verbal stems. It is thus probable that during the times of both Kātyāyana and Patañjali their grammars were still available for study and were not overwhelmed by Pāṇini's own work. A few traces of their work are to be found in commentarial literature on the systems of Sanskrit grammar.

The title of Pāṇini's grammar as Aṣṭādhyāyī occurs initially in the Mahābhāṣya (e.g., on 6.3.109). It is derived from the underlying string *aṣṭ-au adhy-āy-āḥ sam-ā-hṛ-t-āḥ/aṣṭā-nām adhy-āy-ā-n-ām sam-ā-har-a-h* = *aṣṭan+adhy-āy-a+ñīP* (2.1.52; 4.1.21) = *aṣṭaṅ+adhy-āy-ṅ+ī* (8.2.7; 6.4.148) and denotes 'a collection of eight chapters'. By Pāṇini's rule 5.1.58 (*sam-khyā-y-āḥ* ¹*sam-jñā*-²*sam-gha*-³*sūtra*=⁴*adhy-āy-ane-ṣu*) the expression *āṣṭa-ka-m* (= *aṣṭ-au adhy-āy-āḥ pari-mā-ṇa-m a-sya* = *aṣṭan+kaN* = *āṣṭaṅ-ka-m*) also denotes, among other things, a work consisting of eight chapters. Pāṇini evidently refers here to already existing

works of that nature, but commentators have cited *āṣṭa-ka-m pāṇin-īya-m* as an illustration of this rule, and consequently it is also known alternatively by this title. It is possible that Pāṇini might have Āpiśali's grammar in view when formulating this rule, since according to later tradition Āpiśali is said to have composed his grammar also in eight chapters.

The name Pāṇini itself is a patronymic derived from Pāṇin-a (6.4.165; 4.1.95: *pāṇina-sya apatyā-m = pāṇina+īN = pāṇinī+ti*) indicating a son of Pāṇin-a. However, Kāśikā has both *pāṇiny-upa-jñā-m* (2.4.21)/*pāṇin-o-pa-jñā-m* (6.2.114) *a-kāl-ak-am vy-ā-kar-aṇa-m*. If both names apply to Pāṇini, then Pāṇin-a as applied to him indicates a yuvan (4.1.163-4) descendant of Paṇ-in. This makes him a grandson of Paṇ-in, but he has sometimes been called Paṇi-put-ra also. Among other synonyms we have Dākṣī-put-rā and Śālāturiya which latter name presupposes that Śālātura was his ancestral abode (4.3.94).

The text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is preceded by a repertory or catalogue of phonemes divided into 14 strings or sūtra-s, commonly designated Praty-ā-hār-a-sūt-ra- (PS), Śiva-sūt-ra (ŚS) or Māheśvara-sūt-ra (MS) and followed by two lexicons enumerating the verbal stems (Dhā-tu-pāṭh-a) and groups of nominal stems which undergo particular grammatical operations (Gaṇa-pāṭh-a). While the text of Aṣṭ. has remained almost unchanged since Patañjali's time, the same cannot be said of the Dhātupāṭha or Gaṇapāṭha.

In view of the sū-tra style of the work, which, within a little less than 4000 algebraic statements, gives a complete description of the language, the work became the central piece of exegetical works, and in the history of linguistic texts, it occupies the premier position in that nearly a thousand treatises have been produced during the two millennia since it was composed by Pāṇini. The earliest are the vārtt-ika-s, chiefly of Kātyāyana (c. 4th c. B.C.) who supplements the rules of Pāṇini, often criticizing them. His vārtt-ika-s have been further commented upon, along with the sū-tra-s by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya 'Great Commentary' with great finesse. These three sages, forming a formidable triumvirate, represent the high mark of Pāṇinian tradition. Unfortunately neither of these two works covers the whole text of Aṣṭ. Almost a thousand years later we have the full text commented upon in the Kāśi-kā of Vāmana and Jayāditya (c. 7th cent. A.D.) with ample illustrations under each rule and a full citation of the gaṇa-s under particular rules dealing with them. Kāśikā itself became the focal point of two

other early commentaries by Jinendrabiddhi (Nyāsa or Kāśikā-vi-varaṇa-pañj-ik-ā) and Haradatta (Padamañjarī). Since the Aṣṭ. was meant to be transmitted verbally, the sū-tra style imposed severe restrictions on the structure of the work, where even the saving of a mora was considered meritorious. In order to preserve the mathematic structure of aphoristic rules topical arrangement had to be sacrificed to effect economy, resulting in a very recondite work, necessitating a lot of exegesis and running from section to section to generate the surface forms from the strings of underlying deep structure. So in course of time a rearrangement was effected by such works as Pra-kri-yā-kau-mud-I and Siddh-ānta-Kau-mud-I which later became extremely popular at the expense of Kāśikā as a standard text in both traditional and university schools.

The eight chapters of Aṣṭ. are subdivided into quarter chapters (pāda-s) each of which contains a certain number of sū-tra-s. The first sūtra of the first quarter of the first chapter begins with the definition of the technical term *vy'd-dhi* [*vy'd-dhi-r āT=aiC*] wherein the technical term precedes the definition against the general pattern seen in the following sūtra [*aT=eÑ guṇa-h*] and Patañjali explains this as Pāṇini's wish for auspiciousness that he uses this word first. According to tradition, indicated by Patañjali, such auspicious expressions should be used at the beginning, middle and end of a work so that those studying the text may be successful in their endeavors. Here Pāṇini uses this auspicious word at the beginning of his text. This is just another proof that the repertory of phonemes in ŚS is not an integral part of Pāṇini's text, but is based on it, since all the sigla he uses for explaining the grammatical operations are based on it. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya begins with *atha śabda=anu=śās-ana-m* which he tries to explain himself. According to Kaiyaṭa this expression is Patañjali's own which he comments on. Most original sūtra works generally begin with the word *atha* followed by a word which describes the text which ensues. The word therefore cannot have been the title of Pāṇini's own work.

Pāṇini's description of Sanskrit as it was spoken during his time is based on three fundamental units: (1) nominal stems (*prāti-pad-ika-*), (2) verbal stems (*dhā-tu-*) and (3) affixes (*praty-ay-a-*) introduced after the first two to generate additional stems as well as finished words [*pada-s*], with a set of rules to generate the surface forms from their deep structures, and a set of rules on government to generate sentences as units of communication. The Dhātu-pāṭh-a catalogues all available verbal stems

divided into ten specific classes, while the Gaṇa-pāṭh-a records groups of nominal stems which undergo specific grammatical operations given in the rules. There is, thus, no lexicon of nominal stems, since their number is without any limit and depends upon actual usage. Since the object of grammar, according to the statements of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, is specified as explaining the usage current among the speakers of the language and is not prescriptive, such a listing of nominal stems appears to be incapable of completion. Patañjali cites here the case of the divine Brhas-pati and Indra, who, through continuous recitation of individual lexemes, could not come to an end, even in a thousand divine years! To achieve, therefore, a possible manner in which one can attempt a description which can cover the whole range of the language, Pāṇini has attempted to arrange his sūtra-s under two major headings: [ut-sarg-a-] a general rule which encompasses the largest number of linguistic items, and [apa-vād-a-] an exception which covers a smaller group not subject to the general rule.

In order to effect economy of expressions in the sū-tra style Pāṇini has devised a special metalinguistic language. In the first place, on the basis of the Praty-ā-hār-a Sū-tra-s a number of sigla have been used to denote the group of phonemes which are subject to a specific grammatical operation. The model provided by these introductory sū-tra-s has been followed in the Aṣṭ. by having a number of markers with specific indications. These markers are either phonemes occurring at the end or beginning of a morpheme or accent markers [udātta, anudātta or svarita] or a nasalized vowel (anu-nās-ika). Next in order come the technical terms which are two-fold: current words, but with technical definitions, as in the case of *vr̥d-dhi*, *guṇa*, or artificial ones like *ṬI*, *GHU*, *BHA*.

In the formulation of rules special use is made of three declensional groups of affixes: ablative for indicating the right context, locative for the left context and genitive for the substituendum. Special use of the locative is made to indicate (a) the subordinate word [upa-pada-] in a compound expression derived from a verbal stem and (b) also to indicate the meaning of an expression, particularly with reference to those of verbal stems. This is followed regularly in the meanings assigned to verbal stems in the Dhātu-pāṭha which, as originally compiled, did not contain the meanings.

Since the structure of Aṣṭ. is primarily intended to be a text which is to be transmitted orally, the maximum brevity has been aimed at in for-

mulating the sū-tra-s. No verbal finite forms are employed. The interpretation of the sū-tra by a proper sentence demands the filling of ellipsis in the sū-tra. So a process of *anu-vṛt-ti* is required to fill in these gaps and the rules are arranged in such a way that this becomes possible from preceding rules. A consequence of this is that topical arrangement has been sacrificed to ensure maximum economy. A collection of rules which are governed by a single rule is indicated by the forming of these governing rules with a svarita accent. Their extent depends upon particular contexts. For instance the governing rule in 3.1.1 covers the whole of chapters 3 to 5. Within such extended governing rules there could be other smaller governing rules. Individual expressions from one rule which should be carried on the following rule or rules are also expected to be enunciated with this accent. This was proper as long as the texts were transmitted orally from teacher to pupil in an unbroken line of descent. But this seems to have been broken at some time, since by the time Kāśikā came to be composed, this accentual system was no longer current. Hence the general maxim *prati-jñā-svar-it-āḥ pāṇin-īy-āḥ* whereby the commentaries alone are our source of where this accent would have been in the original text. Patañjali has already indicated in his MBh. that when there is doubt about the interpretation of a sū-tra, recourse has to be had to an explication: *vy-ā-khyā-na-to vi-śeṣ-a-prati-pat-ti-ḥ, na hi saṁ-deh-āt=a-lakṣ-aṇa-m*. This is particularly necessary in distinguishing between the ablative and genitive singular forms ending in °-as [*NasI/Nas*] when the context does not indicate which is intended. Thus to a large extent the interpretation of each sū-tra depends largely on the great commentaries beginning with MBh.

Pāṇini has the largest section dealing with all classes of affixes in the three chapters 3-5. They may be classified as follows: (1) Those which generate verbal stems from simplicia (3.1.5-30). (2) Those which generate verbal themes: class-markers (3.1.67ff.) and markers of the Future (Sigmatic and non-Sigmatic), Aorist, Perfect. With reference to the class markers, the verbal system is divided into two major groups: *sārva-dhātu-ka-* (Present System) where the theme is generated with these markers before the l-substitutes, and *ārdha-dhātu-ka* where the theme is generated without the class-markers. The l-substitutes are introduced after verbal themes (3.4.78). (3) Declensional affixes which are introduced after nominal stems (4.1.2), masculine, feminine or neuter. (4) Feminine affixes generating feminine nominal stems from other

nominal stems (4.1.3-81). (5) Primary nominal affixes [*kyt* 3.1.93-3.4.117] and secondary nominal affixes [*taddhita* 4.1.76-5.4.160]. Since a nominal stem includes not only one which is not subject to derivation but also those ending in primary and secondary nominal stems as well as the class of compounds generated by a combination of the preceding, there is a section which deals with such composition (2.1.3-3.38). Governing rules in the generation of sentences are contained in 1.4.23-55, while the use of the declensional affixes in this connection is covered in 2.3.1-71.

Since a sentence is generated by the three sets of primary units enumerated by Pāṇini as nominal stems, verbal stems and a system of affixes which interact at the deep structure level, the morpho-phonemic rules which bring out the surface forms are dealt with under the general governing rule (*sam-hi-tā-y-ām* 6.1.72-157; 3.114-139) and consonantal sandhi is dealt with in chapter 8. These changes involve (1) the replacement of the first phoneme before another phoneme, (2) the replacement of both phonemes by either the first or the second one or of the second phoneme after the first. In some cases there is replacement by zero in the pada-final position. Several morphemic changes which occur in either nominal or verbal stems before affixes involve either a zero-replacement of a phoneme in the original stem or the addition of a phoneme. This addition may be at the stem-final or stem-initial position or may take place prior to the last syllable beginning with a vowel. Pāṇini uses the markers Ṭ for initial augment, K of final augment and M for an augment which is inserted before the final syllable beginning with a vowel. For zero-replacement he has four technical terms: *lopa* as a general term and *luK*, *Ślu* and *luP* for such replacement of an affix.

The metalinguistic use of accents has particular relevance to the indication of the voice of a verbal stem. In the Dhātupāṭha they are given with one of these accents to indicate the voice associated with each stem: the [*anudatta*] accent indicates the Ātmanepada or middle voice, while the [*svarita*] accent indicates both voices, the Ātmanepada being used when the result of the action is intended for the subject; similarly the marker Ṇ indicates Ātmanepada while ṅ indicates both voices as in the case of the svarita accent. Pāṇini's language is characterized by accents which are suprasegmental phonemes. In later days this seems to have been lost, even at the time of Patañjali. Later grammatical systems have little to say about accents. Pāṇini's rule 6.1.158 definitely shows that each pada or finished word had its own accent which he tries to describe in chapter 6. In the illustrations given in this work due care has been

taken to show the pada accent even when sentences are given as illustrations, and sentence accent is indicated only in the section which deals with sentences specifically in the Aṣṭ.

The general rule for accentuation of affixes is stated under 3.1.3; however, in many polysyllabic affixes it may fall on the penultimate syllable, and this is indicated by the marker R (6.1.217); if it falls on the final syllable of the affix, marker C is employed (6.1.163). On the other hand, if the affix generates an accent on the syllable preceding it, marker L is used (6.1.193). Similarly, if the affix does not bear any accent, marker P is used (3.1.4). In the case of secondary nominal forms ending in an affix marked with Ñ or N the accent falls on the initial syllable of the secondary nominal stem, while it falls on the final syllable if the affix contains marker K (6.1.197,165).

Morpho-phonemic changes in the surface forms of stems generated by secondary affixes are indicated by use of markers Ñ or N, to indicate that the initial syllable of the surface nominal form is replaced by a vṛddhi vowel (7.2.117-8). By a general rule the guṇa replacement of stem-final vowels iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) is ruled in for verbal stems before sārvaadhātuka and ārdhādhātuka affixes (7.3.84) or stems ending in the final increment puK or having a penultimate light vowel (7.3.86) with modifications mentioned in 1.1.5 and 1.2.1-26. So by such metalinguistic usage Pāṇini generates the surface forms with a minimum use of statements.

Pāṇini's methodology may be illustrated by his generalization of the declensional and verbal inflexional affixes. By 4.1.2 he has the following archetypal affixes for the nominal declension:

Nominative	1	2	3
Vocative	sU	zu	Jas
Accusative	am	auṬ	Śas
Instrumental	Tā	bhyām	bhis
Dative	Ne	bhyām	bhyas
Ablative	NasI-	bhyām	bhyas
Genitive	Ñas	os	Em
Locative	Ñi	os	suP

These are introduced without any change after all nominal stems ending in consonants for masculine and feminine classes. When neuter stems are involved he has three rules indicating that nom.-acc. singular forms replace both sU and am by [Ø/am] while nom.-acc. dual affixes are replaced by [Śi] and the plural affixes Jas and Śas are replaced by [Śi]. These three allomorphs then cover the whole range of neuter stems. Ex-

cept for normal saṁdhi rules there is no change in the basic nominal stem forms. Next in order come both masc., fem. and neut. stems ending in semi-vowels. In the case of masc. forms, the stem undergoes a guṇa replacement of its final vowel before the affix *Jas* and those with marker *Ñ* (except *[Ñi]*), while the instr. sing. *[Ṭā]* is replaced by *[nā]*. In the case of neut. stems an infixed increment *[n]* is inserted in the stems before affixes with initial vowels. Similarly in the case of neut. stems ending in *[a]* the infixed element is inserted before strong affixes beginning with a vowel *[Śi]*. For all stems, masc., fem., and neut. the genitive plural *[ām]* gets an initial increment *[nuṬ]* before which the preceding vowel is replaced by the long one. Thus there is an allomorph for the stem as well as the affix.

These archetypical affixes are introduced without any change after nominal stems ending in consonants, whether masculine or feminine. In the case of neuter stems allomorphs of some affixes are introduced: *[Śi]* for nom.-acc. dual and *[Śi]* for nom.-acc. plural. The only changes are due to normal saṁdhi rules: *kṛ-t-* m./n. 'doer', *mṛd-* f. 'earth': m. *kṛt+sU* = *kṛt+θ* (6.1.68) = *kṛ-t*; *mṛd+sU* = *mṛd+θ* = *mṛd*; *kṛ-t+bhyas* = *kṛ=d+bhyas* (8.4.53); *mṛd+sUP* = *mṛt-sU* (8.4.55); n. *kṛ-t+au* = *kṛ-t+Śi* = *kṛ-t-i*; *kṛ-t+Śi*, *kṛ-n-t+i* (7.1.72) where both the nominal stem as well as the affix have alloforms. Elsewhere, in all cases, whether stems end in vowels or consonants, neuters follow the same pattern as the masculines. Thus *kṛ-t-a*, *kṛ-t-e*, *mṛd-a*, *mṛd-e* from instrumental onwards for masc., fem. as well as neut. stems.

A more complicated situation occurs in the case of nominal stems ending in short *[i, u]* which form a special class designated by Pāṇini with the technical term *GHI* (1.4.7). Changes occur both in the stem as well as the affix in specific cases: for the masc. and fem. stems, guṇa replacement of final vowel takes place before nom. plural affix and those affixes with marker *Ñ* (except *Ñi*) [cf. 7.3.108; 7.3.111]: *hari+Jas* = *hare+as* = *haray-aḥ* (6.1.78); *hari+Ñe* = *hare+e* = *haray-e* (6.1.78), *hare+Ñas(I)* = *har-e+as* = *har-e-s* (6.1.110); *dhenu+Jas* = *dhen+as* = *dhenav-aḥ*; *dhenu+Ñe/Ñas(I)* = *dhen+e/Ñas(I)* *dhenav-e*, *dhen-o-s*. Before *[Ñi]* of the loc. sing. the stem-final is replaced by short *[a]* (7.3.119) and *[Ñi]* is replaced by *[auṬ]* 7.3.118]: *hari+Ñi* = *har-a+au* = *har-au* (8.1.88), *dhenu+Ñi* = *dhen-a+au* = *dhen-au*. In the case of stems ending in short sonant vowel *[ṛ]*, there is first a replacement of the stem-final by *[anaÑ]* 7.1.94 before the nominative sing. affix *[sU]*, and by guṇa before the loc. sing. affix *[Ñi]* and before strong affixes (7.3.110):

kar-tṛ+sU = *kar-tan+sU* = *kar-tan+θ* (6.1.68) = *kar-taθ* (8.2.7) = *kar-tā*,
kar-tṛ+au(T) = *kar+tar+au(T)* = *kar-tār-au* (6.4.11), *kar-tār-as*,
kar=tār-am, *kar-tṛ+Ñi* = *kar-tar-i*. In all these three types the following
allomorphs of affixes are introduced: for [ṭā] the allomorph [nā] and for
gen. plural [ām] an initial increment [nuṭ = nām], before which the short
vowel final is replaced by the corresponding long one (6.4.3). In the case
of neuter nouns ending in vowels the substitute morpheme Śī generates
an infixed increment in the stem and also before affixes beginning with a
vowel (7.1.73): *vāri+Śi* = *vāri+nuM+i* = *vāri-ṇ-i* (6.4.8); *vāri+Ṭā* =
vari+ṇā (7.3.120), *vāri+Ñe/Ñas(I)/Ñi* = *vari-ṇ-e/as/i*, *vāri+ām* =
vāri+ṇ-ām = *vāri+ṇ-ām*. The nom.-acc. sing. affixes sU and am are
both replaced by θ (7.1.23): *vāri+sU/am* = *vāri+θ* = *vāri*.

Next in order are feminine stems ending in long [ī, ū] for which
Pāṇini has the technical term [strī 1.4.3] in which class feminine stems
ending in short [i, u] are also included when affixes with marker Ñ are
introduced after them (1.4.6). In the case of stems ending in long [ā] the
nominative and accusative dual affixes are replaced by [Śī 7.1.18]:
ramā+au(T) = *ramā+Śī* = *ramā+ī* = *ram-e* (6.1.87). Stem-final [ā] is
replaced by [e] before affixes [Ṭā, os 7.3.105]: *ramā+Ṭā* = *rame+ā* =
ram-ay-ā; *ramā+os* = *ram-e+os* = *ram-ay-oḥ*. This same phoneme also
replaces stem-final [ā] before the vocative singular affix sU:
ramā+sU(voc.) = *rame+θ* (6.1.69) where θ replaces the voc. sing. affix.
This operates also on stems ending in short vowels [a, i, and u]: *hari+sU*
= *hare+θ*; *dhenu+sU* = *dhen+θ*; *deva+sU* = *deva+θ*. Affixes marked
with Ñ as IT receive an initial increment [yāṭ] after such stems (7.3.113):
mālā+Ñe/Ñas(I) = *mālā+yā-e/mālā+yā-as* = *mālā-yai* (6.1.88)/
mālā-yās (6.1.101). The affix [Ñi] is replaced by [ām]: *mālā+yā-Ñi* =
mālā+yā-am = *mālā-yām*.

In the case of stems ending in long [ī, ū], by 7.3.107 the vocative sing.
affix operates a replacement of the long by the short vowel: *nadī+sU* =
nadī+θ (6.1.68) = *nadī*; *vadhū+sU* = *vadhu+θ* = *vadhu*. Affixes with
marker Ñ acquire an initial increment [āṭ] after these stems: *nadī+Ñe* =
nadī+āṭ-e = *nadī+ai* (6.1.89-90) = *nady-ai*; *nadī+Ñas(I)* = *nadī+ā-as* =
nady-ās; *nadī+Ñi* = *nadī+ā+ām* (7.3.116). Since before these affixes
feminine stems ending in short [i, u] are also designated by the technical
term [nadī], we have the alternative surface forms: *dhenu+Ñe* = *dhenav-*
e/dhenv-ai; *dhenu+Ñas(I)* = *dhen-o-s/dhenv-ās*; *dhenu+Ñi* =
dhen-au/dhenv-ām; *matay-e/maty-ai*; *mates/maty-ās*;
mat-au/maty-ām.

Among the most complicated system, involving the maximum number of allomorphic changes come nominal stems ending in short [a], despite the fact that this class constitutes the largest number of lexemes in the Sanskrit language, and most studies start with the declension of this class, even in the rearranged works like *Prakriyā-kaumudī* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. Allomorphs of the stem as well as of the affixes are more in evidence here. These nominal stems comprise substantives and adjectives as one class and pronominal stems as another class. In the case of nominal stems we have, first, a replacement of stem-final vowel by [e] before plural affixes beginning with non-nasal consonants (7.3.103): *deva+bhyas* = *deve-bhyas*; *deva+sUP* = *deve-su* (8.3.79); second, a replacement by the long vowel [ā] before affixes beginning with [yaŋ: y, bh 7.3.102]: *deva+Ñe* = *deva+ya* (7.1.13) = *devā-ya*; *deva+bhyām* = *devā-bhyām*; thirdly, replacement by [e] before affix [os]: *deva+os* = *deve+os* = *devay-os*. The allomorphs for affixes are: [ina] for [Ṭā], [āt] for [Ñasī], [sya] for [Ñas] by 7.1.12: *deva+Ṭā* = *deva+ina* = *dev-e-na*; *deva+Ñasī* = *deva+āt* = *dev-ā-t*; *deva+Ñas* = *deva-sya*. Like other stems ending in short vowels, [a] is also replaced by the long vowel before the affix [°-n-ām]: *deva+ām* = *deva+nuṬ-ām* (7.1.14) = *devā-nām*. The allomorph for the instr. plur. affix [bhis] is [ais]: *deva+bhis* = *deva+ais* = *dev-ai-ś*.

Pronominal stems ending in [a] differ to some extent from the above. The nominative plural affix [Jas] is replaced by [Śī 7.1.17]: *sarva+Jas* = *sarva+ī* = *sarv-e*; with the preceding class of nominal stems ending in short vowels, the final phoneme of [Śas], after the stem-final and affix initial are replaced by the long vowel corresponding to the first (6.1.102-3), is replaced by [n]: *deva+Śas* = *dev-ā-(s→n)* = *dev-ā-n*; similarly for the masculine stems in short vowels: *har-I-n*, *sūn-ā-n*, *pit-ṛ-n*, *sarv-ā-n*. [Ñe] is replaced by [smāi]: *sarva+Ñe* = *sarva+smāi*; [Ñasī] and [Ñi] are replaced respectively by [smāt, smin]: *sarva+Ñasī* = *sarva-smāt*; *sarva+Ñi* = *sarva-smin*. [ām] gets an initial increment [syṬ]: *sarva+ām* = *sarva+syṬ-ām* = *sarve-ṣām* (7.3.103, 8.3.59). In like manner pronominal stems ending in long [ā] differ from the corresponding nominal stems by having allomorphs for some of the declensional affixes: those marked with Ñ as IT get an initial increment [syāṬ] while the stem-final is replaced by short [a]: *sarvā+Ñe* = *sarva+syā-ē* = *sarva-syai*; *sarvā+Ñas(I)* = *sarva+syā-as* = *sarva-syās*; *sarvā-Ñi* = *sarva+syā-ām*; *sarvā+ām* = *sarvā+s-ām* (7.3.103). In the case of the first and second personal pronouns there are the largest number of al-

lomorphs before the declensional affixes, some of which also undergo replacement. [asm-ad-] has the following allomorphs: sing. [aha-] before nom. sing. (7.2.94), [mahya-] before dative sing., [mama] before genitive sing., [ma] before sing. affixes, [āva] before dual affixes, [vaya] before nom. plur. (7.3.92-97). The affixes replaced are: [Ñe] and nom-acc. affixes by [am 7.1.28]. Before the acc. affixes stem-final vowel is replaced by the long one (7.2.87). The acc. plur. [Śas] is replaced by [n]: $asm\text{-}ad + Śas = asm\text{-}aa + Śas$ (7.2.102) = $asm\text{-}ā + n$ (6.1.97) = $asm\text{-}ā\text{-}n$. Dative plur. [bhyas] is replaced by [abhyam 7.1.30] while the corresponding ablative plural is replaced by [at 7.1.31]: $asm\text{-}ad + bhyas = asm\text{-}a\text{-}a + bhyam = asm\text{-}a\text{-}bhyam$ (6.1.97), $asm\text{-}ad + bhyas = asm\text{-}a\text{-}a + at = asm\text{-}a\text{-}at = asm\text{-}a\text{-}t$ (6.1.97). [ÑasI] is replaced by [at] also: $asm\text{-}ad + ÑasI = ma\text{-}ad + ÑasI = ma\text{-}aa + at = m\text{-}a\text{-}t$. The pronominal substitute genitive plur. [s-ām] is replaced by [ākam]: $asm\text{-}ad + sām = asm\text{-}aa + ākam = asm\text{-}a + ākam = asm\text{-}ākam$.

While the archetypal affixes remain constant after stems ending in consonants, we have morpho-phonemic changes in the stems themselves in the case of some special types such as those ending in [°-n] where before strong affixes, the penultimate vowel is replaced by the corresponding long one (6.4.8): $rāj\text{-}an + sU = rāj\text{-}an + \emptyset$ (6.1.668) = $rāj\text{-}ā\emptyset$ (8.2.7); $rāj\text{-}ān\text{-}au$, $rāj\text{-}ān\text{-}aḥ$, $rāj\text{-}ān\text{-}am$. Before affixes beginning with a vowel, stems ending in [°-an-] replace the penultimate vowel by \emptyset (6.4.134): $rāj\text{-}an + Śas/Iā = rāj\text{-}ōñ\text{-}as/-a$, $rāj\text{-}an + bhyām/bhis = rāj\text{-}ā\emptyset\text{-}bhyām/-bhis$ (8.2.7), giving three sets of allomorphs: $rāj\text{-}ān\text{-}$, $rāj\text{-}an\text{-}$, $rāj\text{-}ōñ\text{-}$. Stems generated by affixes containing a marker indicated by the siglum uK (U, R, L) receive an infixed increment [nyM] before strong affixes [syT, Śi 1.1.42-43]: $mah + atU = mah\text{-}at + sU/au/Jas/am = mah\text{-}ānt + \emptyset$ (6.1.68) $mahān\emptyset$ (8.2.23), $mah\text{-}ānt\text{-}au$. $mah\text{-}ānt\text{-}aḥ/mah\text{-}ānt\text{-}am$ (6.4.10); $dhI + matUP = dhI\text{-}mat + sU/au/Jas = dhI\text{-}mānt + \emptyset = dhi\text{-}mān\emptyset = dhI\text{-}mān$, $dhI\text{-}mant\text{-}au$, $dhI\text{-}mant\text{-}aḥ$, $dhI\text{-}mant\text{-}am$; $gam + ŚatR = gam + ŚaP + at\text{-} = gacch\text{-}a\text{-}at\text{-}$ (7.3.77) = $gacch\text{-}a\text{-}t$ (6.1.97) + $sU = gacch\text{-}ant + \emptyset$ (6.1.68) = $gacch\text{-}an\emptyset$ (8.2.23) $gacch\text{-}ant\text{-}au$.

In the case of stems generated by affixes [tṛC, tṛN], the penultimate vowel is replaced by the long one before strong affixes [Śi, sUT 1.1.42-43, 6.4.11]: $kṛ + tṛC/tṛN = kar\text{-}tṛ\text{-}/kār\text{-}tṛ + sU/au/as/am = kar\text{-}tān + sU$ (7.1.94) = $kar\text{-}tān + \emptyset = kar\text{-}tā\emptyset = kar\text{-}tā$; $kar\text{-}tār + au/Jas, am$ (7.3.110) = $kar\text{-}tār\text{-}au$, $kar\text{-}tār\text{-}as$, $kar\text{-}tār\text{-}am$. Stems ending in [°in-] have the penultimate vowel replaced by the long one before nom. sing. affix [sU]: $daṇḍ\text{-}in + sU = daṇḍ\text{-}m + \emptyset$ (6.1.68), $daṇḍ\text{-}ṇ\emptyset$ (8.2.7) contra $daṇḍ\text{-}in\text{-}au$, $daṇḍ\text{-}in\text{-}ā$.

Stems ending in [°-s] exhibit a similar change before strong affixes (6.4.10): *pr-e-yas(UN)+sU/au/Jas/am* = *pr-e-ya-n-s+sU* = *pre-yans+θ* (6.1.68) = *pr-e-yānθ* (8.2.23), *pr-eyāms-au*, etc. *sarp-is+Śi* = *sarpi-n-s-i* = *sarpñms-i* (8.3.24, 58; 8.4.8). A more complicated situation is to be seen in the case of perfect participles ending in the affix [KvasU (3.2.107)]: *vid+KvasU* = *vid-vas-* which has three allomorphs: *vid-vā-n-s* (= *vid-vāms-* 8.3.24) before strong affixes, *vid-vas-* before affixes beginning with consonants and *vid-uṣ-* before initial vowel of affixes: *vid-vān*, *vid-vāms-au*, *vid-vāms-as*; *vid-uṣ-aḥ*, *vid-uṣ-ā*; *vidvad-bhyām*, *vidvad-bhiḥ* (8.2.72).

Separate rules indicate the allomorphs of some pronominal stems like [id-am-, ad-as, et-ad-, tad-, tyad-] etc., cf. 7.2.102ff.

It is particularly with reference to the declensional affixes as set down by Pāṇini as archetypal which minimizes the set of rules for deriving the allomorphs from them with the least effort. The table below shows the basic forms with their allomorphs:

Nom. sing.	sU θ after consonantal stems, feminine stems ending in long [ī, ū, ā] (6.1.68) [am] after neuter stems ending in [a] (7.1.24) and first and second personal pronouns (7.1.25)
Voc. sing.	sU → θ after stems ending in short vowels and monophthongs [e, o] (6.1.69)
Nom-voc. acc. dual	[au(T)] [Śi] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.1.18) and all neuter stems (7.1.19) [am] after first and second personal pronouns (7.1.28)
Nom. voc. plur.	[Jas] [Śi] after pronominal stems (7.1.17) [Śi] after neuter stems (7.1.20) [auŚ] after [aṣṭan-] (7.1.21) [θ] after numerals designated by the technical term [ṣaṭ 1.1.24] (7.1.22) [am] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronouns (7.1.28)
Acc. sing.	[am] θ after neuter stems (7.1.23)

	[am] after neut. stems ending in [a] (7.1.24)
Acc. plur.	[Śas] long vowel+n (6.1.103) [Śi] after neuter stems (7.1.20) [auŚ] after [aṣṭan] (7.1.21) [am] after 1st and 2nd pers. prons. (7.1.28)
Instr. sing.	[Tā] [nā] after masc. stems defined by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7: ending in short i, u) (7.3.120) [ina] after masc. and neut. stems ending in short [a] (7.1.12)
Inst. dat.-abl. dual	[bhyām]
Inst. plur.	[bhis] [ais] after stems ending in short [a], masc. as well as neut. (7.1.9)
Dat. sing.	[Ñe] [ya] after stems ending in [a] (7.1.13) [smai] after masc. pronominal stems (7.1.14) [syāT+Ñe] after fem. pron. stems (7.3.114) [am] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.28) [āT+Ñe] after fem. stems in both short and long [i, u] (7.3.112) [yāt+Ñe] after fem. stems ending in long [ā] (7.3.113)
Dat. plur.	[bhyas] [abhyam] after 1st and 2nd pers. pron. (7.1.30)
Abl. sing.	[ÑasI] [at] after stems in short [a] (7.1.12) [at] after 1st and 2nd pers. pron. stems (7.1.32) [āT+ÑasI] after fem. stems in short and long [i, u: nadī 1.4.3ff.] (7.3.112) [yāT+ÑasI] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.1.113)
Abl. plur.	[bhyas] [at] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.31)

Gen. sing.	[Ŋas]
	[sya] after stems in [a] (7.1.12)
	[syāT+Ŋas] after pronominal stems (7.3.114)
	[sT+Ŋas] after fem. stems in short or long [i, u] (7.3.112)
	[yāT+Ŋas] after fem. stems in [a] (7.3.113)
Gen. dual	[os]
Gen. plur.	[ām]
	[nyT+ām] after stems ending in short vowels and fem. stems in [i, u, long and short, and ā] (7.1.54)
	[auT+ām] after pron. stems (7.1.52)
	[ēkam] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.33)
Loc. sing.	[Ŋi]
	[ām] after fem. stems in [ē, ī, u] (7.3.116) and after fem. stems in short [i, u] (7.3.117)
	[auT] after stems denoted by the technical term GHĪ (1.4.7) (7.3.118)
	[sT+ām] after stems denoted by the technical term [nadi 1.4.3ff] (7.3.112)
	[yāT+ām] after fem. stems in long [ā] (7.3.113)

Since Pāṇini deals with both nominal and verbal stems and the affixes introduced after them to generate the surface forms a great deal of attention has been paid to the nature of these pre-affixal stems in order to minimize the statements necessary for morpho-phonemic changes. The pre-affixal stem is designated by the technical term [aṅga- 1.4.13]. A very large part of the Aṣṭ. is devoted to this section, the governing rule 8.4.1 carrying over to the end of the seventh chapter (7.4.97). Morpho-phonemic changes in the pre-affixal stem are all dealt with fully in this section. While the technical term [pada] denotes a finished word ending in either the [sUP] or [tiŊ] triplets (1.4.14) its role is extended to an [aṅga] before affixes beginning with Kya-° [= KyaŊ, KyaC, KyaṢ] (1.4.15) or before an affix with marker S as IT (1.4.16) and also before affixes beginning with [Śas] (4.1.2) and ending with kaP (5.4.1.151). Changes occurring to a [pada] are covered by the governing rule 8.1.16 extending up to 8.3.54. Similarly changes occurring to the right of a [pada] are covered by governing rule 8.1.17 extending up to 8.1.68. A

third situation arises as an exception to the [pada] status defined by 1.4.17 when the affix introduced after it begins with a vowel or semi-vowel [y] and is covered by the technical term [BHA 1.4.18]. It also covers the affixes with initial [t] or [s] having the sense of affix [matUP 1.4.19]. Governing rule 8.4.129 extending up to the end of the chapter covers the changes occurring in this type of stem. By distinguishing the stem in this three-fold manner Pāṇini minimizes the application of some of his replacement rules which would otherwise generate unacceptable forms. Thus from *marut-* 'wind' we have [pada-s] such as *marut+Tā/Ne/Ñas(I)/Ñi* = *marut-ā/-e/-as/-i* where 8.2.39 is inapplicable because here the stem is not a [pada] but [BHA]. On the other hand such exceptional forms which occur in the Veda like *ayas=maya-* (1.4.20) contra classical *ayo-maya-* (6.1.114) are exceptions to this classification. In the case of *ṛk-vat-ā* derived from the underlying deep structure *ṛc+vatUP+Tā*, by its status as a [pada] the palatal stop [ç] is replaced by the velar stop [k 8.2.30], but by its status as a [BHA] it is not replaced by the corresponding voiced phoneme (by 8.2.39). The [pada] status of *rāj-an-* before affixes beginning with a consonant other than [y-] makes 8.2.7 applicable to generate the surface form from *rāj-an+bhyām/bhis/bhyas* : *rāj-aṅ=bhyām/bhis/bhyas*. By the ordering of rules in such a manner that rules stated after 8.2.1 are considered not to have taken effect if the situation generated by its application becomes subject to the operation of any rule in the earlier section of the Aṣṭ: thus in *rāj-aṅ+bhyām/bhyas* the rules [sUP-i ca 7.3.102] and [bahu-vac-an-e jhaLy eT 7.3.103] cannot operate, as at the time of their operation 8.2.7 is considered invalid, and the condition that the stem should end in short [a] is not satisfied.

Pāṇini's treatment of the conjugation of verbal stems also indicates the insights which he combines with the need for brevity. He classifies the system into ten main categories of tenses and moods and has the technical term [l] to designate them. In order to indicate each of these ten he has the following t.t.: LAṬ for Present Indicative, IIT for Perfect, IUT for non-sigmatic Future, IRT for sigmatic Future, IET for (Vedic) Subjunctive forming one group with marker [Ṭ] as IT, and LAN Imperfect, IIN Optative, IUN Aorist and IRN the Conditional, forming a second group with marker [N] as IT. The verbal stems have three constructions: active [kar-tar-i], passive [kar-man-i] and impersonal [bhāv-e] but two voices: active [para-smai-pada] and middle [āt-man-e-pada]. The passive and impersonal constructions are effected by introducing the

Ātmanepada affixes after a special theme with the marker [yaK 3.1.67]. Verbal stems, in their active construction, can have either Parasmaipada or Ātmanepada affixes introduced after them. Some take exclusively Parasmaipada while others take Ātmanepada affixes. The group of stems which take the latter are marked with an anudatta or [N̄] as an IT in the Dhātupāṭha. A number of stems take optionally one of them, the first being used when the fruit of the action is intended for other than the subject, while the second is used when it is intended for the subject and they are indicated in the Dhp. by svarita accent or [N̄] as IT. Those which take the Parasmaipada are remaining stems in the active construction: cf. 1.3.12, 72, 78.

When an l-member is introduced after a verbal stem one of two things may happen: if the construction is active, the verbal stem receives its class-marker before the l-substitutes replace the l-member; if the construction is either passive or impersonal, the corresponding marker [yaK] is introduced before the l-substitutes. In the active construction there are nine classes of verbal stems, each having its particular marker [vi-kar-aṇa-]: These are according to their classificatory number [ŚaP] for [bhū-] class, Ø¹ [Śap→luK] for [ad-] class, Ø² [Ślu] for [hu-] class, [ŚyaN] for [div-] class, [Śnu] for [su-] class, [Śa] for [tud-] class, [ŚnaM] for [rudh-] class, [u] for [tan-] class and [Śnā] for [krī-] class as given in the Dhp. The so-called tenth class is but a new generation of verbal stems, which also includes causatives generated from primary verbs, with marker [NiC] and take the marker [ŚaP] before l-substitutes. 3.1.5-30 introduce a class of affixes, including [NiC] which generate new verbal stems defined by the t.t. [dhā-tu- 3.1.32], but these affixes are optional when the stems are followed by ārdha-dhātuka affixes. This classification of sārva-dhātuka and ārdha-dhātuka has its explanation in the fact that the first are introduced after the whole verbal stem + its class marker which, to distinguish it from the stem, may here be designated "theme", while the second group of affixes are introduced after the primitive stem which may be considered as [ardha-dhatu-]. Thus sārva-dhātuka affixes are introduced after verbal themes while the other class is introduced after the basic verbal stems. The word theme will also designate the final [aṅga] which appears before the particular l-substitute of an l-member.

There are three persons and three numbers. Thus each of the voices contains nine affixes. Their archetypal forms as given by Pāṇini are:

<i>Person</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Third	tiP	tas	jhi
Second	siP	thas	tha
First	miP	vas	mas

These are the Parasmaipada group of affixes.

The corresponding Ātmanepada affixes are:

<i>Person</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Third	ta	stām	jha
Second	thās	sthām	dhvam
First	iṭ	vahi	mahiN

By 1.1.71 two sigla are generated: tiN̄ for the whole group of l-substitutes, and taN̄ for the Ātmanepada substitutes. The siglum tiN̄ also represents a [pada] ending in these affixes, just as [suP] represents not only the twenty-one declensional affixes but also a [pada] ending in them.

One may also note that while the Parasmaipada affixes belong primarily to the Present system, the Ātmanepada affixes indicate a secondary system. Pāṇini's classifying the l-members in two groups respectively marked by [ṭ] and [N̄] shares many common features requiring minimum rules of replacement, as we shall see. The Parasmaipada affixes in their canonical forms hold good without any change (except for the replacement of initial [jh] by [ant] for the Present Indicative), the two Futures (except for the third person in the case of IUṭ or non-sigmatic Future), and the Conditional. For IUṭ there is a replacement of the third person affixes by [Dē, rau, ras 2.4.87]. For the Perfect all the nine affixes are replaced by the following scheme: (3.4.82).

<i>Person</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Third	NaL	atus	us
Second	thaL	athus	a
First	NaL	va	ma

For the Imperative the following substitutions are indicated: 3.4.85: it shares the same affixes as lAN̄ or Imperfect, viz. [tas, thas, tha, miP] are respectively replaced by [tām, tam, ta, am 3.4.101]. In addition the following substitute rules yield the new allomorphs: (1) affix final [i] replaced by [u]: [tu] sing, [antu] plur; (2) [siP] replaced by [hi] which is not marked by P as IT (3.4.87) and [miP] is replaced by [ni 3.4.83]. By 3.4.99 affix final [s] is replaced by Ø. Thus there is an interlinking in this of both the groups of l-members with marker [ṭ, N̄], yielding the following scheme:

<i>Person</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Third	tu	tām	antu
Second	hi	tam	ta
First	nī	va	ma [' -s → Ø (3.4.99)]

In addition the affixes of the first person get an initial increment [āṬ] which is marked with P as IT (6.4.92) for both sets of affixes.

For the Ātmanepada affixes the following set of rules indicates the substitute allomorphs: by 3.4.79 l-substitutes of l-members with marker [Ṭ] are generated by replacing the last syllable beginning with a vowel (TI) by [e]: thus [ta] becomes [te], [a(n)ta] becomes [ante] and so on; [thās] is replaced by [se 3.4.80], and we get the following scheme:

<i>Person</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Third	te	ete	a(n)te
Second	se	ethe	dhve
First	e	vahe	mahe

By 7.1.4-5 the element [jh] of the 3rd pers. plur. is replaced by [at] when introduced after reduplicated themes or themes which do not end in short [a].

For the Imperative [IOT] the following additional rules apply: 3.4.91 provides for replacement of affix final of [se, dhve] respectively by [va, am] yielding [sva, dhvam]; 3.4.93 provides the replacement of the first person affix-final [e] by [ai]. Elsewhere [e] is replaced by [ām] by 3.4.90.

<i>Person</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Third	tām	ātām	a(n)tām
Second	sva	āthām	dhvam
First	ai	ā-vahai	ā-mahai

Vedic Subjunctive [IET] like the Imperative [IOT] shares the features of both the [Ṭ] and [Ñ] groups of l-members, cf. 3.4.94 whereby the affixes receive an initial increment [aṬ] or [āṬ]: e.g., [pat-a+ā-ti = pat-ā-ti]. The long [ā] of affixes is replaced by [ai]: [mantr-ay=aite]; this is an optional rule, and similarly [i] of affixes is optionally replaced by Ø (3.4.97).

The archetypal affixes for [taÑ] given by Pāṇini constitute the basic secondary affixes, introduced without any change as substitutes for [IAÑ, IUÑ, IRÑ], respectively the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional. With reference to Optative [IIN] and its sub-variety Precative or Benedictive which functions as ārdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.116) we have the following allomorphs: first, there is an initial increment [yāsuṬ] for Parasmaipada affixes and [sīyuṬ] for Ātmanepada affixes (3.4.102-3), and an additional

increment [suṭ] preceding phonemes [t, th] of affixes, which, in the case of sārva-dhātu-ka Optative are replaced by Ø (7.2.79). The 3rd pers. plur. [jha] is replaced by [ran], and the 1st pers. sing. [i] is replaced by [a]. The scheme of affixes for Optative Ātmanepada is, therefore:

Person	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Third	Øiy+ta	Øiy+ātām	Øiy+ran
Second	Øiy+thās	Øiy+āthām	Øiy+dhvam
First	Øiy+a	Øiy+vahi	Øiy+mahi

The corresponding scheme for Parasmaipada affixes is:

Person	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Third	yaØ+t	yaØ+tām	yaØ+us (3.4.108)
Second	yaØ+s	yaØ+tam	yaØ+ta
First	yaØ+am	yaØ+va	yaØ+ma

For the Benedictive or Precative we have:

(a) Parasmaipada:

Person	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Third	yās+s+t (= yaØ +Ø+t 7.2.29)	yās+s+tām	yās+us
Second	yās+s	yās+s+tam	yas+s+ta
First	yās+am	yās+va	yās+ma

(b) Ātmanepada:

Person	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Third	sīy+s+ta	sīy+ā-s-tām	sīy+ran
Second	sīy+s+thās	sīy+ā-s-thām	sīy+dhvam
First	sīy+a	sīy+vahi	sīy+mahi

Pāṇini distinguishes between a verbal stem and a verbal theme. By including the affixes beginning with [saN: 3.1.5] and ending with [NiN 3.1.30] as those building up derived verbal stems (3.1.32) he provides for generating themes from them by introducing the general active class marker ŚaP (3.1.68) before sārva-dhātu-ka affixes. There are other markers which generate themes before l-substitutes. The marker [sya] characterizes the verbal theme before l-substitutes of the sigmatic Future [IRṬ] and the Conditional [IRÑ] (3.1.33). Likewise before l-substitutes of [IET] Subjunctive there is an optional marker [siP] (3.1.34). Before [IIT] substitutes, a derived verbal stem has the marker [ām], and similarly the verbal stem [kās-] (3.1.35) and those which begin with a vowel other than [a], which is heavy (3.1.36), and a few others (3.1.37-39). Before [IUN] substitutes the theme is generated by several markers: [Oli] replaced by [siC 3.1.44], [Ksa 3.1.45], [CaN 3.1.48], [aÑ 3.1.52], [CiN 3.1.60ff.], [Ø 2.4.77] yielding a number of themes giving seven types: (1)

Root Aorist (\emptyset replacement of s_iC), (2) a-Aorist ($a\check{N}$), (3) reduplicated Aorist ($Ca\check{N}$), and 4 sub-types of sigmatic Aorists: (4) s-Aorist [s_iC], (5) sa-Aorist [Ksa], (6) i- \check{s} -Aorist (= $i\check{T}+s_iC$) and (7) s-i- \check{s} -Aorist [saK 7.2.73+ $i\check{T}+s_iC$]. Themes are generated before [$II\check{T}$] substitutes by a process of reduplication for which simple rules are given in 6.1.1-3,8, and 7.4.59-62,66. Reduplication rules pertaining to the formation of intensive stems are contained in 7.4.82ff.

One of the original concepts in the Aṣṭ. is that of the zero affix. The zero replacement of any item is generally indicated by the technical term [lop-a- 1.1.60] and of affixes by the special terms [luK, Ślu, luP 1.1.61]. The need for this distinction is with reference to the general rule 1.1.63 which stipulates that when an affix is replaced by \emptyset , its presence is still felt in effecting the morpho-phonemic change due to it. Thus *agni-ci-tavān* = *agni+ci+KviP* (3.2.91) = *agni-ci-t-* (6.1.71)+*sU* = *agni-ci-t- \emptyset* (6.1.68) = *agni-ci-t* 'who had lit the sacrificial fire' is considered a [pada] despite the non-appearance of the sUP triplet. On the other hand a replacement of an affix by employing one of the three t.t.t. containing [lu-] is an exception to this rule: *vid+ (ŚaP → luK 2.4.72)+tas* = *vit- \emptyset +tas*; since this affix is deemed to be marked by [\check{N}] as IT (1.2.4), there is no guṇa replacement of the theme-final vowel, and \emptyset does not bar the operation of 1.1.5.

Each of these three zero affixes \emptyset^1 , \emptyset^2 and \emptyset^3 (respectively denoting [luK], [Ślu], and [luP]) has its own special field. Ślu alone is restricted as substitute for ŚaP (2.4.75). \emptyset^3 [luP] preserves the number and gender of the stem after which it is introduced (1.2.51).

The general rule which bars replacement by guṇa vowels (1.1.5) has two markers [K, \check{N}] and by later interpretation also [*G]. Why was it necessary to have more than one marker? The Aṣṭ. has K-IT as well as \check{N} -IT l-substitutes: among such K-IT affixes are l-substitutes of [$II\check{T}$] which are not marked as P-IT when introduced after verbal stems which do not terminate in a conjunct nexus (1.2.6) and other affixes indicated in 1.2.7-17, with exceptions shown in 1.2.18ff. On the other hand all sārva-dhātu-ka affixes which are not marked by P as IT are regarded as \check{N} -IT (1.2.4) as well as l-substitutes not marked by [\check{N}] or [\check{N}] as IT (1.2.1) and initial increment [$i\check{T}$] introduced after the verbal stem [vij- 1.2.2], but optionally after [ūrṇu-] 1.2.3; similarly the initial increment [yāsu \check{T}] of Parasmaipada l-substitutes of [$II\check{N}$], but which is K-IT when introduced as l-substitutes of Precative. Since both markers prevent the

operation of (7.3.84,86) by the meta-rule 1.1.5, the reason for differentiation is with reference to vocalization (*saṁ-pra-sār-aṇa*) of semi-vowels: 6.1.15 applies this vocalization to the verbal stems [*vac-*, *svap-*] and the group beginning with [*yaj*] before K-IT affixes, while the following rule 16 applies to stems beginning with [*grah-*] before both K-IT and Ñ-IT affixes. This provides the justification for the use of both markers in 1.1.5. By interpretation later critics of Aṣṭ. have included *G also as such a marker since the nexus [G-K-Ñ] results by *saṁdhi* into [*K-K-Ñ = K-Ñ] and this justifies the surface form *sthā-snu-* (3.2.139) where the affix is given as [Ksnu]. If it is K-IT then 6.4.86 would operate to yield an unacceptable form *sthā-snu-*.

The necessity of the Dhātu-pāṭha will be seen time and again when Pāṇini refers to verbal stems marked specifically with an accent or a phoneme as an IT. When he defines Ātmanepada stems as designated with an anudātta marker or by [Ñ], it is the Dhp. which supplies such a list. References such as [anudātta=upadesa-° 6.4.37] refer one to the Dhp.

Verbal stems marked by [ÑI] as IT, for instance, generate participles ending in [Ktá] to denote the present (3.2.180). Verbal stems with [DU] as marker generate a nominal stem with affix [Ktrí] 3.3.88 and those with [T̥U] generate nominal stems with [athúC] 3.3.89. Similarly a stem characterized by [ā] as IT does not operate the initial augment [iṭ] of an ārdhadhātuka affix (7.2.16): *NI-mid-Ā+Ktá* = *mid+tá* = *min-ná-* (8.2.42). Stems with marker [O] are also subject to the operation of 8.2.48: *O-vij-Ī+Ktá* = *vij+tá* = *vij+ná* = *vig-ná* (8.2.30). Stems with marker [Ī] as IT do not also operate the initial augment [iṭ] on affixes denoted by t.t. [niṣṭhā: Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26]: cf. *vig-na-*. Stems with [I] as marker insert an infixed increment after the last vowel of the stem (7.1.58). Stems with marker [U] optionally operate the initial increment [iṭ] on affix Ktvā (7.2.56). Those marked with long [Ū] as IT optionally operate the initial increment [iṭ] before ārdha-dhātuka affixes (7.2.44). The operation of 7.4.1 is barred from stems with marker [R] (7.4.2). Stems with marker [Ṛ] have the Aorist marker [aÑ] before Parasmaipada l-substitutes (3.1.55). The operation of 7.2.1 is not applicable to stems with marker [E] as IT (7.2.5). Stems ending in [Ṣ] as IT generate feminine nominal stems with affix [āÑ] (3.3.104): *jṛṣ+āÑ+TāP* (4.1.4) = *jar-ā* (7.4.18). Lastly those with [IR] as marker optionally have the Aorist marker [aÑ] for the [Clī] substitute [siC] (3.1.57). All these rules are indications that for understanding the operation of these rules the Dhp. lexicon is a prime necessity.

One of the most complicated topics involved is that of the governing rule 7.2.35 which indicates that before an *ardha-dhātuka* affix with an initial consonant other than semi-vowel [*y* = *vaL*] an initial increment is added defined by [*iṭ*]. This operation is not only governed by the conditions stated in this rule, but is subject also to the nature of the verbal stem after which such affixes are introduced. Beginning with 7.2.8, exceptions to this rule are stated. Rule 10 indicates that stems marked with *anudātta* accent when first introduced (i.e., in the *Dhp.*) and are monosyllabic, do not bring about this increment. Here again an appeal has to be made to the *Dhp.* lexicon. The section dealing with details of this augment ends with 7.2.75, and goes forward to extend the scope of this augment for some *sārva-dhātu-ka* affixes also (76-78). In a number of cases, while specifying the larger inclusive classes such as [*bhū-*] the word [*ādi-*] is used to denote them; similarly for shorter groups we have a similar use, as in [*pū=ādīn-n-ām* 7.3.80], or the word [*pra-bhṛ-ti-*] as in the case of (*ādī-pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ ŚāPah* 2.4.72) or the plural of the first stem to denote the group concerned (with or without a number): [*kir-as=ca pañca-bhyaḥ* 7.2.75] or [*dyud-bhyo IUN-i* 1.3.91]. The need for referring to the *Dhp.* arises in all such cases.

In a similar manner the *Gaṇapāṭha* is an essential accompaniment to the *Aṣṭ*. The section dealing with *taddhita* formation (4.1.76 to the end of chapter 5) shows all such instances where one has to go to the *Gaṇapāṭha* for the full operation of the rules stated in this section.

One special feature of affixes remains to be stated. While primary [*kṛt*] and secondary [*taddhita*] affixes generate primary and secondary nominal stems, there is one area of a [*prāti-pad-ika-*] which deals specifically with the generation of compounds. But in the generation of a number of them, we have a section of the *taddhita* affixes which are primarily concerned, not with the individual nominal stems which go into composition, but with the compound as a whole, after which these affixes are introduced. They go under the governing rule of [*sam-āsa=ant-āḥ* 5.4.68 to the end of the chapter]. Of the many such affixes we may note three here; [*ḌáC* 5.4.73; *áC* 5.4.75ff.; *ṬáC* 5.4.01ff.]; while these three in fact represent an accented [*á*] as the affix, the markers used to distinguish them have a special significance. [*ḌaC*], by 6.4.143 replaces the syllable beginning with the final vowel of the nominal stem by *ḥ*: *dv-au vā tray-o vā* = *dvi+tri+ḌáC* (5.4.73) = *dvi-tr+ḥá+Jas* = *dvi-tr-ā-ḥ* 'consisting of two or three'. Affix [*ṬaC*] generates a feminine stem with affix [*ṆP* 4.1.15]. The marker [*Ṭ*]

specifically generates this type of feminine stems. Pāṇini's system of markers is so complicated that many times interpretation is necessary. As an example we may cite: $pac + lAT = pac + \acute{S}aP + \acute{S}ānaC$ (3.2.124) + $TāP$ (4.1.4) = $pac - a + m - ān - ā$; since the affix is a replacement for $[lAT]$ by 1.1.56, it has the same function as $[lAT]$ and by 4.1.15 fem. affix $[N̄P]$ is required; but interpretation comes in here to explain that since $[lAT]$ has two markers, the function of $[T]$ is to separate $[lAT]$ along with other l-members with that marker from those which are marked by $[N̄]$. Again this marker $[N̄]$ as applied to l-members does not come under the operation of the metalinguistic rule 1.1.5. Its function is to separate the two sets of l-members which come under two different sets of l-substitutes, primary and secondary. Another illustration of such multiple markers is the affix $[CphaN̄]$ where $[N̄]$ does not operate under 6.1.197 for accent but only for 7.2.117 for replacement of the vowel of the initial syllable by $vṛddhi$, while $[C]$ operates under 6.4.163.

One of the unique features of Aṣṭ. is the role of accent. Later grammatical systems are not at all concerned with this topic. A remodeling of Aṣṭ. in Cāndra-vy-ā-kar-aṇa omits the section on accent. It is possible that the phonemic role of accent which is so vital to Pāṇini's description of his native speech did not play a role during the period of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. While Patañjali does discuss the role of accent in so far as sacrificers are involved, its role in common speech has not generated any special comments. In fact Patañjali himself interprets the rule 1.1.70 by analyzing the rule $[ta - para - s tat - kāla - sya$ 1.1.70] as $[ta - ḥ par - o ya - smāt so'yam ta - para - ḥ; tāt = api para - ḥ ta - para - ḥ]$. The first is a bahuvrīhi compound and is accented on the first member, while the second is a tatpuruṣa and accented on the final syllable of the compound expression. Such an analysis can only be possible if accent was not phonemic in the common speech. The liturgical language alone seems to have kept the role of accent at all times in carrying out the functions assigned to particular ceremonies. Patañjali refers to the sages who used to say $[yar - vā naṣ tar vā - naṣ]$ in their normal speech but spoke correctly as $[yad vā naṣ tad vā naḥ]$ while performing Vedic rituals.

According to Pāṇini each [pada] or finished word has all its syllables as anudātta except for one which bears either the udātta or svarita accent. By a general rule 3.1.3 an affix normally bears the accent on its initial syllable. Any departure from this governing rule is indicated by special rules. For instance all affixes with marker $[P]$ as well as the declensional affixes denoted by the siglum sUP are anudātta (3.1.4).

That accent is phonemic can be seen from a few examples. While interpreting the rule [tulya=ās-ya-pra-yat-na-m sa-varṇa-m 1.1.9] Patañjali explains the word [ās-yà-] as derived from the stem [asU IV 100] with affix [NyàT] which by 6.1.185 bears the svarita accent on the affix, but in the context of the sūtra, he derives it further as [ās-y-è bhav-a-m = ās-yà+yaT 5.1.8] which by 6.1.213 bears the udātta accent on the first syllable, and refers to a point of articulation within the buccal region. A difference in the accent accounts for the difference of meaning. Similarly 5.2.49 provides for the formation of ordinals prior to 'eleventh' by ruling in an initial increment [maT] to the affix [ḌáT 5.2.48], and we have forms like *pañca-m-á-*, *sapta-má-*, *aṣṭa-m-á-* from the numerals *pañcan-*, *saptan-*, *aṣṭan-* respectively, the marker [Ḍ] effecting Ø replacement of the syllable beginning with the final vowel (6.4.143). By 5.3.49 affix [aN] is introduced after these ordinals to denote a fraction: the resulting forms are homophonous, but the accent moves to the initial syllable (6.1.197). Thus accent is phonemic and must have been perceptible during Pāṇini's time since he is so careful in recording facts.

Since the [pada] is the unit which bears an accent on one of its syllables, the question arises as to what happens to the constituent parts of a [pada] each of which may have its own individual accent. In fact the Dhātupāṭha gives the list of verbal stems indicating their accents which indicates that verbal stems may have their own individual accents. Except in a few cases the Gaṇapāṭha does not mark the accents of nominal stems. Their accent is to be deduced from the underlying deep structure which generates the surface forms. Since a [pada] is defined as either a nom. stem + sUP or a verbal stem + tiN, one has to derive the position of the [pada] accent from the process of derivation. The accent proper to the last element which is introduced in the deep structure generally marks the [pada] accent. As an illustration we may take the case of the third person singular of the Present Indicative of the verbal stem *bhú* which bears the udātta accent: *bhú+lAT* = *bhú+ŚaP+tiP* = *bhó+a+ti*. Since the class marker [ŚaP] and the I-substitute [tiP] are P=IT-s they are both anudātta. So the resulting form is *bháv-a-ti*. Similarly in the case of *suN* which is anudātta, *su+lAT* = *su+nú+tiP* = *su-nó-ti* since by 1.2.4 the class marker [Śnu] of the su-class is a N-IT and prevents a guṇa replacement of stem final [u] while that of the class marker is so replaced. When we come to consider the situation in the deep structures *bhú+ŚaP+tás*, *su+Śnú+tás* = *bhó+a+tás* = *bhav-a-tas*, *su-nu-tas*, the place of the accent has to be determined, since in both illustrations there

are two of the three elements bearing their own accents. The normal position is that of the last accented member so that we have *su-nu-tás*, with the udātta on the last syllable of the surface form. In the normal course the same thing should have happened in the case of *bhāv-a-tas*. But a special rule prevents the accent falling on accented l-substitutes, cf. 6.1.186, which indicates that accented l-substitutes lose their accent when introduced, so that themes ending in short [a] retain their original accent. A stem having an accented syllable loses its accent if the theme marker is accented: *lāN+Śná = lu-nā-tiP*; this accent of the theme is lost if the affix has an accent: *lu-ni-tás*. 5.4.11 introduces the affix [ām] after the comparative and superlative affixes: when it is introduced after this we have *lu-ni-tas-tar=ā=m*. Though all sUP affixes are defined as anudātta (3.1.4), there are situations when they acquire the udātta accent. Thus 6.1.168 teaches that beginning with the instrumental singular, all sUP affixes bear the udātta accent when introduced after nominal stems which are monosyllabic before the locative plural affix [suP]: *vāc+ṣú = vāk-ṣú* (8.2.30; 3.59); *vāc-ā/é/ás; vāg-bhīh/bhyām/bhyás*. When these stems enter into composition as final members, this rule is optional (6.1.169).

The accentual system as occurring in the Vedic texts and as described in the Aṣṭ. sometimes shows differences between the Vedic system and that current during Pāṇini's time in the speech of the educated community. For instance the pronominal stem *sārva-* bears the udātta accent on the first syllable in Ṛg Veda, but Pāṇini's rule [sarva-sya sUP-i 6.1.191] indicates that this is so only before sUP triplets; the inference is, therefore, that the word normally bears the accent on the second syllable. Again by [hrasva-nuṭ=bhyām matUP 6.1.176] the affix matUP is accented when introduced after a nominal stem which ends in a short accented vowel. In the case of *himá-* 'snow' which is accented on the final syllable Pāṇini's rule gives *hima-vat-* with the accent shifted to the affix, contra Vedic *himá-vat* bearing the accent on the final syllable preceding the affix. That accent did have a vital role in actual speech during Pāṇini's time is also indicated by his rule 6.1.181: [vi-bhāṣ-ā bhāṣā-y-ām] very clearly.

There are many homophonous elements having different functions. For instance [áC] stands for all vowels, as the siglum derived from ŚS 1-4 and it also stands for kṛt affix, with feminine in long [ā] (3.1.134; 4.1.4) and also a taddhita affix (5.2.127), the marker [C] indicating the accent falling on the affix itself (6.1.163). There are two affixes [KtiN] and

[Kt̥iC], the first deriving feminine stems with accent on the initial syllable (8.1.197) while the second generates stems with a precative sense (3.3.174). Affix [Kt̥iC] also is not subject to the operation of 8.4.15 and 37. There are two affixes [t̥r] with markers [C] or [N], differing in the accentuation of the surface forms; affix [t̥rN] is introduced after all verbal stems to denote the significances enumerated in 3.2.129: habitual disposition, age or capacity, (3.2.135) but [t̥rC] to denote that the agent is worthy of the action (3.3.169) and can also occur after all verbal stems.

Occasionally a doubt may arise regarding the function of an element. As an instance we may note the general replacement rule 7.1.1 whereby [yu, vu] are replaced respectively by [ana, aka]. By 8.4.88 the element [vuK] is introduced after the verbal stem [bhū-] before l-substitutes of [lUN and lIT]. There are a number of affixes containing the element [vu] such as [DvuN, NvuC, NvuL, vuK, vuC, vuN̄, vuN, ŠvuN]. To arrive at the proper interpretation of [vuK] introduced after the verbal stem [bhū-] interpretation is necessary that it is a final increment of the verbal stem and is not an affix. The interpretation of 7.1.1 draws on 7.1.2 which has the specification [praty-aya=ādī-nām] and by a process known as [apa-karṣ-a-] introduces this term from the following sūtra, contra the normal system of [anu-vṛt-ti-] where one derives the word from a preceding sūtra to fill in the ellipsis.

The technical term [praty-ay-a-] implies that it is that element which gives the full meaning of the finished expression. In the case of [vuK] which is introduced after the verbal stem [bhū-] it is not a [praty-aya-] but a stem-final augment. The substituend is always in the sixth triplet, and one has to distinguish between a replacement and an augment. To some extent the markers [K, T̥ and M] decide the case for an augment.

Marker [N̄] of an element indicates that it is the substitute for the final phoneme of the substituend even when it is polyphonic (1.1.53). It is also a marker of the affix or element which when introduced after a nominal or verbal stem bars the operation of 1.1.5 (i.e., guṇa replacement). That is why in the case of nominal stems which are designated by the t.t. GHI (i.e., those ending in short i or u) undergo that transformation despite marker [N̄]. The same is true of the aorist marker [aN̄] when introduced after verbal stems ending in [r] and the stem [d̥r̥s-] (7.4.16). Similarly the siglum [aN̄] and affix [aN̄] are easily indentifiable from the contexts. Where this is not possible, the metarule mentioned by Patañjali that in case of doubt one must have recourse to

interpretation operates. This system of interpretation must have arisen at the very time of the oral transmission of the Aṣṭ. and the genesis of such interpretation must be the basis of much critical work that followed its composition. The works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali are continuations of that tendency to make clear what is not so easily discernible on account of the style of Aṣṭ. The additional rules which are appended in these later works are an example of noting the changes in the language which must have taken place after Pāṇini's time, though in some cases, they have been lapses in the original text.

In a work of such magnitude which covers every aspect of the author's speech community, systematized on the basis of mnemonic rules, there is indeed much scope to find some overstatements as well as understatements. But none of this takes away from the credit which is due to Pāṇini who, in this astounding work, has set up a model which is fully adequate to cover every aspect of the language described. Because of its importance, all earlier works in this field gradually disappeared. Aṣṭ. in its turn became the focal point of much critical and explicatory work over the last two millennia. That is a universe by itself, but its appeal is to the specialist. However, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, along with Pāṇini are the three great teachers accepted by all subsequent authorities, and the whole Pāṇinian system is designated sometimes as *tri-muni vy-ā-kar-aṇa-m*. Regarding the authority of this triumvirate, later tradition lays down the law: *yath-o-t-taram muni-n-ām prā-māṇ-ya-m* 'according to the greater authority of the succeeding sages'.

Since interpretation is the ultimate source for the explication of the original sū-tra-s of Pāṇini, several metalinguistic principles were developed, some of which are due to Pāṇini himself. A majority of these, technically known as [pari-bhāṣā=s], are due to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. A collection of these was assembled and commented upon by Nagojibhaṭṭa and they help one in understanding the intricacies of Pāṇini's grammar.

The broad principles of interpretation have been laid down by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya. In his passage discussing the nature of grammar as presented by Pāṇini he has the following passage: *na hi sū-tra-ta eva śabd-ā-n prati-pad-y-a-nte; kiṃ tarhi? vy-ā-khyā-na-taś ca; nanu tad eva sū-tra-m vi-grh-ī-ta-m vy-ā-khyā-na-m bhav-a-ti? na keval-ā-n-i carcā-pad-ā-n-i vy-ā-khyā-na-m "vṛddhi-ḥ+āT + aiC"=iti. Kiṃ tarhi? ud-ā-har-aṇa-m, praty-ud-ā-har-aṇa-m, vāk-ya=adhy-*

ā-hār-a ity etat sam-ud-i-ta-m vy-ā-khyā-na-m bhav-a-ti (MBh. I 11,20-23). 'One does not derive words by referring only to the sū-tra-s. What then? By interpretation also. But is not that the same sū-tra broken into its several constituent elements which constitutes interpretation? No, the separation of the constituent elements does not constitute interpretation (such as separating the words [vyddhi-ḥ, ET, aiC] of the first sū-tra). What then? Examples, counter-examples, filling in the ellipsis, these together constitute interpretation.' It is out of this type of interpretation that one brings out the full implication of each sū-tra. To understand fully the nature of this interpretation we may illustrate it with an example. Pāṇini 1.2.4 reads as follows: *sārva-dhā-tu-ka-m* (3.4.118) *a-P-IT*. Interpretation of this sū-tra then is as follows: *a-P-IT sārva-dhā-tu-ka-m* [*Ṇ-IT* 1.2.1]=*Ṇ-IT=vat bhav-a-ti*: *kṛ+IAT* = *kṛ+ú+tās* (3.1.79, 4.78)= *kar-u+tās* (7.3.84)= *kur-u-tās* (6.4.110); *a-P-IT=iti kim?* *kṛ+u+tiP* = *kar-ó-ti* (7.3.84). First the ellipsis is filled in by the expression [*Ṇ-IT*] of 1.2.1 recurring in this rule by the process of [anu-vṛt-ti] and supplying the copula. Then follows the illustration of this rule, with an affix which is clearly not marked by [P] as *IT*. Lastly the question regarding the restraint [*a-P-IT*] is illustrated by the surface form generated with the affix [tiP]. This in short is how the sū-tra is to be interpreted. Beyond this normal style of interpretation, both the Vārttika-s and Mahābhāṣya go deeper into the construction of the sū-tra-s and question the validity of each expression therein in relation to the situations indicated in other related sū-tra-s. Modifications are suggested and then denied, maintaining the original status of the sū-tra. In a few cases the modifications suggested have been accepted as the basic text in the Kāśikā. But these are few as compared to the large number of them which occur without such modifications. The theoretical development of linguistic philosophy dates precisely from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and finds its apex in Bhartṛhari's Vākya-pad-īya. These are the standard original works in the field of Sanskrit grammar, forming the basis of later expository treatises. But at the very back of all these lies Pāṇini's great work which must be studied first by means of his own metalinguistic techniques.

Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

atha śabdānuśāsanam

Now begins instruction (anuśāsanam) pertaining to articulatory speech (śabda- ").

As preliminary to the main corpus of Aṣṭādhyāyī there is a repertory of phonemes divided into fourteen strings (sūtra-s) forming a distinct part popularly known as Śiva-sūtras (ŚS) or Māheśvara-sūtras (MS) and commonly referred to as Pratyāhāra-sūtras (PS), because of their capacity to generate pratyāhāras or sigla representing groups of phonemes which enter into any particular grammatical operation, in order to produce an economy of statement. The whole object of Aṣṭādhyāyī is to effect an economy of statement and thus dispense with the normal arrangement of given topics. These ŚS are not a part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, but are traditionally associated with its corpus. Traditionally the authorship of ŚS, as the name implies, is ascribed to the divine Śiva or Maheśvara. Even the introductory statement which precedes them is part of the great commentary, the Mahābhāṣyā of Patañjali.

ŚIVA-SŪTRAS

	<i>Sūtra</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Sigla generated</i>
1.	a i u Ṇ ¹	simple vowels	aṆ ¹
2.	ṛ ṝ K	sonant vowels	aK, iK, uK
3.	e o ṅ	diphthongs	eṅ
4.	ai au C	diphthongs	aC, iC, eC, aiC
5.	ha ya va ra ṭ	voiced aspirate + semivowels y, v, r	aṭ
6.	lĀ Ṇ ²	semi-vowel l	(rĀ), aṆ ² , iṆ ² , yaṆ
7.	ṇa ma ṇa ṇa na M	nasal stops	aM, yaM, ṇaM
8.	jha bha Ṇ	palatal and labial voiced aspirate stops	yaṆ
9.	gha dha dha Ṣ	voiced aspirate stops	jhaṢ, bhaṢ
10.	ja ba ga da da Ś	voiced unaspirated stops	aŚ, haŚ, vaŚ, jhaŚ, jaŚ, haŚ
11.	kha pha cha ṭha	unvoiced stops	chaV

12.	ka p̄a Y	unvoiced stops	yaY, maY, jhaY, khaY
13.	śa śa sa R	sibilants	yaR, jhaR, khaR, caR, śaR
14.	ha L	voiced fricative	aL, haL, vaL, raL, jhaL, saL

The sigla listed above are derived by applying 1.3.2-3 along with 1.1.71 (q.vv.). The capital letters at the end of each entry are IT markers (1.3.3) while the underlined vowels are used for ease of pronunciation to denote the consonantal phonemes. It may be noted that this repertory of phonemes (akṣara-saṁāmnāyā) does not include long and prolated or extra long (cf. 1.2.27 below) vowels or the anusvārā, visargā (or visarjanīya), jihvā-mūlīya and upadhmānīya or the supra-segmental phonemes of accent. The vowels represent phoneme classes, rather, involving features of length, ±nasality and three accents.

Though the number of sigla can run into three figures, those actually needed for grammatical operations in the corpus of Aṣṭādhyāyī are 41 (or 42 if rĀ is included according to later Pāṇinīyas). These sigla, in their alphabetical order are:

1. aK simple vowels a, i, u and sonant vowels ṛ, ̣ (with suprasegmental features of 3 lengths, 3 accents and ±nasality); 6.1.101,128.
2. aC all vowel phoneme classes (with suprasegmental features of length, accent and ±nasality): a, i, u, ṛ, ̣, e, o, ai, au; 1.1.10,47,73; 2.27; 3.2 etc.
3. aT all vowels+voiced fricative h+semivowels except l; 8.3.3,9; 4.63.
4. aN¹ simple vowel class a, i, u; 1.1.51; 6.3.111.
5. aN² all vowels (aC)t h+semi-vowels; 1.1.69.
6. aM all vowels+h+semi-vowels+nasal stops; 8.3.6.
7. aL all vowels+all consonants (= aC+haL).
8. aŚ all voiced phonemes (= aC+haŚ); 8.3.17.
9. iK simple vowels i, u, ṛ, ̣; 1.1.3,45,48; 2.9.
10. iC all vowels except the phoneme class a; 6.1.104; 3.68.

11. iN^2 all vowels except the phoneme class a+h+semi-vowels.
12. uK the simple vowels u, ʁ and j; 8.1.70; 2.11; 3.57.
13. eN diphthongs e and o; 1.1.2,75; 6.1.69,94,109 ff.
14. eC all diphthongs e, o, ai and au; 1.1.48; 6.1.45 ff.
15. aiC diphthongs ai and au; 1.1.1,8; 7.8.8; 8.2.106.
16. kh_2Y all voiceless stops: kh, ph, ch, ʈh, th, k, p, c, ʈ, t; 7.4.61; 8.3.6.
17. kh_2R all voiceless consonants (= $kh_2Y + s_2R$).
18. $ṇ_2M$ velar, retroflex and dental nasal stops; 8.3.32.
19. ca_2R all voiceless un-aspirated stops+sibilants 1.1.58; 8.4.54 ff.
20. cha_2V palatal, retroflex and dental voiceless stops: ch, ʈh, tha, c, ʈ, t; 8.3.7.
21. ja_2S all voiced un-aspirated stops: j, b, g, ɖ, d; 1.1.58; 8.2.39; 4.53 ff.
22. jh_2Y all non-nasal stops: jh, bh, gh, ɟh, dh, j, b, g, ɖ, d, kh, ph, ch, ʈh, th, c, ʈ, t, k, p; 5.4.111; 8.2.10; 4.62 ff.
23. jh_2R all non-nasal stops+sibilants (- $jh_2Y + s_2R$).
24. jh_2L all non-nasal stops+fricatives ($jh_2Y + s_2aL$).
25. jh_2S all voiced stops: jh, bh, gh, ɟh, dh, j, b, g, ɖ, d; 8.4.53.
26. $jh_2Ṣ$ all voiced aspirated stops: jh, bh, gh, ɟh, dh; 8.2.37,40.
27. ba_2S un-aspirated voiced stops other than palatal j; 8.2.37.
28. bha_2S voiced aspirated stops other than palatal jh; 8.2.37.
29. ma_2Y all stops except nasal stop ṇ; 8.3.33.
30. ya_2N semi-vowels+nasal stops+jh, bh; 7.3.101 ff.
31. ya_2N all semi-vowels y, v, r, l; 1.1.45; 6.1.77; 4.81,156.
32. ya_2M semi-vowels+nasal stops; 8.4.64.
33. ya_2Y semi-vowels+stops; 8.4.58 ff.
34. ya_2R semi-vowels+stops+sibilants 8.4.45 ff.

35. (*rĀ) liquids r, l; 1.1.57.

36. r₂L all consonants other than semi-vowels y, v; 1.2.28.

37. v₂L all consonants other than semi-vowel y; 6.1.66; 7.2.35.

38. v₂Ś semi-vowels other than y+voiced stops; 7.2.8.

39. ś₂R sibilants ś, ṣ, s; 7.4.4; 8.3.28,35 ff.; 3.58; 4.49.

40. ś₂L all fricatives; 3.1.45

41. h₂L all consonants; 1.1.7,10; 3.3; 3.1.12,83.

42. h₂Ś all voiced consonants; 6.1.64.

VARNA-SAMĀMNĀYA (Repertory of Phonemes)

	Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Retroflex	Dental	Labial
<i>Vowels</i>						
Short	a		i	ɹ	ɪ	u
Long	ā		ī	ṛ	ī	ū
Prolated	a3		i3	ɹ3		u3
Diphthongs			e			o
			ai			au
<i>Semi-vowels</i>						
			y	r	l	v
<i>Consonants</i>						
Unvoiced (stops):						
Unaspirated		k	c	ɕ	t	p
Aspirated		kh	ch	ɕh	th	ph
Voiced (stops):						
Unaspirated		g	j	ɖ	d	b
Aspirated		gh	jh	ɖh	dh	bh
Nasals		ṅ	ñ	ṇ	n	m
<i>Fricatives</i>						
Unvoiced (sibilants)			ś	ṣ	ʃ	
Voiced		h				

1.1.1 v̥d-dhir āT=aiC

(The technical term = t.t.) v̥d-dhi denotes the vowel phonemes long ā (= āT) and the diphthongs ai, au (= aiC).

1. āT = long vowel class ā (by 1.1.70 below) with supra-segmental features of three accents and ±nasality. Unmarked vowels by marker T stand for their class, associated with the supra-segmental features of length (=3): short (hrasvá), long (=dīrghá) and extra-long or prolated (plutá) (1.2.27), and accent (=3): udātta 'high-pitched', ānudātta 'low-pitched' and svaritá 'rising and falling tone or circumflex' (1.2.29-31), ±nasality. The short vowels have a duration of one mora, the long of two and the prolated of three mora, while consonants have half a mora each. By 1.1.70 aiC following the marker T of āT represents the diphthongs ai, au, having a duration of two moras only.
2. as a non-technical term v̥d-dhi denotes 'increase, growth, interest (on principal), etc.' Cf. 5.1.47.
3. as a t.t. v̥d-dhi occurs in 1.1.3-6,73; 6.1.88-92; 2.105; 7.2.1-7,114-18; 3.1-35, 89-90.

1.1.2 aT=eñ guṇáḥ

(The t.t.) guṇá denotes the vowel phonemes short a (aT) and the diphthongs e, o (eñ).

1. aT represents the short phoneme-class a, having a duration of one mora while eñ following marker T of aT represents phoneme-class e, o of two mora duration.
2. as a non-t.t. guṇá signifies 'quality, attribute, characteristic' 2.2.11; 3.23, and in the compounds guṇá-kārtsnyá 'whole or entire quality' 6.2.93; guṇá-pratisedhā- 'denial or negation of a quality' 6.2.155, guṇá-vācana- 'attributive, adjective' 2.1.30; 4.1.44; 3.58; 5.1.124; 6.2.24, 8.1.12; it also denotes 'fold, times' 5.4.29.
3. as a t.t. guṇá occurs in 1.1.3-6; 6.1.87,97; 4.126,146,156; 7.3 82-88,91, 4.10-11,16,21,29,30,57,75,82.

1.1.3 iKō guṇá-v̥d-dhī

When the t.t. guṇá (2) and v̥d-dhi (1) are introduced as replacements (and the substituendum is not specified), they replace only the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ and ḷ).

The expression iKāḥ, ending in the sixth triplet (=genitive) is expected to recur when it is not specified, with the use of the t.t. guṇá and v̥d-dhi. For example 7.3.84 s̥rvadhātuka=ārdhādhātukāyoh (guṇáḥ 82) and 86 puK=anta-laghu-upadhāsyā ca (guṇáḥ 82) specify only the pre-affixal base (=āṅga 6.4.1) in the genitive (1.1.49) as the substituendum; by this meta-rule the expression iKāḥ recurs here, denoting the actual substituendum. Thus bhā+ŚaP : bhō+a : bhāv-a

(6.1.77) before l-substitutes of the Present System (3.4.78). Similarly by 7.2.1 siCi vfd-dhiḥ paraamaipadésu we have the expression iKaḥ recurring with vfd-dhi to denote the specific substituendum: *kṛN+siC+l*-substitutes of Paraamaipadā: *ā-kṛ+s+t* : *a-kār-s-IT-t* (6.4.71; 7.3.96) = *ā-kār-ṣ-I-t* (8.3.59),

1.1.4 ná dhātulopé=ārdhadhātuke

[Guṇā and Vfd-dhi replacements 3] do not (ná) operate before an ārdhadhātuka affix which conditions a zero replacement (lópa) of a verbal base (dhātu-°).

ārdhadhātuka is defined by 3.4.114 as affixes other than those of the Present System (3.4.113). Thus *laN+yāN* (3.1.22) : *lo-la-yā* (6.1.9 for reduplication and 7.4.82 for guṇā replacement of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable) is a derived verbal base (3.1.32) from which an agent noun is derived by introducing the affix āC (3.1.134): *lo-la-yā+āC*; by 2.4.74 the marker *yāN* is replaced by zero (∅) before a vowel: *lo-la-yā+āC* : *lo-la-∅-āC* and the guṇā replacement ruled in by 7.3.84 does not take place so that the expected form *lo-luv-ā-* is realized by 6.4.77.

1.1.5 K-Ñ-ITi ca

And (ca) [guṇā and vfd-dhi replacements 3 are not 4 conditioned] before affixes marked with K or Ñ as an IT.

According to Pāṇinīyas the expression K-Ñ-ITi stands for *G-K-Ñ-ITi for reasons which will be indicated below.

1. Before l-substitutes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka 3.4.113) the class of verbal stems beginning with *tudā vyāthane* (DhP VI 1) 'torment, inflict pain' has the class marker Śā (3.1.77) which, by 1.2.4 is deemed as marked with Ñ as IT; thus *tud+Śā+tiP* (3.4.78) = *tud-ā-ti* and consequently 7.3.86 does not operate here. Similarly *kṛ+Ktā-* : *kṛ-tā-* 'done, accomplished'.
2. The only exception is with regard to taddhita affix marker K as IT which conditions vfd-dhi replacement in the initial syllable of a nominal stem (7.2.118).
3. *G as an IT-marker which does not condition guṇā or vfd-dhi replacement is introduced to explain forms like *sthā-enu-* as derived from *sthā+*Genu-* (3.2.138 glā-ji-sthā ca *G-Kṣnúḥ) which is rendered Kṣnú- by 8.4.55; if the marker had been K instead of *G the final phoneme of [sthā-] would have been replaced by *ṛ* according to 8.4.86. *G is also considered as an IT-marker in 3.2.138.

1.1.6 ¹dīdhī-²vevī=³iṭām

[Guna and Vṛd-dhi replacements 3 are not conditioned 4 with reference to the following substituenda]: the verbal bases dīdhī- 'shine', vevī- 'be agitated' and the initial increment iṭ.

1. $\bar{a}+dīdhī+NvuL$ (3.1.133) : $\bar{a}+dīdhī+aka$ (7.1.1) = $\bar{a}-dīdhī-āka-$ 'shining', despite marker Ṇ which should condition vṛd-dhi by 7.2.115. Similarly $\bar{a}+vevī+NvuL$ = $\bar{a}-vevī-āka-$ 'trembling'.
2. $bha+IUT$: $bha+tās+miP$: $bha+iṭ+tās-mi$ (3.1.33 for tās and 3.4.78 for miP and 7.2.35 for iṭ) = $bha+i-tās+mi$ = $bhav-i-tās-mi$ but 7.3.84 does not operate on iṭ.

1.1.7 haLaḥ=ānantarāḥ saṃyogāḥ

(The t.t.) saṃyogā 'conjunction' denotes an uninterrupted (ānantarāḥ) sequence of consonants (haLaḥ):

1. "uninterrupted" by vowels defines a conjunct; up to five consonants is normal. *anna*-(2) 'food', *strī*-(3) 'woman; feminine gender'; *kāraṇya*-(4) 'blackness, darkness'; *kārṭtanya*-(5) 'totality, whole'.
2. as a t.t. occurs in 1.2.5; 4.11; 6.1.3; 4.10,82,68,82,106,166; 7.2.43; 4.10,29; 8.2.23,43.

1.1.8 mukha-nāsikā-vācanaḥ=ānunāsikaḥ

(The t.t.) ānunāsika- 'nasal' denotes a phoneme articulated simultaneously through the oral and nasal cavities (mukha-nāsikā-vācana-).

1. nasal vowels: ā, ā̃, ī, ī̃, etc.
2. nasal stops: ñ, m, ṇ, ṇ̃, n.
3. nasal semi-vowels: ȳ, ĩ, ȳ̃.

1.1.9 túlya=āśya-prayatnam sāvarṇam

(The t.t.) sāvarṇa- 'homogeneous' designates phonemes which are produced by the same articulatory effort (túlya-prayatná-) at the same point of articulation in the oral cavity (āśya-).

1. túlya- 'same, similar, equivalent'.
2. $\bar{a}śyā^1$ 'oral cavity' but $\bar{a}śya-^2$ = $\bar{a}śyā^1$ bhava- = $\bar{a}śyā^1+yāT$ 5.1.6 'point of articulation in the oral cavity'. Five points of articulation are recognized: velum (kaṇṭhā-), soft palate (tālu-), hard palate (mūrdhān-), teeth ridge (dānta-) and lips (óṣṭha-). Our corpus has óṣṭhya- (7.1.102) 'labial', dāntya- (7.3.73) 'dental' and mūrdhanya- (8.3.55) but not káṇṭhya- 'velar' or tālavya- 'palatal'; on the

other hand 4.3.62 derives the word *jvha-mulīya-* 'formed at the root of the tongue'.

3. *prayatnā-* 'articulatory effort or process' is two-fold: *ābhyantarā-* 'intra-buccal' and *bāhya-* 'extra-buccal'; the first again is four-fold: *spṛṣṭā-* 'close contact' for stops, *ṭṣāt-spṛṣṭā-* 'slight contact' for semi-vowels or resonants, *ṭṣād-vivṛtā-* 'slight openness' for fricatives, and *vivṛtā-* 'fully open' for vowels. The principal extra-buccal efforts are associated with \pm voice (glottal), \pm aspiration (pulmonic) and \pm nasality (nasal). Openness and constriction of the glottis, relating to voicelessness and voice respectively, are designated *vivārā-* and *saṁvārā-*, and the three accents: *udātta-* 'high-pitched or rising tone', *anudātta-* 'low-pitched or falling tone' and *svaritā-* 'rising and falling tone, circumflex', a combination of the preceding two, associated with vowels constitute eleven aspects of this articulatory process. Though not involved in the definition of *sāvarnya-* or homogeneity, they are taken into consideration when replacement takes place according to 1.1.50.

4. as a t.t. occurs in 1.1.58, 69, 8.1.101, 102-8, 127; 4.78; 7.1.39; 8.4.58.

1.1.10 *nā=aC=haLau*

A vowel (aC) and a consonant (haL) [which satisfy the above condition 9] are (nevertheless) not (*nā*) (homogeneous 9).

In consequence of this, in the expression *dadhi+śītam* 'cold curds' *saṁdhī* or euphonic combination does not take place as taught in 8.1.101 between **-i + -ś-*, though both are homogeneous by 9 above.

1.1.11 *īT=ūT=eT=dvivacanam pragfhyam*

(The t.t.) *pragfhyā* denotes [final 1.1.52] **-ī*, **-ū* or **-e* of dual endings (*dvī-vacanām*).

1. By 8.1.125 *pragfhyā* vowels are not subject to replacement before other vowels as conditioned by *sāṁhitā* (8.1.72) or euphonic combinatory rules; thus we have expressions like *agnī iti*, *vāyū iti*, *phāle iti*, *pācate iti*, where the first three expressions ending in the dual cases and the fourth ending in the dual personal verbal affix are *pragfhyā* vowels.

2. As a t.t. occurs in 8.1.125; 8.2.107; 4.57, and recurs by *anuvṛtti* in the rules 12-19 below.

1.1.12 *adāso māt*

[(The t.t.) *pragfhyā* denotes vowels **-ī*, **-ū* and **-e* 11] occurring after the phoneme [m] which is part of the nominal base *adās-* 'that'.

Thus no *saṁdhī* replacement takes place in the expressions *amī āsāte*, *amū āsāte* 'they two (respectively m. and f.) sit down'.

1.1.13 Śe

[(The t.t.) pragḥya 11] denotes the ending Śe (7.1.39).

This affix is a replacement for sUP triplets (3.4.78) in Vedic. The Vedic examples are: *tvé iti*, *asmé índrā-bṛhaspatī*.

1.1.14 nipātá éka=aC=án-āN̄

[(The t.t.) pragḥya 11 denotes] a particle (nipātá-) consisting of a single vowel (éka+aC) with the exception of āN̄.

1. *i índram pásya*, *u ūtīṣṭha* 'look at Indra', 'get up'.
2. The particle á with marker N̄ denotes the senses of (1) a little (īśad-arthá), (2) connection with activity (kriyā-yogé), (3-4) exclusive limit (maryādā) and inclusive limit (abhividyá); but without the marker it signifies (5) emphasis of a sentence as an expletive (vākyā) and (6) reminiscence (smāraṇa): *ā evān nu mānyase* (5); *ā evām kṣā tāt* (6) 'thou dost certainly consider thus'; 'such indeed was then the cause'.

1.1.15 oT

[(The t.t.) pragḥya denotes 11 a particle 14] (ending in 1.1.72) the diphthong [o].

aho Ōhā 'lo, the Lord'; this rule applies to particles consisting of more than one syllable, since monosyllabic particles are already covered by the preceding rule.

1.1.16 sambúddhau śákalyasya itau=án-ārṣe

[(The t.t.) pragḥya denotes 11] a vocative-(final 1.1.72) before the expression *iti* which is not a part of the Vedic text (án-ārṣ-e) according to (the grammarian) Śákalya.

By quoting the name of the teacher Śákalya this rule is considered as optional. Pānini (= P.) uses this device in two ways: (a) either as a mark of respect (pūjāarthé) or (b) to indicate the optional nature of the rule (vibhāśarthé), *vāyo ití / vāyau ití* (8.1.78).

1.1.17 uN̄ah

[According to the grammarian Śákalya 16 (the t.t.) pragḥya 11 denotes the particle 14] uN̄ (= u followed by the marker N̄) [before non-Vedic *iti* 16].

u *īti* / *u-īti* (8.1.77 according to other grammarians).

1.1.18 \tilde{u}

[According to the grammarian Śākalya 16 (the t.t.) *prag̃hya* 11 denotes the particle 14] \tilde{u} [which replaces uÑ 17 (1.1.49)].

Originally *sūtras* 17-18 constituted a single *sūtra* which Kātyāyana proposed to divide into two by a process known as *yoga-vibhāga* 'splitting of one rule into parts'. According to Śākalya this \tilde{u} is optionally substituted for uÑ and is *prag̃hya*: u *īti*, \tilde{u} *īti* / *u-īti*.

1.1.19 $\text{IT}=\tilde{\text{UT}}=\text{au ca saptamy-arthé}$

[(The t.t.) *prag̃hya* denotes 11] expressions (ending in 1.1.72) long °-*I* or °- \tilde{u} which have the meaning of the seventh triplet of nominal endings (sUP 4.1.2).

By 7.1.39 \emptyset^1 (=luK) replaces sUP triplets in Vedic° *sómo gaurí d̐dhi śritd̐h* 'Soma has come to rest on the she-buffalo (skin)'; *d̐dhy asyám māmakī tanú* 'in this, my body'.

1.1.20 $^1\text{dā-}^2\text{dhā GHU}=\acute{\text{a}}\text{-dāP}$

(The t.t.) GHU denotes (verbal stems of the form) *dā* or *dhā* except those which have the shape of *dā* and are marked with P (as IT).

GHU bases are: *DU-dāÑ dāne* III 9, *DU-dhāÑ dhāraṇa-pōṣaṇayoḥ* III 10, *do avakhāṇḍane* IV 40, *dāN dāne* I 977, *deÑ rākṣaṇe* I 1011 and *dheT páne* I 951. *dāP* represents *dāP lāvans* II 50, *daiP sódhane* I 971.

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.17; 2.4.77; 3.3.92; 6.4.86,87,113,119; 7.3.70; 4.46-7,54; 8.4.17.

1.1.21 $\acute{\text{ady}}\text{-antavát}=\acute{\text{ékasmin}}$

When a grammatical operation applies to a single phoneme unit (*ékasmin*), it is treated as though it were the initial (*ādi*) or final (*anta*) (of a similar polyphonic expression).

3.1.3 [*ādy-udāttaś ca*] provides that the initial syllable of an affix bears the *udātta* accent: e.g., °-*tāvya-* (*kar-tāvya-*); similarly the affix *āN* as a patronymic affix consisting of a single vowel phoneme is, by this rule, regarded as the initial: *upagu-āN* = *aupagav-ā-* 'descendant of Upagu'. 7.3.102 (sUPi *ca*) provides that nominal stem final °-*a* is replaced by °- \tilde{a} before nominal endings beginning with *y-*, *bh-*; under the governing rule 8.4.1 (*āngasya*) this rule applies to the

ānga-final vowel, but in the case of *a-bhyām* = *ā-bhyām* the substitute stem (for idām 7.2.113) consists of a single phoneme aḥ which, by this rule is now regarded as ānga-final.

1.1.22 taraP-tamaPau GHAp

(The t.t.) GHAp denotes the affixes taraP and tamaP.

These represent the general comparative (5.3.57) and superlative (5.3.55) affixes.

As a t.t. occurs in 5.4.11; 5.3.17,43; 8.2.17.

1.1.23 ¹bahú-²gaṇá-³vatU-⁴Dāti saṁkhyā

(The t.t.) saṁkhyā denotes (the nominal bases) bahú- 'many', gaṇá- 'group' and expressions (ending in 1.1.72) affixes vatU(P) [5.2.39] and Dāti [5.2.41].

1. This t.t. covers a sub-class of nominal stems consisting of number words or numerals.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.10,19,50; 3.2.21; 4.1.26,135; 5.1.19,22,39,58; 2.42,47; 3.42; 4.1.17,43,88,89,140; 6.2.35,163; 3.47,110; 7.3.15.

1.1.24 s-ṇā=antā ŚAT

(The t.t.) ŚAT denotes [a sub-class of saṁkhyā 23] (ending in 1.1.72) °-ṣ or °-ṇ (when first encountered).

1. These are: śaṣ (6), pañcan (5), sapṭān (7), aṣṭān (8), návan (9), dśān (10).
2. As a t.t. occurs in 4.1.10; 6.1.175; 7.1.22,55.

1.1.25 Dāti ca

(The t.t. ŚAT 24 denotes saṁkhyā 23 expressions) [ending in 1.1.72] the affix Dāti also (ca).

7.1.22 [ṣaḍbhyo luK] provides for the replacement of nominative and accusative plural sUP affixes introduced after this sub-class of numerals.

1.1.26 Ktá-KtávatŪ niṣṭhā

(The t.t.) niṣṭhā denotes the affixes Ktá (3.4.70) and KtávatU.

1. These affixes generate the past passive and active participles respectively.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.36-7,69; 3.2.102; 6.1.22-28,205; 2.2.110,169; 4.52,60,95; 7.2.14-34,47,50; 8.2.42.

1.1.27 sarvá-ādīni sarvanāmāni

(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 'pronominal stem' denotes the class of nominal bases whose first member is sarvá- 'all'.

1. Such a list is called a gaṇā and a repertory of such gaṇās constitutes a supplement to this corpus under the title Gaṇa-pāṭha, corresponding to a similar list of verbal stems designated Dhātu-pāṭha.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.3.37; 5.3.2,7,8,10,23,71; 6.3.91; 7.1.14-17,52; 3.114.

1.1.28 vibhāṣā dik-samāśe bahuvrīhaú

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes a bahuvrīhī compound (2.2.23ff.) formed with direction words (dik-samāśa).

Thus in the bahuvrīhī compound *uttara-pūrvā* 'north-eastern', the dative singular can either be *uttara-pūrvāya* (as a substantive) or *uttara-pūrvāsyat* (as a pronominal).

1.1.29 ná bahuvrīhaú

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] does not (ná) denote [the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] occurring (at the end of 1.1.72) a bahuvrīhī (compound).

Example (Ex.): *priyá-viśva-* 'beloved of all' has the dative singular form *priyá-viśvāya* as against **-viśvasmai*.

1.1.30 tṛtīyā-samāse

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] does not denote 29 the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] occurring (at the end of 1.1.72) a tatpuruṣā 2.1.22 (compound) the prior member of which ends in the (1.1.72) third sUP triplet (i.e., the instrumental case 2.1.30).

māseṇa pūrvāsmi = *māsa-pūrvāya* (2.1.31) 'prior by a month'.

1.1.31 dvaṁdvé ca

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] does not denote 29 a member of the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] co-occurring (at the end 1.1.72) of a Dvaṁdvā (compound 2.2.29).

pūrvేశāṁ ca pāreśāṁ ca = *pūrva-parāṇāṁ* 'of the former and the latter'; instead of

the normal genitive plural in ^{-sām} (7.1.52) the regular ^{-nām} (7.1.54) associated with nominal stems is introduced after the dvandvā compound.

1.1.32 vibhāṣa Jasī

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes [the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27, (occurring at the end of 1.1.72) a dvandvā compound 31] before (the nominative plural sUP ending) Jas.

7.1.17 [Jasāḥ Śī] provides for a replacement of Jas by Śī when introduced after pronominals ending in short ^{-a}; so we have *dakṣiṇottarē/dakṣiṇottarāḥ* 'southern and northern'.

1.1.33 ¹prathamā-²caramā-³taya=⁴ālpa=⁵ardhā-⁶katipayā-⁷némāś ca

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27 optionally denotes 32] the words prathamā- 'first', caramā- 'last', expressions (ending in 1.1.72) the affix ^{-taya}(P 5.2.42), ālpa- 'small', ardhā- 'half', katipayā- 'some', and néma- 'half' [before affix Jas 32].

Thus we have the following examples: *prathamē/prathamāḥ*; *caramē/caramāḥ*; *duṭṭayē/duṭṭayāḥ*; *ālpe/ālpāḥ*; *ardhē/ardhāḥ*; *katipayē/katipayāḥ*; *néme/némāḥ*.

1.1.34 pūrva-pāra=āvara=dākṣiṇa=uttara=āpara=ādharāṇi vyavasthāyām ā-samjñāyām

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27 optionally denotes 32] the words pūrva- 'front, eastern', pāra- 'subsequent', āvara- 'lower, more recent', dākṣiṇa- 'right, southern', uttara- 'upper, northern', āpara- 'behind, western', ādhara- 'lower' [before affix Jas 32] provided they are employed in the sense of relative situation (vyavasthā) and not used as proper names (āsamjñāyām).

Though they are already pronominals by their inclusion in the class of words beginning with sarvá- [27], they function optionally so before affix Jas: *pūrve/pūrvāḥ*; *pāre/pārāḥ*; *āvare/āvarāḥ*; *dākṣiṇe/dākṣiṇāḥ*; *uttare/uttarāḥ*; *āpare/āparāḥ*; *ādhare/ādharāḥ*; but *dākṣiṇe ime gāthakāḥ* 'these singers are expert'; similarly *uttarāḥ kūravaḥ* 'n.pr. of a country'.



1.1.35 svām a-¹jñāti-²dhana=ākhyāyām

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] (the pronominal base) svá- when not signifying jñāti 'kin' or dhāna- 'wealth' [as a proper name 34 before the affix Jas 32].

In this particular situation svá- signifies 'own': *své/svāḥ putráḥ* 'one's own sons', but *svāḥ* 'kinsfolk', *prabhūtāḥ svāḥ* 'extensive possessions, assets or wealth'.

1.1.36 ántaram bahiryogá=upasaṁvyāyoh



[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] (the pronominal stem) ántara- [before affix Jas 32] when it signifies connection with the exterior (bahir-yogá-) or under-clothing (upasaṁvyāna).

1. ántara- is a regular member of this class, but optionally so before the affix Jas in these two meanings, but in its normal meaning of 'between' it is necessarily a pronominal stem
2. *ánrare/ántarāḥ=grāḥ* 'houses situated at the extremity (of the village)'; similarly *ántare/ántarāḥ śāṭakāḥ* 'under-garments'.

1.1.37 svār-ādi-nipātam ávyayam

[(The t.t.)] ávyaya- 'indeclinable' denotes members of the class headed by svār- 'sun' as well as particles (nipātá).

1. Nipātás 'particles' are listed in 1.4.57-96 below.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.38-41; 4.67; 2.1.6; 2.11,20,25; 3.69; 4.82; 3.4.59; 4.1.16; 2.104; 3.23; 5.3.71; 4.11,88; 6.2.2,168; 3.66; 8.3.46.

1.1.38 taddhitás ca á-sarva-vibhaktiḥ

[(The t.t.) ávyaya 37] denotes derivatives (ending in 1.1.72) a taddhitá (4.1.78ff.) 'secondary nominal affix' after which not all [sUP triplets 1.4.103] (vibhakti 1.4.104) endings are introduced.

tad ±feminine affix± sing./du./pl. ablative endings = *tá-tas* where the vibhakti affix *taṣiL* is introduced by 5.3.7 as a replacement for the fifth sUP triplets.

1.1.39 kft=m=éC=antaḥ

[(The t.t.) ávyaya denotes 37] expressions derived with kft [3.1.93] affixes (ending in 1.1.72) °-m or °-eC (= *ḡ, ō, ḡi, ḡu*).

1. Kft affixes are primary affixes deriving nominal stems from verbal bases; those ending in *-m are: tumyN, (*kār-tum* 'to do'), NanyL (*svādum-kāram* 'having sweetness').
2. Kft affixes ending in *-eC are: *-āse, *-aseN and *-tavai/tave as indicated by the examples *jīvdse/jīvase* 'to live' *kar-tāve* 'to do', *apabhāṣ-i-tavai*, *mlecch-i-tavai* 'to speak indistinctly' [3.4.9,14].

1.1.40 Ktvā-tosyN-KasyNāḥ

[(The t.t.) ávyaya 37 denotes] expressions (ending in 1.1.72) the affixes Ktvā, tosyN and KasyN.

Ktvā is a kft affix introduced by 3.4.18ff. to generate absolutes: *kṛ-tvā* 'having done'; similarly for the other affixes: *kār-tos* (3.4.16) 'doing', *ā-tfḍ-as* (3.4.17) 'piercing'.

1.1.41 avayībhāváś=ca

And [(the t.t.) avyaya denotes 37] 'the adverbial compound' avayībhāvá (2.1.5-21).

By including this type of compound as a member of the indeclinable (ávyaya) class, feminine and declensional affixes [sP and sUP 2.4.82] are replaced by Ø¹ (luK) when introduced after it.

1.1.42 Śi sarvanāma-sthānám

[(The t.t.) sarvanāma-sthānā 'strong case ending' denotes (the replacement affix) Śi (for Jas and Śas 7.1.20).

1. The expression sarvanāma-sthānā indicates a situation in which the operation applies to the whole nominal stem and implies the 'strong case ending'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.4.17; 6.1 170,199; 7.1.70,86; 3,110
3. exx.: *dādhi+Jas/Śas* = *dādhi+Śi* (7.1.20) = *dādhi-n+Śi* (7.1.72) = *dādhi-n-i* (6.4.8).

1.1.43 sUṭ ā-napuṃsakasya

[(The t.t.) sarvanāma-sthānā denotes 42] (the sUP triplets comprised by the siglum) sUṭ (= sU, au. Jas, am, auṭ) introduced after a nominal stem other than a neuter one (i.e., masculine and feminine only).

rājān+sU = *rājān+sU* (6.4.8) = *rājān+Ø* (6.1.68) = *rājā+Ø* (8.2.7).

1.1.44 ná vā=iti vibhāṣā

(The t.t.) vibhāṣā denotes the meaning of the combined particles ná vā 'or not' (literally 'not or') and signifies optionality.

1. There are three types of optional rules: (a) á-prāpte vibhāṣā provides optionally what would not obtain otherwise; (b) prāpte vibhāṣā makes optional what has been provided by another rule; (c) ubhayātra vibhāṣā is a combination of the first two. (a) is illustrated by 32 above.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.28,32; 2.3,16,36; 3.50,77,85; 4.12,16,25,50,78 etc.

1.1.45 iK=yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam

(The t.t.) samprasāraṇa 'vocalization' denotes the vowel phonemes (comprised by the siglum) iK (= i, u, ɪ, ʊ) (replacing the semi-vowels comprised by the siglum) yaṇ (= y, v, r, l) (respectively 1.3.10).

1. $yaj+Ktā = iaj+Ktā$ (6.1.15) = $ij+Ktā$ (6.1.108) = $iṣ+Ktā = iṣ-tā$ 'spoken, uttered'. Similarly $vac+Ktā = uk-tā$ 'spoken, uttered'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 3.3.72; 5.2.55; 6.1.13-20,22-26, 30-32,34,37-44,108; 3.139; 4.131; 7.4.87.

1.1.46 ādy-antaḥ Ṭa-K-ITau

(An increment) marked with Ṭ as IT constitutes the initial (ādi) of the unit to which it is added, and one marked with K as IT constitutes the final (ānta).

1. The phonological changes which take place in morphology are of two kinds: replacement of phonemes or addition of phonemes to the base when affixes are introduced. Deletion of phonemes is regarded as replacement by Ø. The substituentum is always accompanied by the sixth sUP triplet (in the genitive case: 49 below).
2. The increment iṬ associated with ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with vaL (7.2.35) is an initial increment: $bhā+tum = bhā+iṬ-tum = bhāv+i-tum$ becomes the initial of the affix tumyN.
3. Before the affix of the present participle middle *-āna- verbal themes ending in short *-a get an increment myK (7.3.32) where m constitutes the final of the verbal theme: $edh+ṢaP+āna- = edha-m+āna-$ 'growing'; if this increment were considered as a part of the affix *-āna (= māna-) the theme-final short a of $edh-a-$ would be replaced by the corresponding long vowel by 7.3.102 and result in an unacceptable form.

1.1.47 M-IT=aCaḥ=āntyāt párah

(An increment) marked with M as IT is inserted after the last (āntya) vowel (aC) of the expression to which it is added.

1. *rudh+ŚndM* (3.1.78) = *ru-nd-dh-* = *ru-ṇā-dh* (8.4.2) 'obstruct, hinder'.
2. Increments with marker T are: aT, āT, iT, rT, āmyT tuT, dhyT, nyT, yāT, yāsuT, yiT, yuT, ruT, ślyuT, syT, ayāT, increments with marker K are: adyK, asyK, ānyK, ithyK, kyK, juK, ṭyK, tithyK, tyK, thyK, dyK, nīK, nūK, puK, myK, yaK, yuK, rīK, rīK, ruK, lūK, ṣuK, śaK; increments with marker M are: aM, iM, uM, nūM, pūM, rāM, ŚnāM.

1.1.48 eCa iK=hrasva=ādeśe

When (the t.t.) *hrasvá* (1.2.27) is used to denote a short vowel (*hrasvá* 1.2.28) of vowel phonemes (designated by the siglum) eC (= e, o, ai, au) (and the substitute is not specified) it is one of the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u).

1. Though the siglum iK contains the additional vowels r and l, they are not required for the statement of this rule; a new siglum iN¹ would have been more appropriate, but would have caused confusion, since with one exception (1.1.69) aN represents aN¹ while iN and other sigla ending in marker N operate with N².
2. A *bahuvrīhi* compound is an attributive word capable of taking all three genders; thus *dti+rai* 'which has surpassed riches', when taking the neuter gender, by 1.2.47 replaces the final long vowel ai by i yielding the form *dti-ri-*. Similarly by 1.2.48 in the *bahuvrīhi* compound *citrā+go* the final -o is replaced by u, yielding the form *citrā-gu-* 'possessor of brindled cows'.

1.1.49 ṣaṣṭhī sthāné-yogā

The sixth (ṣaṣṭhī) sUP triplet is used to indicate that the expression after which it is introduced is the substituendum (sthāné-yogā).

This is a metalinguistic rule governing the use of the genitive case in the corpus of Aṣṭ. This corpus makes use of three building blocks: the nominal stem (*prātipadika* 1.2.45), the verbal stem (*dhātu* 1.3.1; 3.1.32) and a set of affixes (*praty-ayā* 3.1.1-5.4.160) and a body of replacement rules which are context-sensitive. The genitive or sixth case, in its metalinguistic use, stands for the substituendum on which the rule operates. Thus in the rule [*āster bhūh* 2.4.52] *bhū-* replaces *as-* before *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. On the other hand in 6.4.89 [*ṇT=upadhāyā góhaḥ*], though there are two genitives, the substituendum is the [*upadhā*] which is qualified by [*góhaḥ*], and the governing expression [*śūgasya* 6.4.1] which recurs there gives the full expression as [*góhaḥ=śūgasya=upadhāyāḥ*] makes it clear that the last genitive alone is the substituendum.

1.1.50 sthāne=ántara-tamah

(Where a choice has to be made) among possible replacements (sthāne) that one is chosen which is most proximate (ántara-tama) to the substituent.

6.1.87 [st=guṇáh] states that guṇá is the single substitute for the phoneme class [a] and the following vowel [aCi 6.1.71]. By 1.1.2 the t.t. guṇá denotes the vowel phoneme-classes [a, e, o]; in the compound expression deva+indra-, '-a+i-' is to be replaced by one of these three members; the choice by this rule falls on e which is palato-velar and therefore most proximate to both a and i, but not on a which is velar or on o which is labio-velar.

1.1.51 ur aN¹ rĀ-parah

(A vowel represented by the siglum) aN¹ (= a, i, u) [substituted in the place of 50] of vowel ṛ (and ǃ) is automatically followed by the phoneme r (and l respectively 1.3.10).

1. 7.1.100 [ṛTa iT=dhātoḥ] provides for the replacement of vowel ṛ of a verbal stem by short i(T): $kṛ+Śā+tiP = kīr-ā-ti$ 'scatters'.
2. $hṛ+ŚaP+tiP$ where ṛ is replaced by guṇá by 7.3.84 [sārva-dhātuka-ārdhadhātukayoḥ (guṇáh 82)], and since there is now a choice to be made from the three members of this class (1.1.2), by 50 above the closest is a which is of the same duration as that of the substituent and differs from it only in one feature of articulation, while e, o differ from it in two features, and so we realize the expected form $kār-a-ti$ 'removes'. Similarly 7.2.114 [mṛjṛ vṛd-dhiḥ] provides for a vṛddhi (= ā, ai, au by 1 above) replacement of the vowel (3 above) of the verbal stem mṛj- 'wipe, clean' before sārva-dhātuka affixes: $mṛj+θ^1+tiP = mārj+tiP$ since ā like a above is the obvious choice for the reasons stated there, and we realize the expected form $mārs-ti$ (8 2.36; 4.41).
3. The siglum rĀ, as indicated earlier, denotes the two lateral semi-vowels r and l, consequently the guṇá substitute for ǃ is al, and the vṛddhi substitute is al: $kṛp+ŚaP+te = kḍip-a-te$ 'is able'.

1.1.52 aLaḥ=āntyasya

(A substitute replaces) the final (āntyasya) phoneme (of the substituent).

7.2.102 [tyādādinām aḥ] provides for the replacement of the sub-class of pronominals whose first member is tyād- 'that' before vibhakti (7.2.84 = sUP triplets); $tyād+eU = tyāda+eU = tyd+eU$ (6.1.97) = $syd+e$ (7.2.106).

1.1.53 Ñ-ITca

[A polyphonic 55] substitute marked with Ñ as IT [replaces the final phoneme of the substituend 52].

1. Sūtra 55 below is an exception to 52 above and provides for the replacement of the whole substituend instead of its final phoneme; the present rule is a prior exception to that exception, so that by a reversal of the normal process of recurrence (anuvṛtti) the expression polyphonous (āneka-aL) is anticipated here.
2. Substitutes with marker Ñ are: aṇāÑ, ayaÑ, ayaÑ, ayaÑ, ānaÑ, inaÑ, iyaÑ, uvaÑ, niÑ, nyaÑ, riÑ, riÑ, ṣyaÑ.

1.1.54 ādēḥ pārasya

(When a substitute replaces a following substituend) it replaces its (pārasya) initial phoneme (ādēḥ).

- 7.2.83 [IT āsah (ānāśya 82)] provides for the replacement of '-ānā-', the marker of the present participle middle by I(T) when it is introduced after the verbal stem ās- 'sit': ās- + θ¹ + ānd- = ās + Ind- 'sitting'.

1.1.55 āneka=aL ŚIT sārvasya

A polyphonic (āneka=aL) substitute or (a monophonic one) with marker Ś as IT replaces the whole of the substituend.

1. Substitutes which are not polyphonic but replace the whole of the substituend have to be monophonic which, contra 52 above do not replace the final phoneme when marked with Ś as IT. This is, therefore, an exception to 52 above. Such substitutes are aŚ, iŚ, rŚ, eŚ, Śi, Śi, Śe.
2. 2.4.53 [bruvo vaciḥ] provides for the replacement of bru 'speak' by vac- before ārdhadhātuka affixes, and being polyphonic, replaces the whole substituend: bra + tṛ = vac + tṛ = vak- tṛ- (8.2.30).

1.1.56 sthānivād ādesāḥ=ān-aL-vidhau

A replacement (ādesā = X) for a substituend (sthānín- = Y) is treated like the substituend (sthānivát) except (án- °) with regard to an operation (vidhí) which would thereby apply and would be at the same time dependent on the original phoneme (aL).

1. pra + kṛ + Ktvā = pra + kṛ + LyaP (7.1.37) and LyaP is therefore treated as a kṛt affix like Ktvā and by 6.1.71 [hrasvaśya PṚti kṛti tuK] is treated as though it were also marked by K as IT, conditioning thereby a final increment tuK: pra-kṛt-ya- 'having started to do or perform'.

2. 7.1.84 [diva auT] provides a substitute auT for the final phoneme of nominal stem div- 'heaven, sky' before the sUP triplet sU (nom. sing.): $div+eU = di-au+eU = dyau+s$ (6.1.77), but affix s is not replaced by \emptyset (6.1.68) as applicable to the original stem [div] ending in a consonant.

1.1.57 aCaḥ párasmin pūrva-vidhaú

A vowel (aCaḥ) [replacement 56] conditioned by the following (párasmin) element is treated like the original (sthānivát 56) vowel with respect to an operation on what precedes it (pūrva-vidhaú).

1. This is an exception to the exception contained in the preceding rule.
2. From the phrase *paṭum āśeṣe* a denominative is generated by introducing the affix NiC (3.1.25) after the nominal stem: $paṭu+NiC$ and by a vārttika on 6.4.155 [TEh] the syllable beginning with the final vowel is replaced by \emptyset^1 before NiC: $paṭ\emptyset^1+NiC$; by 7.2.116 [aTa upadhāyāḥ] the penultimate a should be replaced by a vṛddhi substitute (\bar{a}) before an affix with marker N, but in this case \emptyset^1 replacement prevents that vowel from being considered as penultimate.
3. In the case of $\bar{a}+gam+Ktvā$, $Ktvā$ is replaced by $LyaP$ (7.1.37): $\bar{a}+gam+LyaP$, and by 6.4.38 the verbal stem $gam-$ has its final nasal replaced by \emptyset : $\bar{a}+ga\emptyset+LyaP$; since the substitute $LyaP$ for $Ktvā$ is treated as $Ktvā$ it is deemed as a kft affix and by 6.1.71 the verbal stem gets an increment tuK since it ends now in short a , \emptyset replacement of the final nasal does not prevent this operation by 56 above.

1.1.58 ná¹pada=antá-²dvir-vácana-³varé-⁴ya-lopá-⁵svára-⁶sāvarṇa=⁷anusvārā-⁸dīrghā-⁹jaS=¹⁰caR-vidhīṣu

[The replacement 56 of a vowel 57] is not [ná] treated [like the substituent 56] with respect to operations (vidhīṣu) pertaining to (1) a pada-final, (2) gemination, (3) \emptyset replacement before affix varā[C 3.2.175], (4) \emptyset replacement of (preceding) ya, (5) accent of what precedes, (6) homogeneous phonemes, (7) anusvāra replacement (of what precedes it), (8) long vowel replacement (of what precedes it), (9) replacement by voiced unaspirated stops (of what precedes it), and (10) replacement by unvoiced unaspirated stops (of what precedes it).

- (1) In the expression *tāni snti* 'they exist', *snti* derives its surface form from the underlying structure $as+\emptyset^2+jhi = *as-anti$ (7.1.3) where the stem initial is replaced by \emptyset (6.4.111): $tāni+\emptyset s-anti$; \emptyset is not treated like a and consequently no euphonic combination (*sām- hitā*) takes place (6.1.77), as might be expected from the preceding rule
- (2) In the expression *dādhi-ātra* i of *dādhi* is replaced by y (6.1.77): *dādhy-ātra*; by 8.4.47 [an-aCi ca] a consonant other than h is optionally geminated after a

vowel and before a non-vowel; but since the substitute *y* is not treated like the substituend vowel, the option will not prevail.



- (3) In the expression $yā+yāN+varāC = yā-yā+yāN+varāC$ (6.1.8) *a* of $yāN$ is replaced by $Ø$ before affix $varāC$ (6.4.48): $yā-yā+yØ+varā$, and the $Ø$ -replacement is not treated like the substituend with respect to replacement of *y* before $varā$ - (6.1.66): $yāyā+Ø+varā = yāyā-varā$ 'constantly moving'.
- (4) From the denominative $kāṇḍāyā$ - 'scratch' with affix $KtiN$ we get: $kāṇḍāyā+ti$. $kāṇḍāyØ+ti$ (6.4.48) = $kāṇḍāyØØ+ti$ (6.1.66) since $Ø$ -replacement of *a* is not treated like the substituend.
- (5) $kṛ+saN+NvuL = ci-kir-sa+NvuL = cikṛ-sa+aka-$ (7.1.1) = $cikṛ-sØ+aka-$ (6.4.48) = $cikṛ-s-aka$ 'desirous of doing'. Since marker *L* of $NvuL$ provides for the udātta accent to be placed on the preceding vowel we realize the correct form $cikṛ-s-aka$ despite the intervention of the substituend $Ø$ which is not treated like the original substituend.
- (6) From the verbal stem $piś-$ (VII 15) 'crush, pound' we derive the Imperative 2nd pers. sing. as follows: $piś+ŚndM+hi$ (3.1.78; 4.87) = $pi-nā-s+hi = pi-nØ-s$ (6.4.111) $+dhi$ (6.4.101) = $pi-n-s+dhi = pi-m-s+dhi$ (8.3.24) = $pi-m-s+dhi$ (8.4.42) = $pi-m-d-dhi$ (8.4.53) = $pi-n-d-dhi$ (8.4.58) = $pi-n-dhi$ (8.4.65) where $Ø$ -replacement of *a* of *na* is not treated like the substituendum.
- (7) In the step $pi-nØ-s+dhi = pi-m-s+dhi$ above, $Ø$ is not treated like the substituend when replacing the non-pada-final dental nasal by the anusvāra (8.3.24).
- (8) The Instrumental sing. of $prati-dīvan-$ 'gambling opponent' is generated as follows: $prati-dīvan+Tā = prati-dīvØn+ā$ (6.4.134) = $prati-dīv-ā$ (8.2.77) since in the verbal stem $dīv-$, *i* is the penultimate and *a* is not treated like the substituend *a* before *n*.
- (9) The Imperative third pers. dual of $bhas-$ 'chew' (111 18) is derived as follows: $bhas+tām$ (3.4.90) = $bhas+Ślu+tām$ (2.4.75) = $ba-bhas-tām$ (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54) = $ba-bhØs+tām$ (6.4.100) = $ba-bhØØ+tām$ (8.2.28) = $babh-dhām$ (8.2.40) = $bab-dhām$ (8.4.53) where $Ø$ -replacement is not treated like its substituend.
- (10) The third per. plur. Perfect of $ghas-$ 'eat' (I 747) is generated as follows: $ghas+IT = ghas+ūs$ (3.4.82) = $ja-ghas+ūs$ (6.1.8; 7.4.62; 8.4.54) = $ja-ghØs+ūs$ (6.4.98), $jaghs-ūs$ (8.3.80) = $jaks-ūs$ (8.4.55) where $Ø$ -replacement is not treated like the substituend.

1.1.59 *dvir-vācane=aCi*

Before (an affix with) an initial vowel (*aCi*) (which conditions a reduplication of the verbal stem) [the replacement 56] of a vowel is treated like the original substituend (*sthānivat* 56) only with respect to that reduplication (*dvir-vācane*).

This rule has a five-fold application with respect to (1) $Ø$ replacement of *a*, (2) $Ø$ replacement of the penultimate, (3) $Ø$ replacement of NiC , (4) $Ø$ replacement of semi-vowels and (5) replacement by *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv*.

- (1) Perfect 3rd pers. dual of verbal stem $pā-$ 'drink' (I 972) is derived as follows:

$pa+dtus$ (3.4.82) = $p\emptyset+dtus$ (6.4.64) and by 6.1.8 the verbal stem undergoes reduplication before IIT substitutes, but this rule applies to stems containing a single vowel, and here we have only a single consonant $p\emptyset$; but since \emptyset is treated like the substituent a the form generated is $pa-p\emptyset-dtus = pa-p-dtus$ 'they two have drunk'.

- (2) Perfect 3rd dual of *han* 'kill' is similarly derived, for the reasons already stated under (1) as follows: $han+dtus = h\emptyset n+dtus$ (6.4.88) = $ha-h\emptyset n+dtus - ja-h\emptyset n+dtus$ (7.4.62) = $ja-g\hbar n-dtus$ (7.3.55).
- (3) Aorist 3rd pers. sing. of the causative stem of *at-* 'wander' is derived thus: $at+NiC+Cl_i$ (3.1.44) = $at+NiC+Ca\dot{N}$ (3.1.48) = $\dot{a}t+NiC+Ca\dot{N}$ (7.2.116) = $\dot{a}t+i+Ca\dot{N} = \dot{a}t-i-ti+a+t$ (3.4.100; 6.1.2,11) = $\dot{a}-ti-t\emptyset+a-t$ (6.4.51) where \emptyset is treated like the substituent NiC in deriving the reduplicated theme [$\dot{a}-ti-t$] by 6.1.2.
- (4) Perfect 3rd pers. of *kr-* 'to make, perform': $kr+dtus = k\dot{r}+dtus = k\dot{r}-kr-dtus$ (6.1.8) = $c\dot{r}-kr-dtus$ (7.4.62) = $ca-kr-dtus$ (7.4.66) where the semi-vowel replacement of the sonant vowel (6.1.77) is treated like the substituent.
- (5) Perfect 1st pers. sing. of *nr-* 'to lead': $nr+NaL$ (3.4.82) = $n\dot{a}i+a$ (7.2.115) = $n\dot{a}y+a$ (6.1.78) = $ni-n\dot{a}y-a$ (6.1.8) = $ni-n\dot{a}y-a$ (7.4.59) where the $\dot{a}y$ replacement is treated like the substituent for the purpose of reduplication.

1.1.60 á-darsanam̐ lopaḥ

(The t.t.) *lopa* (= \emptyset) denotes the disappearance, invisibility, elision (a-darsanam̐) [- zero replacement] (of an item).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.4,58; 3.9; 3.1.11-2; 4.32, 97-8; 4.1.133; 3.22,133; 5.1.125; 3.82; 4.1.51,158, 146ff.

"Disappearance" implies prior appearance of some unit and thus construed gives the notion of zero (= \emptyset) replacement.

1.1.61 pratyayasya ¹luK-²Ślu-³luPaḥ

(The t.tt.) *luK* (\emptyset^1), *Ślu* (\emptyset^2) and *luP* (\emptyset^3) denote [elision or disappearance (adarsana ḥ) = zero replacement] of an affix (pratyayá).

As a t.t. *luK* occurs in 1.2.49, 2.4.58; 4.1.88,90,109,175-78. *Ślu* occurs in 2.4.75; 6.1.10; 7.4.75. *luP* occurs in 1.2.51; 4.2.4ff.,81; 3.166-68; 5.2.105.

1.1.62 pratyaya-lopé pratyaya-lakṣaṇam̐

When an affix is replaced (pratyaya-lopé) [by \emptyset] operations conditioned by it still operate (pratyaya-lakṣaṇam̐) (as if the affix were still present).

1. The repetition of the word *pratyayá-* in this rule, when it was already recurring from the preceding one is for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that only when the whole affix is replaced by zero the operation conditioned by it takes place.

2. The present participle of *gam-* 'go' [I 1031] · *gam+ŚātR* (3.2.124) = *gām+ŚaP+ŚātR* (3.1.68) = *gāch+a-atR* (7.3.77) = *gācch-a-atR* (6.1.73); before strong affixes (sUT of SUP triplets) the infix increment nuM is inserted after its last vowel: *gācch-a-at+sU* = *gācch-a-t+sU* (6.1.97) = *gācch-a-n-t+sU* (7.1.70); since this affix occurs as the final member of a conjunct as pada-final (1.4.14) it is replaced by → ∅ (8.2.23) leaving a pada ending in "-t : *gācch-a-n-t* and by recurring application of 8.2.23 conjunct pada-final *t* is now replaced by → ∅ : *gācch-a-n*; → ∅ replacement of the affix still conditions the padā status of *gācch-a-n*. Similarly in the nom. plur. form of *saptān+Jas* = *saptān+θ¹* (7.1.22); the status of being a padā (1.4.14) of *saptān+Jas* still holds good for *saptān+θ¹* = *saptāθθ¹* (8.2.7) = *saptā* '7'.
3. Optative 1st pers. sing. of *ā+han-* is derived as follows: *ā+han+sṛyūT* (3.4.102) +*iT* (3.4.78) = *ā+han+sṛyūT+aT* (3.4.106) = *ā+han+θṛy-a* (7.2.79) = *ā-hṛn* (6.4.98) +*θṛy+a* = *ā-ghn-ṛy-a* (7.3.54); since only a part of the initial increment sṛyūT is replaced by ∅, the replacement of the dental nasal of the verbal stem conditioned by 8.4.37 does not take place.

1.1.63 ná lumatā=āṅgasya

[When a zero replacement of an affix is conditioned by the use of 62] (the t.t.) lu (= luK, Ślu or luP 61) [operations pertaining to 62] a pre-affixal stem (āṅgasya [1.4.13]) do not take place.

A gotra descendant of *garga-* is *garga+yaN̄* (4.1.105) = *gārg-ya-* (6.4.48; 7.2.117); the nominative plural of this in deep structure is: *garga+yaN̄+Jas*; 2.4.64 conditions the replacement of affix *yaN̄* by luK: *garga+θ¹+Jas*; since this is a replacement by a t.t. containing lu(K) the operation conditioned by *yaN̄* (replacing the first syllabic of the nominal stem by *vṛddhi* 7.2.117) does not take place: *gargāḥ* (8.2.15).

1.1.64 aCah=āntya=ādi Tl

(The t.t.) Tl denotes that part of an element which begins with the last vowel].

In other words this t.t. denotes the syllable which begins with the last vowel of a given unit. As a t.t. occurs in 3.4.79; 5.3.71; 6.3.92; 4.143-45,155; 7.1.88; 8.2.82-84,89-90.

From the verbal stem *ēdhA vṛddhau* (I 2) 'increase, grow' we arrive at the 3rd pers. sing. Present Indicative (LAT) as follows: *ēdh+LAT* = *ēdh+ŚaP+ta* = *ēdh-a+te* (3.4.79) which conditions the replacement of Tl by e; in this case *a* of *ta* fulfills the definition, but in the dual form: *ēdh-a+atām ām* is the Tl which is so replaced: *ēdh-a+ate* = *ēdh-a+iyte* (7.2.81) = *ēdh-e-te* (6.1.66,87).

1.1.65 aLaḥ=āntyāt pūrva upadhā

(The t.t.) upadhā 'penultimate' denotes the phoneme (aL) preceding (pūrva) the last one (āntya) (of an expression).

1. As a t.t. occurs in 6.3.47; 4.7,20,24,47,89,149; 7.1.101; 2.116; 4.1-8; 8.2 9,76-79.

2. 3rd pers. sing. IAT of *vidÁ jñāne* (II 55) 'know': *vid+θ¹+tiP* (2.4.72) = *vid+tiP* (7.3.86) where the light penultimate (laghú=upandha) of *vid-* is replaced by *guṇā*.

1.1.66 tāsmin=iti nīrdiṣṭe pūrvasya

A form stated in the locative case (ending in the seventh sUP triplet) denotes an element the unit preceding which (pūrvasya) is subject to the grammatical operation introduced by that statement.

1. This is a metalinguistic rule (pāribhāṣā) and denotes the right context before which the operation takes place.
2. While by metarules the three cases: ablative, genitive and locative have the specified technical application in the formulation of the sūtras, other normal uses also occur when these do not denote a phonological context. Several types of the locative case are noted by the Pāṇinīyas: (a) locative of domain (viṣaya-saptamī) : (chāndasi 1.2.62; 4.81 etc.; bhāṣyām 3.2.108 etc.) (b) locative of cause (nimitta-saptamī) which serves as a condition for an operation but need not occur directly after the unit operated on (= operand) as in the case of 1.1.5 as applied to the 3rd pers. plur. of the Present Indicative of *vid-*: *vid+θ¹+jhi - vid-ānti* (7.1.3) where *ānti* is deemed to be marked with *Ñ* as IT (1.2.4) but the operand *i* is separated from it. In contrast to this the locative indicated in the present rule is designated para-saptamī 'an immediately following context'. (c) locative of being or locative absolute (sati saptamī or *sat-saptamī) such as [ārdhbadhātuke 6.4.46ff.] (d) a locative is also used to denote meanings: [rādhō himśyām 6.4.123]. (e) lastly it is also used to denote the subordinate member of a compound (ūpapada) 3.1.92.

1.1.67 tasmād ity ūttarasya

A form stated in the ablative case (tasmāt) denotes an element, the unit following (pārasya) which (is subject to the grammatical operation introduced by the rule).

1. This indicates the left context after which the operation indicated obtains.
2. In affix-governing rules ablatives such as (prātipadikāt 4.1.1) or [dhātoḥ 3.1.91] are not interpreted by this context. However, there are instances where the genitive is used when the ablative is expected and Pāṇinīyas usually interpret this as [pañcamy-arthé ṣaṣṭhi] 'the sixth sUP triplets used for the fifth'. The reason for such divergence in most cases appears for the sake of brevity.

1.1.68 svām rūpām śābdasya=ś-śabda-samjñā

An expression denotes itself (svām rūpām) unless it is the name of a linguistic technical term (śabda-samjñā).

Thus the rule [agnér dhák 4.2.33] applies only to the expression *agní-* and not to its synonyms like *pāvaka-*, *vāhni-*, *jvālana-* etc. [svām rūpām, 'its own form' is, however, in a few cases overlooked, where the expressions indicate general classes like the technical terms themselves or common nouns like the expressions 2.4.11 *vṛkṣá-* 'tree', *mṛgá-* 'deer', *tīṇa-* 'grass', or *svá-* (3.4.40) which includes all types of wealth or property and *pakṣín-* 'bird', *mṛgá-* 'deer', *mátsya-* 'fish' denoting genus or species which include all individual specimens.

1.1.69 aN² uT=it sávarṇasya ca=ś-pratyayaḥ

(A phoneme) denoted by the siglum aN² (= a, i, u, ṛ, ̣, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l) or one having the marker U as IT denotes (not only itself [svām rūpām 68] but also) all phonemes homogeneous with it (sávarṇasya), unless it is an affix (pratyayaḥ).

In the expression [āt=guṇaḥ (aCi 6.1.77 ékaḥ pūrva-paráyoḥ 6.1.84) 6.1.87] the ablative [āt] of phoneme [a] stands for all sub-members or allophones of the a-class [3 lengths, 3 accents and ±nasality]; similarly in the rule [cOḥ kUḥ (padásya 8.1.6) 8.2.30] cU represents all palatal stops and kU all velar stops.

1.1.70 Ta-paras tát-kālasya

A (vowel) phoneme followed or preceded by marker T denotes homogeneous phonemes of its time duration (tát-kālasya).

Patañjali interprets the expression [ta-para-ḥ] as *Taḥ páro yasmāt = Táparaḥ / tād apí páraḥ = Ta-paráḥ*. [Ta-para] thus lends itself to be interpreted as 'followed by or following T'. Thus in (aT=eÑ guṇáḥ 1.1.2) T follows [a] but precedes eÑ (= e, o). Consequently [a] stands for the a-class of one mora duration while [e, o] represent homogeneous phonemes of two mora duration. This is important, for the single replacement of [ā+ī] would still be [e], the two coalescing vowels being of two mora duration each, but their replacement by this rule is, not of four mora duration, but only two. In 3.2.171 [āṭ=ṛ=gama-hanĀ-jānaḥ ¹Ki-²Kinau IT ca], in the expression [āḍ-ṛ-"] the phoneme d is not a replacement of this T as might be thought of at first sight, but either the phoneme ḍ or ṭ used for ease of pronunciation, since verbal stems ending in the phoneme class [ṛ] are subject to the operation stated in that rule

1.1.71 *ādir āntyena sahā=ITā*

The initial item which is to be denoted (*ādīh*), together with (*sahā*) the final (*āntyena*) IT marker (*ITā*) of the last item (*āntya*) to be denoted (constitutes a siglum) [denoting itself 68] (and the intervening items).

1. The notion of the intervening items arises from the definition of the words [*ādī*] 'that which has no prior item' and [*āntya*] 'that which has no succeeding item'.
2. Through the operation of this rule P. employs 41 sigla (*pratyāhārā*) [or 42 according to the Pāṇinīyas who include *rĀ* as one based on the ŚS]. The 21 basic nominal endings (4.1.2) are represented by the siglum *sUP*, the first five of them, constituting the strong case endings by *sUT*; similarly the basic personal endings of the verbal system (3.4.78) by the siglum *tiŃ* and the special nine belonging to the middle voice (*ātmanepadā*) by *taŃ*.

1.1.72 *yēna vidhīś tad-antāśya*

When an operation (*vidhī*) is stated by means of a unit X (= a phoneme or group of phonemes) which is part of a larger unit which it qualifies, that X denotes the element ending in it (*tad-antāśya*) [as well as itself (*svāśya rūpāśya*) 68].

By the rule [er aC 3.3.58] affix aC is introduced after all verbal stems ending in [° -i] as well as the verbal stems *iK-*, *iŃ-*, *iŃ-*.

1.1.73 *vṛd-dhī-r yāśya=aCām ādīs tād vṛd-dhām*

(The t.t.) *vṛd-dhā* denotes (all such) expressions whose first vowel (*aCām ādīh*) is a member comprised by (the t.t.) *vṛd-dhī* (1.1.1 = *ā*, *ai*, *au*).

1. As a t.t. occurs in 4.1.113,148,157,160,171; 2.114-18, 120-25,141-2; 3.144; 6.2.87.
2. By 4.2.114 [*vṛd-dhāt=chaḥ*] a secondary nominal stem derived from *vṛddhā* expressions by introducing the affix *cha* generates forms as follows: *śālā+cha-* = *śālā+fyā-* (7.1.2) = *śālī+fyā-* (6.4.64) = *śālī-fyā-* 'belonging to the hall'.

1.1.74 *tyād-ādīñi ca*

[(The t.t.) *vṛd-dhā*] also (*ca*) denotes the class of (pronominals) whose first member is *tyād-* 'that'.

1. Members of this sub-class of *sarvanāmāns* (pronominals) are: *tyād-*, *tād-* 'that', *etād-* 'this', *adās* 'that', *idām-* 'this', *eka-* 'one', *dv-* 'two', *yusmād-* 'you', *asmād-* 'we', *bhāvatU* 'your honor', *kīm-* 'which, what, who'.
2. Affix *cha* is introduced after these members although they do not meet the conditions of 73 above: *tyād-fyā-*, *tād-fyā-*, *tvad-fyā-*, *mad-fyā-*, *yusmad-fyā-*, *asmad-fyā-*, *bhavad-fyā-* etc.

1.1.75 eÑ prācām deśé

[(The t.t.) vṛd-dhā 73] denotes (all such) expressions [whose first vowel 73] is a member comprised by the siglum eÑ (= e,o) when they signify a place of habitation (deśé) of easterners (prācām).

gonarda- 'an eastern city' +*cha-* = *gonarda+fya-* = *gonardθ+fya-* (8.4.148) = *gonard-fya-* 'a resident of the Gonarda city (one of the names of Patañjali, author of Mahābhāṣya). On the other hand *kroḍa+dN* [4.3.25 *tātra jātāḥ*, 53 *tātra bhāvaḥ*] = *krauḍā-* 'born or residing in Kroḍa, a northern city'.

1.2.1 gāÑ-kuṭāḍibhyaḥ=ā-Ñ-N-IT=Ñ-IT

[Affixes] which are not marked with Ñ or N as IT function like those marked with Ñ as IT when introduced after the verbal stems: gāÑ replacement of the verbal stem iÑ (2.4.49-50) 'study', and the group of verbal stems whose first member is kuṭ- 'be curved' (= Dhṛ. VI 73-108).

1. There are two verbal stems gāÑ, one a replacement for the verbal stem [iÑ adhyāyane 11 37] and the other gāÑ gātau (I 998), but the present rule covers only the former. The Aorist marker s̥C (3.1.44), not being marked with Ñ or N as IT functions as though it were marked with Ñ; thus the 3rd pers. sing. of this verbal stem has the deep structure: *adhi+ā+gā+s̥C+ta*; by 6.4.66 the stem-final vowel is replaced by *i* before the Aorist marker since it is functioning like a ÑIT: *adhi-ā-gī-a+ta* = *adhy-ā-gī-a+ta* (8.3.59; 4.41).
2. Similarly *kuṭ+tumyN* = *kuṭ+iT-tumyN* (7.2.35) = *kuṭ-ikum*, since this affix functions like a Ñ-IT. But *ūt-kuṭ+NiC+ŚaP* = *ūt-koṭ-ay-a-* (7.3.84, 86); *kuṭ+GHaÑ* = *koṭ-a-* (7.3.86).

1.2.2 vija iT

(All affixes with the initial increment 1.1.46) iT introduced after the verbal stem vij- [O-vij-Ī bhayā-cālanayoḥ VI 7, VII 23] 'fear, move' [function like those marked with Ñ as IT 1].

ud+vij+itf- = *ud-vij+iT-itf-* = *ud-vij-itf-*; likewise *ud-vij-ikum(yN)*, *ud-vij-itāvya-*, but *ud-vij+ÑvuL* = *ud-vej-aka-* (7.1.1; 3.86) and similarly *ud-vej-anfya(R)-*, *ud-vej-ana-* etc.

1.2.3 vibhāṣā=ūrṇoḥ

[All affixes beginning with the initial increment iT 2] optionally (vibhāṣā) function [like those marked with Ñ 1] when introduced after the verbal stem ūrṇu(Ñ) 'cover' [II 30].

pra+ūrṇu+iT-itf- = *prorṇuv-itf-* (6.4.77; 1.87)/*prorṇav-itf-* (7.3.84; 6.1.78), the first form without guṇā replacement but the second with guṇā replacement. But *prorṇu+ana-* = *prorṇu-ana-* 'covering, enclosure'.

1.2.4 sārvaḍhātuka a-P-IT

Sārvaḍhātuka [= tiÑ, Ś-IT 3.4.113 = Present System] affixes not marked with P as IT [function like those marked with Ñ as IT 1].

1. *vid+tiP* = *vid+θ¹+tiP* = *ved+ti* (7.3.86) = *vet-ti* (8.4.55); but *vid+tās* = *vit-tās*, *vid+jhi* = *vid-ānti* (7.1.3).

2. *vid+ŚātR-* = *vid+diR-* 'knowing'.

1.2.5 a-saṁyogāt=IT K-IT

Substitute endings of IT (the Perfect Tense 3.4.81-82) [not marked with P as IT 4] function like those marked with K as IT (when they are introduced after a verbal stem) which does not end (1.1.72) in a conjunct consonant (a-saṁyogāt).

1. Before K-IT- affixes guṇā replacements are blocked (1.1.5) and samprasāraṇa (= vocalization) replacement in certain verbal stems is conditioned (6.1.15 ff) and Ø-replacement of penultimate nasals of certain verbal stems takes place (6.4.24). While blocking of guṇā and vocalization replacements are common to affixes marked with Ñ as IT also, 6.1.15 is restricted to those with K as IT only.
2. *vac+ús* = *uc+ús* (6.1.15) = *vac-uc-ús* (6.1.8) = *va-uc-ús* (7.4.80) = *u-uc-ús* (6.1.17, 108) = *ac-ús* (6.1.101); *yaj+átus* = *iaj+átus* = *yaj-ij+átus* (6.1.108) = *ya-ij+átus* (7.4.60) = *ia-ij+átus* (6.1.17) = *i+ij+átus* (6.1.108) = *ij+átus* (6.1.101). But affix [thaL] replacement of [siP 3.4.82] is a P=IT by metarule 1.1.56 and hence not a K-IT by this rule: *kṛ+thaL* = *kṛ-kṛ+thaL* (6.1.8) = *ca-kṛ+thaL* (7.4.82,86) = *ca-kṛ-tha* (7.3.84); verbal stems ending in a consonant cluster: *dhvans+éŚ* (3.4.81) = *da-dhvans+é* (7.4.80; 8.4.54); [éŚ] is not K=IT by this rule because the stem ends in a consonant cluster, blocking out the operation of 6.4.24 which conditions Ø-replacement of the penultimate nasal. Normally since 1-substitutes of IT constitute the ārdhadhātuka class of affixes 4 above does not apply to them, but by the present rule they are deemed to be K-IT when introduced after verbal stems not ending in a conjunct.

1.2.6 ¹indhī-²bhavatibhyām ca

[Substitute endings of IT 5] introduced after the verbal stems *indh-* 'kindle' (VII 11) and *bhū-* 'become' (I 1) also (ca) function [like those with marker K as IT 5].

1. The verbal stem *indh-* is included here because it is an exception to 5 above, having a consonant nexus at the end; *bhū-* is included so as to extend the domain of 5 to include even those affixes which are marked by P as IT.
2. *indh+éŚ* (3.4.81) = *iḍdh+éŚ* (6.4.24) = *idh-idh-é* (6.1.8) = *iḍḍidh-é* (7.4.80) = *i-dh-é* (6.1.101).
3. *bhā+NaL* = *ba-bhāu-a* (7.4.73; 8.4.54).
4. This rule has been contradicted by Kātyāyana and Patañjali for the following reasons: in the case of [indh-], in the spoken language it comes under the operation of 3.1.36, while in Vedic by 3.4.117 1-substitutes of IT are optionally ārdhadhātuka, in consequence of which by 4 above all taÑ substitutes are Ñ-IT, which results in the form *i-dhe*, while in the case of [bhū-] a final increment

(vuk) is introduced by 6.4.88 before l-substitutes of IUN and IIT which makes the present rule unnecessary.

1.2.7 ¹mṛḍĀ-²mṛḍĀ-³gudhĀ-⁴kuṣĀ-⁵kliśĀ-⁶vadĀ-⁷vasaḥ Krvā

The affix Ktvā (1.1.40) [in spite of being augmented with initial increment iṭ (18 below) functions like a K-IT] when introduced after the verbal stems mṛḍ- 'be gracious' (VI 38, IX 44), mṛḍ- 'crush' (IX 43), gudh- 'be angry' (IV 13, IX 45), kuṣ- 'tear out' (IX 46), kliś- 'torment' (IX 50), vad- 'say, utter' (I 1058), and vas- 'dwell' (I 1054).

1. This is a prior exception to 18 below where it is stated that Ktvā with initial increment iṭ does not function like a K-IT.
2. Because iṭ-Ktvā functions like a K-IT with respect to the verbal stems listed here we get the following surface forms: *mṛḍ-itvā, mṛḍ-itvā, gudh-itvā, kuṣ-itvā, kliś-itvā, ud-itvā, uṣ-itvā*.

1.2.8 ¹rúd-²vidĀ-³múṣĀ-⁴grāhi-⁵svapi-⁶pracchaḥ saN=ca

[The affix Ktvā 7] and the affix saN, introduced after the verbal stems rúd- 'cry' (II 58), vid- 'know' (II 51), múṣ- 'steal' (IX 58), grāh- 'grasp, seize' (IX 61), svap- 'sleep, lie down' (II 59) and prach- 'ask' (VI 120) [function like K-IT affixes 5].

1. *rud-i-tvā, vid-i-tvā, muṣ-i-tvā, grah-i-tvā* (7.2.37), *sup-tvā, pṛs-tvā* (8.2.36; 4.41).
2. *rud+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *rú-rud+iṭ-śa+a+ti* (6.1.9; 7.2.35; 4.60) = *rú-rud-i-śa-ti* (6.1.97); similarly *ví-vid-i-śa-ti, mú-muṣ-i-śa-ti, jī-ghṛk-śa-ti* (7.4.66,79; 8.2.31,37,41), *vú-sup-śa-ti* (6.1.15), *pī-prcch-i-śa-ti* (6.1.16).
3. Optional application taught in 26 below is blocked by this rule as a prior exception in the case of the verbal stems [rúd-, vid-, mús-].

1.2.9 iKo jhaL

[The affix saN 8] (with initial 1.1.54) non-nasal stops and fricatives (jhaL) introduced after a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) in a vowel comprised by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [functions like a K-IT affix 5].

From the verbal stem ci- 'gather', we get the underlying deep structure of the desiderative base as *ci+saN* (3.1.7) and since guṇa replacement of the stem vowel (7.3.84) is blocked out by the present rule, 6.4.16 [aC=hanĀ-gamāṁ saNi] conditions its replacement by the corresponding long vowel: *ci+saN* = *cf-ci-saN* (6.1.9) = *cf-ci+saN* (7.4.59) = *cf-ci-śa-* (8.3.59); similarly from su- 'press,

extract': $su+saN = sū-sū-sa-$; $kṛ+saN = kṛ+saN = kṛ̣-kṛ̣+saN = kār-kṛ+saN$ (7.4.66) = $kāṭh=kṛ+saN$ (7.4.60) = $kṛ-kṛ+saN$ (7.4.79; 1.100) = $kṛ-kṛ-sa-$ (8.2.77) = $cf-kṛ-sa-$ (8.3.59; 4.54).

The siglum **jhaL** in the sūtra is really in the place of an-īT qualifying **saN**, for only the phoneme *s* of **jhaL** is involved and saves one mora by over-inclusion of phonemes.

1.2.10 **haL-antāt=ca**

[The affix **saN** 8 with initial 1.1.54 **jhaL** 9 functions like a K-IT 5] when introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) **haL** 'consonants' [preceded by a vowel denoted by the siglum **iK** 9].

$bhid+saN = bhīd-bhid+saN$ (6.1.9) = $bhīṭ-bhid+saN$ (7.4.60) = $bf-bhid-saN$ (8.4.54) = $bf-bhit-sa-$ (8.4.58) with no *gunā* replacement of the penultimate short vowel by 7.3.86.

1.2.11 ¹IṆ-²siCau=ātmanepadēsu

The **IṆ** replacement (**stīyūT** 3.4.102) and the **IUN** replacement (**siC** 3.1.44) [beginning with **jhaL** 9, introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) **haL** 10, preceded by **iK** (= *i, u, ṛ, ḷ*), 9 function like a K-IT 5] before **ātmanepadā** endings (= **taN** 1.4.100).

1. The Precative or Benedictive (**āsr-IṆ**) 3rd pers. sing. **Ātm.** of [**bhid-**] 'split' (VII 2) is derived as follows: $bhid+IṆ = bhīd+td$ (3.4.78) = $bhid+stīyūT+suT+td$ (3.4.102, 107) = $bhid+stīṭ-s+td$ (6.1.68) = $bhid-sṛ-s+td$ (8.3.59; 4.41) = $bhit-sṛ-s+td$ (8.4.55). The short penultimate vowel of the verbal stem is not replaced by *gunā* since marker **K** blocks out this operation of 7.3.86 by metarule 1.1.5.
2. Similarly the Aorist (**IUN**) 3rd pers. sing. is derived as follows: $bhid+IUN = bhīd+td$ (3.4.78) = $bhid+Ch+td$ (3.1.43) = $bhid+siC+td$ (3.1.44) = $bhid+ṭ+td$ (8.2.26) = $bhit-ta$ (8.4.55) = $dT+bhit-ta$ (8.4.71) = $d-bhit-ta$.

1.2.12 **us ca**

[The **IṆ** replacement **stīyūT** and **IUN** replacement **siC** 11 beginning with **jhaL** 8] introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the vowel *ṛ* [function like a K-IT affix 5, when followed by **āmanepadā** endings (**taN**) 11].

1. Precative 3rd pers. sing. **Ātm.** of **kṛ-** 'do, make': $kṛ+IṆ = kṛ+td = kṛ+stīyūT+suT+td = kṛ-stīṭ-s+td = kṛ-sṛ-s+td$ (8.3.57, 59; 4.41).
2. Aorist 3rd pers. sing. **Ātm.**: $kṛ+IUN = kṛ+ta = kṛ+siC+ta = kṛ+ṭ+ta$ (8.2.27) = $dT+kṛ+ta = d-kṛ+ta$.

3. In both 1. and 2. the stem-final vowel is not replaced by *guṇá* which is blocked by the K-marker.

1.2.13 *vā gamah*

[The *lIN* replacement *slyuT* and the *lUN* replacement *siC* 11 with initial *jhaL* 9] introduced after the verbal stem *gam-* 'go' (I 1031) optionally (*vā*) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before *ātm.* endings 11].

- [*gam-*] which normally takes the *Parasmaipadā* endings has the *Ātmanepadā* endings when co-occurring after the preverb [*sam-*] (1.3.29): *sārh+gam+lIN* = *sārh-gam+ta* = *sārh+gam+slyuT+syuT+ta* = *sārh-gam-siḥ-s+ta*; by this rule this marker optionally functions like a K-IT, whereby 6.4.37 pertaining to the zero replacement of stem-final nasal becomes optional also: *sārh-gam-siḥ-s+ta/sārh-gaḥ-siḥ-s+ta*.
- Similarly: *sam+gam+lUN* = *sam-gam+ta* *sam-gam+siC+ta* = *sam+dT+gam+siC+ta* = *sam-d-gaḥ-s+ta* (6.4.37) *sam-d-ga-ḥ+ta* (8.2.27)/*sam-d-gam-s+ta*.

1.2.14 *hanah siC*

The (*lUN* substitute marker) *siC* introduced after the verbal stem *han-* 'kill' (II 2) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before *ātmanepadā* endings 11].

This verbal stem regularly takes *Parasmaipadā* endings and is replaced by [*vadhā-*] before *lIN* and *lUN* (2.4.42-3); when co-occurring with preverb *ś-* it regularly takes *Ātmanepadā* endings and before these introduced after *lIN* and *lUN* [*han-*] is optionally replaced by [*vadhā-*] (2.4.44). When it has its own form we have: *ś+han+siC+ta* = *ś+haḥ-s+ta* (6.4.37) = *ś-ha-ḥ+ta* (8.2.27) = *ś+dT+ha+ta* = *ś-ha+ta* 'has killed' or 'has been killed' (passive).

1.2.15 *yamo gāndhane*

[The *lUN* substitute marker *siC* 14] introduced after the verbal stem *yam-* (I 1033) when it expresses the sense of 'divulge, disclose' (*gāndhane*) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before *Ātmanepadā* endings 11].

Like [*han-*] above [*yam-*] takes *Ātmanepadā* endings when co-occurring with preverb [*śN-*] (1.3.28); thus: *ś+yam+siC+ta* = *ś-yaḥ-s+ta* (6.4.37) = *ś-ya-ḥ+ta* (8.2.27), *ś-ya-s-ātm*, *ś-ya-s+ta*; but in other senses: *ś-yam-s+ta*

1.2.16 vibhāṣā=upayāmane

[The IUN substitute marker s̥C 14 introduced after the verbal stem yam- 15] when denoting the sense of 'espouse' optionally (vibhāṣā) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before Ātmanepadā endings 11].

upa+yam+s̥C+ta = upāya-ta/upāyam-s-ta; Ātm. endings are introduced by 1.3.56 when the verbal stem co-occurs with preverb *upa-*

1.2.17 ¹sthā-²GHV or iT=ca

[The IUN substitute marker s̥C 14] introduced after the verbal stems *sthā-* 'stand, remain' (I 975) and those defined by the t.t. GHU [1.1.20 *dā-dhā* GHU a-dāP] [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before Ātmanepadā endings 11] and (ca) short i(T) is the replacement for stem-final (1.1.72) (vowel) of these stems.

1. One should note that in the sūtras 1,2,5,6,10 the ablative case is used while in 2,3,7,8,9,11-15 it is presumed to be an ablative, although the surface form is identical with the genitive; in the present case the genitive-locative common form [*sthā-ghv-os*] occurs, and the context indicates that it is the substituent for the replacement element [iT] which determines its status as a genitive dual. Context in these cases determines the character of the forms used. With reference to the relative position of s̥C and (*sthā*+GHUclass stems) one has to assume the transformation of the genitive dual to that of the ablative dual (**sthā-GHU-bhyām*), a process which Patañjali defines by the verbal stem (*pra-kjp-*). It will be shown at the appropriate places where Pāṇinīyas indicate the use of the genitive for the ablative in the sense of 1.1.67 by the statement (*pañcamy-arthé saṣṭhf*).
2. [*sthā-*] takes Ātm. endings under conditions of co-occurrence with certain preverbs stated in 1.3.22-26: *pra+sthā+s̥C+ta = prā-sthi+s+ta = prā-sthi+θ+ta* (8.2.27) = *pra+dT+sthi-ta* (8.4.71) = *prā-sthi-ta*.
3. Similarly from [*dā-*] 'give': *dā+s̥C+ta = d-di-θ-ta = d-di-ta*.

1.2.18 ná Ktvā sa=iT

The affix *Ktvā* with initial increment iT does not (ná) [function like a K-IT affix 5]

1. This rule suppresses the marker K already present in the affix [*Ktvā*] when it receives the initial increment iT. A prior exception to this general rule was stated in 7 above.
2. *div-* 'gamble' +*Ktvā* = *div+iT=Ktvā* (7.2.35) = *dev-i-tvā* (7.3.84)

1.2.19 niṣṭhā ¹śiN-²svidi-³midī-⁴kṣvidi-⁵dhṛṣaḥ

The niṣṭhā affix (1.1.28 = Ktā-, KtāvatU) [preceded by the initial increment iṭ̐ does not 18 function as a K-IT 5] when introduced after the verbal stems śī- 'sleep, lie down' (II 22), svid- 'sweat, perspire' (I 780), mid- 'melt' (IV 133), kṣvid- 'be unctuous' (IV 134) and dhṛṣ- 'offend' (V 22).

1. $\acute{s}i+Ktā = \acute{s}i+iṭ̐+Ktā$ (7.2.35) = $\acute{s}e+i-tā$ (7.3.84) = $\acute{s}ay-i-tā$ (8.1.78).
2. In the case of the remaining four verbal stems the general rule denying initial increment to niṣṭhā affixes 7.2.18 is made optional in 7.2.17 when impersonal usage (bhāvé) or the commencement of an action (= incipient action: ādikarmāṇi) is involved, yielding two set of forms: $mid+Ktā = min-nā$ (8.2.82) or $med-i-tā$ in these two senses only. Similarly we have: $sved-i-tā$ / $svinnā$ -, $kṣved-i-tā$ / $kṣvin-nā$ -, $dhars-i-tā$ / $dhṛṣ-tā$ -.

1.2.20 mṛṣas titikṣāyām

[A niṣṭhā affix 19 with initial increment iṭ̐ does not 18 function like a K-IT 5] when introduced after the verbal stem mṛṣ- (IV 55) when expressing the sense of 'forbear, pardon, endure'.

The Dhātupāṭha records the following three verbal stems mṛṣÚ śécaṇe (v.1, sáhane) I 739, mṛṣÀ titikṣāyām IV 55 and mṛṣA titikṣāyām X 305. The present rule is restricted to only the one belonging to the class IV.

$mṛṣ-$ (IV 55)+ $Ktā = mṛṣ+iṭ̐+Ktā = marṣ-i-tā$; in other senses $mṛṣ-i-tā$. In the case of I 739 the corresponding form is $mṛṣ-tā$ while for X 305 it is $marṣ-i-tā$ from the deep structure: $mṛṣ+NfC+Ktā = marṣ-i+Ktā$ (7.3.84) = $marṣ-i+iṭ̐+Ktā$ (7.2.35) = $marṣ-ḥ-i-tā$ (8.4.52).

1.2.21 úT=upadhāt=bhāvá=ādikarmaṇór anyatarāsyām

[A niṣṭhā affix 19 with initial increment iṭ̐ 18] optionally (anyatarāsyām) [does not function 18 like a KIT 5] when introduced after a verbal stem containing a penultimate short u [úT=upadha-] when used in the impersonal construction (bhāvé) or denoting the commencement of an action (ādi-karmāṇi).

Thus from [dyut-] 'shine' (I 777) $dyut+Ktā = dyut+iṭ̐+Ktā = dyut-itā$ / $pra-dyot-i-tā$ 'started to shine or illuminate'.

1.2.22 pūṇāḥ Ktvā ca

[Niṣṭhā affixes 19 with initial increment iṭ 18] and the affix Ktvā [with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after the verbal stem pūṇ- 'purify' (I 1015) [do not function like a K-IT affix 5].

$pū+iṭ-Ktvā = po-i-tā$ (7.3 84) = $pav-i-tā$ (6.1.78) 'purified'; $pū+iṭ-Ktvā = po-i-tvā$ = $pav-i-tvā$ 'having purified'.

Note: a rule between two optional rules (anyatarāśyām 21 and vā 23) is not optional.

1.2.23 na=upadhāt tha-phā=antāt=vā

[The affix Ktvā 22 with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after a verbal stem ending in -th or -ph (tha-phā=antāt) and containing [n] as penultimate (na=upadhāt) [does not 18] optionally (vā) (function as a K-IT affix 5).

1. $granth-$ 'fasten, tie' + $iṭ-Ktvā = graṭh-i-tvā$ (6.4.37) = $grath-i-tvā$ / $granth-i-tvā$.

2. $gunph+iṭ-Ktvā = guḷkph-i-tvā$ / $gumph-i-tvā$ (8.3.24) 'having strung together'.

1.2.24 ¹vānci=²lūnci=³ṛtas ca

[The affix Ktvā 22 with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after the verbal stems vānc- 'cheat' (I 204), lūnc- 'pluck' (I 202) and ṛt- 'dare, abhor' also (ca) [optionally 23 does not 18 function like a K-IT 5].

1. $vānc+iṭ-Ktvā = vaṇc-i-tvā$ / $vañc-i-tvā$.

2. $lūnc+iṭ-Ktvā = luṇc-i-tvā$ / $luñc-i-tvā$.

3. $ṛt+iṭ-Ktvā = ṛt-i-tvā$ blocking out the guṇā replacement introduced by 7.3.86 / $art-i-tvā$.

4. By 7.2.56 [uṭ=ṛto vā] the verbal stem [vāncU I 204] optionally conditions the insertion of increment iṭ at the head of Ktvā introduced after it; when the initial increment is not inserted we have: $vānc+Ktvā = vaṇc+Ktvā$ (6.4.24) = $vak-tvā$ (8.2.30)

1.2.25 ¹tṛṣi=²mṛṣi=³kṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya

[The affix Ktvā 22 with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after the verbal stems tṛṣ- 'be thirsty' (IV 118), mṛṣ- 'forbear, pardon' (IV 55) and kṛṣ- 'emaciate, become lean' (IV 117) [optionally 23 does not 18 function like a K-IT 5] according to the grammarian Kāśyapa.

1. Since the optional nature of this rule is inferred from the preceding rules, the citing of Kāśyapa's name is purely honorific.
2. $tṛṣ+iT-Ktvā = tṛṣ-i-tvā / tarṣ-i-tvā$; similarly: $mṛṣ-i-tvā / marṣ-i-tvā$; $kṛṣ-i-tvā / karṣ-i-tvā$.

1.2.26 $raLo u=i=upadhāt=hāL-ādeḥ saN=ca$

[Affix Ktvā 22] and (the desiderative marker) saN [both with initial increment iT 18] introduced after a verbal stem beginning with a consonant (hāL-ādeḥ) and (ending in 1.1.72) a consonant other than y and v (raL) and containing the vowel [u] or [i] as penultimate (u=i-upadhāt) [optionally 23 do not 18 function like a K-IT affix 5]

1. $dyut+iT-Ktvā = dyut-i-tvā / dyot-i-tvā$ 'having shone'.
2. $dyut+iT-saN = dyūt-dyut+i-saN = dyūṭḥ=dyut-i-saN$ (7.4.60) = $dīu-dyut-i-sa$ (7.4.67) = $df-dyut-i-sa$ (8.1.108) = $df-dyut-i-ṣa-te / df-dyot-i-ṣa-te$ (8.3.59) 'desires to shine', but $div+iT-Ktvā = div-i-tvā$, $div+saN = df-dev-i-ṣa-iṣ$.

1.2.27 $^1ū-kālah=aC=^1hrasvā-^2dīrghā-^3plutāḥ$

(The t.tt.) hrasvā- 'short', dīrghā- 'long' and plutā- 'extra-long, prolated' denote (respectively 1.3.10) vowels (aC) having the duration of u, ū and u3 ($ū-kālah$).

1. Vowel length is determined by the duration of its actual enunciation; three lengths are commonly recognized by these three technical terms, the short (hrasvā) measuring one mora, the long (dīrghā) measuring two and the prolated (plutā) measuring three. By the same pattern of duration a consonant is estimated to last half a mora or metrical unit whose actual value is relative to the speed of normal speech of each person.
2. The t.t. hrasvā occurs in 1.2.32,47; 4.6,10; 6.1.69,71,127,151,176; 3.43,61; 4.92,94; 7.1.54; 3.80,107-8,113; 4.52
3. The t.t. dīrghā occurs in 1.1.58; 4.12; 3.1.6; 6.1.7,68,75-6,101-2; 4.25-6,69,83,94; 8.2.46,76-7; 3.9; 4.52.
4. The t.t. plutā occurs in 6.1.125; 8.2.82-108.

1.2.28 aCaś ca

[(Substitutes introduced by using the t.tt.) hrasvā-, dīrghā- or plutā 27] replace vowels (aCaḥ) only.

This is a meta-rule, and the expression [aCaḥ in the genitive] as the substituend is expected to occur wherever it is not specified but any of these t.tt. is used in the formulation of the rules, as in 47 below [hrasvó nápuṣake prātipadikāśya]

where the word [prātipadikāśya] is interpreted as [prātipadikāśya (āntyasya 1.1.52) aCaḥ (sthāne 1.1.49)], just as [iKaḥ 1.1.3] is supposed to recur when the words guṇā and vṛddhi are employed without actually specifying the substituent.

1.2.29 uccaīr udāttaḥ

(The t.t.) udātta 'high-pitched' denotes [a vowel 27] with rising tone (uccaīḥ).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.32,37,40; 3.96; 4.103; 4.1.37,52; 4.108; 5.2.44; 6.1.159-223; 2.64-126; 4.71; 7.1.98; 8.2.5,82-108; 4.66.

1.2.30 nīcaīr ānudāttaḥ

(The t.t.) ānudātta 'low-pitched' denotes [a vowel 27] with falling tone (nīcaīḥ).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.38-9; 2.4,32,33; 3.1.4; 4.1.38; 6.1.59,120,161,190; 8.2.8

1.2.31 samāhārāḥ svaritāḥ

(The t.t.) svaritā- 'circumflex' denotes [a vowel 27] having a combination (samāhārā) [of rising (uccaīḥ 29) and falling (nīcaīḥ 30) tones].

1. As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.37,39; 3.11, 6.1.185; 8.2.4,8,103; 4.66-7.

2. The musical nature of these tones is referred to in Pāṇiniya-Śikṣā (v.18) by attributing specific notes in the fundamental scale (of music) as under:

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| (a) udātta | seventh/third |
| (b) ānudātta | second/sixth |
| (c) svaritā | first/fourth/fifth |

1.2.32 tāśya=ādīta udāttam ardha-hrasvām

Of that (tāśya) [svaritā 31] the duration of half a mora (ardhahrasvā) vowel (aC) 28 from the beginning (ādītaḥ) is udātta 'high-pitched'.

Thus, in a short svaritā vowel the first half is udātta and the second half is ānudātta; in a long svaritā vowel, other than the first half, the remaining one and a half will be ānudātta, and in a pluta svaritā the remaining two and a half mora will be ānudātta.

1.2.33 éka-śruti dūrāt sambūddhau

When calling some one from a distance (dūrāt sambūddhau) (the utterance is articulated as) a mono-tone (éka-śruti).

The three tones defined by 29-31 are merged into a single tone without distinction.

1.2.34 yajña-karmāṇi=á-¹japa-²nyūṅkha-³sāmasu

In a sacrificial act (yajña-karmāṇi) the enunciation [is in monotone 33] except in (1) silent repetition (japa) (of a sacrificial formula), (2) nyūṅkhá 'insertion of [O] and [3] sáman 'melody'.

1. Mántras used in the performance of a sacrifice are to be in monotone.
2. The exceptions are with reference to the soft murmuring of mántras with accents intact and the insertion of sixteen varieties of the phoneme [o] and the melodic recitation of the Sāma-Veda.

1.2.35 uccaistarām vā vaṣaṭkārah

[In a sacrificial act 34] the expression vāṣat optionally occurs (vā) [in a monotone 34] or with a markedly higher pitch (uccaistarām).

1.2.36 vibhāṣā chāndasi

(In the recitation of) the Veda (chāndasi) [the monotone 34] is optional (vibhāṣā).

1. The use of the word vibhāṣā here, in the face of the recurring optional indicator vā of 35 is for the purpose of blocking out the recurrence of [yajña-karmāṇi 34]. Thus it is implied that in the self-study or recitation of the Veda monotone can take place optionally.
2. When monotone is not employed the alternate recitation will be in the three tones or pitches.

1.2.37 ná subrahmanyāyām svaritāsyā tu=udāttaḥ

In the recitation of Subrahmanyā hymns [monotone 34] does not (ná) occur, but the udātta accent replaces the svaritā.

In the recitation: *subrahmanyóm índrā ágdcca*, since *subrahmanyā-* is derived from *su-brahman-* with affix *yāT*. **yā* bears the svarita accent (6.1.85); similarly *índra*, being a vocative, has the udātta accent on the initial syllable, and the following [a] of the second syllable, following an udātta has the svaritā

accent (8.4.86); similarly in *ā-gaccha*, *ā-* has the udātta accent (6.2.49) while the following ānudātta is replaced by svaritá; all these svaritás will be replaced by the udātta accent.

1.2.38 ¹deva-²brahmaṇor ānudāttaḥ

[In the recitation of the Subrahmanyā hymns 37] the ānudātta accent replaces [the svaritá accent 37] of the expressions devā brāhmaṇāḥ [occurring therein].

Since *dēvāḥ*, *brāhmaṇāḥ* are vocatives they bear the udātta accent on their initial syllable and the ānudātta vowel in the following syllable is replaced by svaritá (8.4.86); by this rule 37 is blocked, through a process of replacing the svaritá by the original ānudātta accent.

1.2.39 svaritāt sāmhitāyām ānudāttānām

In continuous recitation (sāmhitāyām 'maximum contiguity') [monotone 33] replaces the ānudātta vowels following a svaritá.

In continuous recitation of *imām me garīe yamūne sarasvatī* since the ānudātta vowel in *me* follows the udātta of *mām* of *imām* it is replaced by svaritá, and since by 8.1.19 all vocatives not standing at the head of a phrase are ānudātta, it is replaced by monotone in all the succeeding vowels of that recitation.

1.2.40 udātta-svaritá-parasya sannátarah

A tone or pitch called sannátara 'lower (than nīcaḥ 'low' 30)' replaces [an ānudātta 38] followed by an udātta or svaritá (udātta-svaritá-para).

In the formula *devā marutaḥ pṛśni-mātaro 'pdḥ*, *'-mātaraḥ* is all ānudātta (8.1.19) while *apḍḥ* has the udātta accent on the second syllable (6.1.171), so the sandhi vowel [o] in *mātaro 'pdḥ* bears the sannátara accent.

1.2.41 āpṛkta éka=aL pratyayāḥ

(The t.t.) āpṛkta denotes an affix consisting of a single phoneme (ék=aL).

As a t.t. occurs in 6.1.67-8; 7.3.91, 96ff.

1.2.42 tatpuruṣaḥ samānā=adhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayāḥ

(The t.t.) karmadhārayā denotes a tatpuruṣā compound (2.1.22-2.21) formed from coordinate padās (samānā=adhikaraṇa 'having the same case endings').

1. *nīlam utpalām + nīlaḥ + utpalām* (2.4.71) = *nīlotpalām* 'blue lotus'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.38; 8.2.25-28,46,57; 3.42.

1.2.43 prathamā-nirdiṣṭam samāsā upasārjanam

(The t.t.) upasārjana 'subordinate member' denotes items appearing in the first sUP triplets (nominative case endings) (in the the rules which serve to generate) compounds (samāsā [2.1.3-2.38]).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.48,57; 4.1.14,54; 8.2.36,104; 3.82.

1.2.44 éka-vibhakti ca=ā-pūrva-nipāte

[(The t.t.) upasārjana 43] also (ca) denotes [a member of a compound 43] which always has the same case ending (éka-vibhakti) (in the deep structure of the compound) except with respect to being placed in the prior position (ā-pūrva-nipāte).

In the compound *nīla-kaśāmbi-* (*nīlkrānta + sUP kaśāmbi + Nāsi* in the underlying deep structure) the word "-kaśāmbi-" is always followed by the fifth singular sUP triplet where as *nīlkrānta-* can be followed by different sUP triplets, though the composition is not necessary and can be equally substituted by the declined forms of individual members.

1.2.45 arthavād ā-dhātur ā-pratyayaḥ prātipadikām

(The t.t.) prātipadikā 'nominal stem' denotes a meaningful (arthavāt) expression other than a dhātu 'verbal stem' (1.3.1; 3.1.32) or a pratyayā 'affix' (3.1.1-5.4.168).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.47; 2.3.46; 4.71; 4.1.1; 8.2.7; 4.11.

Since this rule is followed by another rule below, extending the operation of this t.t., here it is restricted to primitive or underived nominal stems. Two views were expressed by grammarians. Śakaṭāyana and his followers believed that all nominal stems were derivable from verbal stems, while others held the view that this was not always true. P's view appears to posit two sets: (1) underived (ā-vyutpanna-) nominal stems or primitive stems and (2) derived nominal stems. As verbal stems are fully registered in the Dhātupāṭha and all affixes [with the

exception of $U\eta$ - \bar{a} di group] are dealt with in chapters 3-5 of Ast., morphemes other these will by definition be nominal stems. P's structure of Sanskrit is based on these three fundamental building blocks, a significant departure from the earlier four-fold analysis with $n\bar{a}$ man 'nomen, nominal stem', \acute{a} khyāta 'verbal stem, verbum', upasargā and nipātā without special analysis of pratyayas 'affixes'.

1.2.46 ¹kṛt-²taddhitā-³saṁāsāś ca

[(The t.t.) prātipadikā- 45] also (ca) denotes (derived nominal stems ending in 1.1.72) kṛt 'primary affixes' (3.1.93ff.), in taddhitā 'secondary affixes' (4.1.76ff.) or those forming saṁāsāś 'compounds' (2.1.3ff.).

1. kṛt: $kṛ + \bar{N}vuL$ (3.1.133) = $kār-aka-$ (7.1.1; 2.115).
2. taddhitā: $\acute{u}pagor \acute{d}patyam = \acute{u}pagu + a\bar{N}$ (4.1.92) = $aupago + a\bar{N}$ (6.4.146; 7 2.117) = $a\acute{u}pagav-a-$ (6.1.78).
3. saṁāsāś: $rājñah \acute{p}uruṣah = rājñ + \bar{N}as + \acute{p}uruṣa + sU = rājñ + \theta^1 + \acute{p}uruṣa + sU$ (2.4.71) = $rājñ\theta-puruṣdh$ (8.2.7)

1.2.47 hrasvó nápuṁsake prātipadikāśya

A short [vowel 28] replaces (the final 1.1.52) vowel of a nominal stem (prātipadikāśya) employed in the neuter gender (nápuṁsake).

The compound $\acute{d}ti + rai-$ 'who or which has surpassed wealth', when qualifying a neuter substantive, replaces the final vowel ai by short i (1.1.48): $\acute{d}ti-ri- kúlam$ 'an extravagant family', but in conjunction with non-neuter substantives we have $grāma-ṇI$ 'village head-person'; $senānf$ 'army general'.

1.2.48 ¹gó-²striyór upasárjanasya

[A short vowel 47] replaces the final vowel (1.1.52) [of the prātipadikā 45] gó- 'cow (f), bull (m)' occurring as an upasárjana (43) and of an upasárjana (ending in 1.1.72) in a feminine affix (striyām 4.1.3ff.).

1. The underlying deep structure of $citrā \acute{g}ḁvo yāsya sḁh = citrā + \bar{T}āP + Jas + gḁ + Jas = citrā\theta-\theta^1 + go + sU$ (8.3.34; 2.4.71) yields the surface form $citrā\acute{g}uḁh$ 'possessed of brindled cows'.
2. From the underlying structure $nīṣ + (krāntā-) + sU + kauśāmbī + \bar{N}asI (= nīṣkrāntāḁ kauśāmbīyās)$ we generate the surface form of the compound $nīṣ + \theta + \theta + kauśāmbī + sU$ (2.2 18; 4.71) = $nīṣ-kauśāmbī-h$ (8.3.15).

1.2.49 luK taddhita-luKi

When a taddhita 'secondary' affix is replaced by luK (=Ø¹ 1.1.61) luK (Ø¹) at the same time replaces [the feminine affix of the upasárjana 48].

In the compound generated from *pāñca indrāṇyo devdā asyā* with the underlying structure: *pāñca+Jas + indra+ānuK + ŌfS+Jas + devdā+Jas* the surface form is generated by *pāñca+Ø¹+indra+Ø¹+Ø¹+sU = pāncendra-s* 'a sacrificial cake sacred to five Indrāṇya'. This surface form is realized through the operation of 4.1.38 [dvigōr luK ān-apatyē] which introduces a luK replacement of affix [āN] in the resulting Dvigū compound: *pāñca+Ø¹+indrāñf+āN* (4.1.83; 2.24) and with Ø¹ replacement of the taddhita affix [āN 4.1.83], Ø¹ also replaces at the same time the feminine affix [ānuK+ŌfS 4.1.49] of the upasárjana *indrāñf*.

1.2.50 iT=goṇyāḥ

The short vowel i(T) replaces (the final 1.1.52 vowel) of the nominal stem goṇī 'a sack measure' [when the taddhita affix introduced after it is replaced by luK (Ø¹) 49].

This is an exception to 49 above, and the feminine affix in [goṇī] is replaced by the short vowel: *pāñcabhīr goṇībhīḥ krīḍāḥ = pāñca+bhīs+goṇīf+bhīs+krīḍā+sU = pāñca+Ø¹+goṇī+ṭhaK* (5.1.19,37) = *pāñca-goṇī+Ø¹* (5.1.28) = *pāñca-goṇīf+sU* 'purchased with five sack measures'.

1.2.51 luPi yuktavát=¹vyakti-²vacané

[When a taddhita affix 49 is replaced by] luP [1.1.61 = Ø³] the gender (vyākti-) and number (vācana-) (of the derived word) conforms to that of the original (yukta-vát) word.

vaṅgāṇāṃ janapadō nivāśāḥ 'the country of the Vanga people' - *vaṅga+āN* (4.1.83; 2.69) = *vaṅga+Ø³* (4.2.81) = *vaṅga+Jas = vaṅgāḥ*; but on the other hand: *lavāṇēna sāmāṣṭāḥ sūpāḥ = lavāṇā+ṭhaK* (4.4.22) = *lavāṇā+luK* (4.4.24) = *lavāṇḥ sūpāḥ*, *lavāṇā yavāgūḥ* (f.), *lavāṇām śākam* (n.) where the original expression is neuter, but with luK replacement takes on all three genders.

1.2.52 viśeṣaṇāṇāṃ ca=ā-jāteḥ

[The gender and number 51] of qualifying words (viśeṣaṇāṇāṃ) are also (ca) [identical with those expressions generated by IUP replacement 51 of taddhita affixes 48] except when they denote a species (jāti).

vaṅgāḥ=bahv-annāḥ=bahv-kṣīra-ghṛtāḥ 'the people of Vanga (have) plenty of food,

plenty of milk and butter', but *vaṅgāḥ=janapadāḥ* 'the country of V. people'; likewise *godauḥ ramanīyau* 'Goda (village) is beautiful', but *godauḥ grāmaḥ* 'the village Goda' since the expression *grāma-* denotes *jāti* 'species' as a village.

1.2.53 *tād āśīṣyaṁ samjñā-pramāṇatvāt*

That (*tad*) [= gender-number agreement 51] between the qualifying and qualified expressions need not be taught (*ā-śīṣyam-*) since their basis is convention (*samjñā-pramāṇatvā*).

This conventional basis can be illustrated by the words *dārāḥ*, (m.pl.), *bhāryā* (fem.), *kalatrām* (neut.) all signifying 'wife'; *āp+Jas* = *āpah* f.pl. 'water'; *gṛhā+Jas* = *gṛhāḥ* m.pl. 'wife', *sikāṭā+Jas* = *sikāṭāḥ* f.pl. 'sand' and *varṣā+Jas* = *varṣāḥ* f.pl. 'the rainy season', all with fixed gender and number through accepted convention.

1.2.54 *luP=yoga=a-prakhyānāt*

Replacement by *luP* (0³) [need not be taught 53] since the relationship in meaning (*yōga*) between the primitive and derived stem cannot be posited (*a-prakhyānāt*).

Thus *vāraṇāḥ* 'n.pr. of a village' cannot be related to the presence of the trees of that name if they do not grow there; such words are purely conventional and do not yield to etymological derivation. Therefore the rule [janapadē *luP* 4.2.81] cannot be said to be valid in such cases.

1.2.55 *yoga-pramāṇé ca tad-abhāvé=ā-darśanaṁ syāt*

For, if the relationship (of etymological meaning) were basic (*yoga-pramāṇé*), then, in its absence (*tad-abhāvé*) the derived word should also disappear (*ādarśanaṁ syāt*).

Place names like *vāraṇāḥ*, *pañcālāḥ* are originally derived from the name of the people residing there, and they continue to be used as proper names even when the original people who gave those names, do not reside there, and thus are current without relevance to their origins, and should be regarded as purely conventional, and not etymologically derived.

1.2.56 pradhāna-pratyaya=artha-vacanām ārthasya=anya-pramāṇatvāt

[Nor is it necessary to teach 53] (the principles that the sense of a word) is expressed by the predominant member (pradhāna) (in a derivative word) and by the affix (pratyayā) (in a derived word), because the sense is dependent on something else (anya-pramāṇatvāt) [= convention].

Kaṭyāyanā and Patañjali discuss the relevance of grammatical analysis to natural language by stating that the ultimate authority is the [loka] 'people', that is, the actual speakers, and the aim of such analysis is to describe that usage as it is current among the śiṣṭas or 'educated class'. Such an analysis demonstrates that in so far as these two aspects are concerned convention alone is the final authority. To the extent possible this convention has been brought under the linguist's analysis and a number of works dealing with gender are in existence. P himself has specified rules such as [striyāṁ KtiN 3.3.94, napuṁsaké bhāvē Ktāh 3.3.114].

1.2.57 'kāla=²upasarjané ca tūlyam

[Nor is it necessary to teach 53] equally (tūlyam) (the meaning of) Tense (kāla) or upasārjana 'the subordinate member' (43) [since it is dependent on something else 56].

Since usage [prayogā] is the principal authority for grammatical analysis, it can deal only with operations which fall within a system; however, number, gender, tense and the order or sequence of members in a compound are purely conventional and may be subject to change from generation to generation.

1.2.58 jāty-ākhyāyām ékasmin bahuvacanām anyatarāsyām

The plural (bahuvacanām) is optionally (anyatarāsyām) used in the sense of the singular (ékasmin) when designating a species (jāty-ākhyāyām).

An expression can both be a collective noun or represent a single object. Thus in the sentence "Man is prone to error" the word "man" stands for the whole class of human beings (including women) and we can have an alternate sentence "Men are prone to error". Likewise we can say: *sampannā yávaḥ* or *sampannāḥ-yávaḥ* 'fully ripe barley', but if the numeral *eka*- 'one' is used we have *eko yávaḥ*. By employing the word [jāti] 'species' proper names are excluded.

1.2.59 *asmādo dvāyos ca*

[The plural 58] of the (first personal pronoun), *asmād-* 'we' is also (58) [optionally used in the sense of the singular 58] as well, as in the dual (dvāyoh).

For *ahām brūvāmi* 'I speak', one can equally say *vayām brūmāḥ* 'we speak'; similarly it can also replace *avām brūvāḥ*.

This corresponds to the royal or editorial "We".

1.2.60 ¹*phalgunī-²proṣṭhapadānām ca nākṣatre*

[The plural 58] of the nominal stems *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā* designating asterisms (*nākṣatra*) also (*ca*) [optionally replaces the dual 59].

The twin-star asterisms will naturally be associated with the dual endings, but the use of the plural endings is optionally taught in the sense of the dual: *pūrve phalgunyau* / *pūrvāḥ phalgu-nyah*; *pūrve proṣṭhapadā* / *pūrvāḥ proṣṭhapadāḥ*; however, in the phrase *phalgunyau mānaviké* 'girls born under the asterism of Phalgunī', the word *phalgunyau* does not refer to the asterism directly, but is a qualifying expression for *mānaviké* 'two girls or maidens' and is therefore not subject to this operation.

1.2.61 *chāndasī púnarvasvor ekavacanām*

In the domain of *Chāndas* (= *Veda*) the singular (*ekavacanā*) of the nominal stem *púnarvasu-* 'n.pr. of an asterism consisting of twin stars' is used [for the dual optionally 58-58].

púnarvasur nākṣatram / *púnarvasā nākṣatram*.

1.2.62 *vísākhayos ca*

[In the domain of *Chāndas* the singular 61] of the nominal stem *vísākhā* 'n.pr. of a twin-star asterism' is also (*ca*) used for [the dual optionally 58].

vísākhā nākṣatram / *vísākhe nākṣatram*.

1.2.63 ¹*tiṣya-²punarvasvór nakṣatra-dvaimdvé bahuvacanāśya dvivacanām nityam*

In a *Dvaimdva* compound formed from names of asterisms (*nakṣatra-dvaimdvé*) of *tiṣyā-* 'a single star asterism' and *púnarvasu* 'a twin-star

asterism' the dual (dvi-vacanm) necessarily (nityam) replaces the plural (bahuvacanásya).

Since *Ṭiṣyā* is one and *Púnarvasu* two stars, their compound is naturally expected to take the plural sUP endings, but by this rule the dual ending replaces the plural: *udite ṭiṣya-punarvasú dṛśyete* 'the asterisms T and P are seen rising'.

1.2.64 sárūpāṇām ekaśeṣā eka-vibhaktáu

When there is the single occurrence of a single (sUP) ending (eka-vibhaktáu 1.4.104) only one of a series of repeated morpheme stems (sárūpāṇām) remains in use (eka-śeṣāḥ).

vr̥kṣāś ca vr̥kṣāś ca = vr̥kṣā+sU+vr̥kṣā+sU = vr̥kṣā+au = vr̥kṣāú; vr̥kṣāś ca vr̥kṣāś ca = vr̥kṣā+sU+vr̥kṣā+sU+vr̥kṣā+sU = vr̥kṣā+Jas = vr̥kṣāḥ..

1.2.65 vṛddhó yúnā tát=lakṣaṇas céd-evā viśeṣāḥ

If a derivative denoting vṛddhá (= a gotrá descendant 4.1.162) is used along with one denoting a yúvan descendant (4.1.163-65), only the former [remains 64] provided the only difference between the two derivatives is that they are descendants of the same ancestor (tát=lakṣaṇas céd-evā).

The t.t. vṛddhá in this sense is nowhere defined by Pāṇini, but Patañjali provides the following gloss: [pūrva-sūtré gotrásya vṛddhám iti samjñā kriyāte] 'in the earlier sūtra (works) the word vṛddhá denotes (the t.t.) gotrá', while the Kāśikā quotes such a rule [śpatyam ántarhitam vṛddhám] which is parallel to P 4.1.162 [śpatyam pautrá-prabhṛti gotram].

gārgyaś ca gārgyāyandś ca - garga+yaṅ+sU+garga+yaṅ+phak+sU = garga+yaṅ+au = gārgyau.

1.2.66 strī puṁvát=ca

[If a derivative denoting a vṛddhá descendant 65] representing a woman (strī) [is used along with a yúvan descendant 65] it is treated like the (corresponding) masculine (derivative).

gārgī ca gārgyāyandś ca garga+yaṅ+ṆiP+sU+garga+yaṅ+phak+sU = garga+yaṅ+ṆiP+au = garga+yaṅ+Ø+au = gārgyau.

1.2.67 púmān striyā

When a word in the masculine gender (púmān) is conjoined with the same word in the feminine gender (striyā) the masculine alone [subsists 64].

brāhmaṇś ca brāhmaṇś ca = brāhmaṇau 'a brahmin (man) and a brahmin (woman)'. But in the case of *īndras ca īndraṇś ca* since the form *īndraṇś* is a feminine form derived from the base form *īndra-* in the context of [pūmyogā 4.1.45 'co-habitation with man'] the result is *īndrendraṇy-au*

1.2.68 ¹bhrātṛ-²putrāú ¹svasṛ-²duhitṛbhyām

The words *bhrātṛ-* 'brother' and *putrá-* 'son' [subsist 64] when conjoined respectively (1.3.10) with the words *svasṛ-* 'sister' and *duhitṛ-* 'daughter'.

1. *bhrātā- ca svasā ca = bhrātṛ+eU+svasṛ+eU = bhrātṛ+au = bhrātar-au* (7.3.110).
2. *putrás ca duhitā ca = putrá+eU+duhitṛ+eU = putrá+au = putrad.*

1.2.69 nāpumsakam á-napumsakena=ekavát=ca=śasya= anyataráśyām

A neuter nominal stem [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with the same stem in a non-neuter gender (*á-napumsakena*) and optionally (*anya-taráśyām*) as the neuter singular form (*ekavát*).

śuklāś ca śuklāś ca / śuklā ca = śuklām / śukle; śuklāś ca śuklāś ca śuklā ca = śuklāni / śuklām; but śuklāś ca śuklāś ca = śuklé; śuklāś ca śuklāś ca śuklāś ca = śuklāni.

1.2.70 pitā mātṛ

The nominal stem *pitṛ-* 'father' [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with *mātṛ-* 'mother' [optionally 69].

mātā ca pitā ca = pitṛ+au = pitár-au / mātā-pitarau (6.3.25) 'parents'.

1.2.71 śvāsúraḥ śvasṛvā

The nominal stem *śvāsúra-* 'father-in-law' [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with the stem *śvasṛú* 'mother-in-law' [optionally 68].

śvasṛú ca śvāsúras ca = śvāsúra+au = śvāsúrau / śvasṛú-śvasúrau.

1.2.72 tyád-ādīni sárvair nityam

The pronouns of the class whose first member, is tyád- 'that' [alone subsists 64] necessarily (nityam) when conjoined with (all types of: sárvaiḥ) nominal stems.

sá ca devaattáś ca = tád+au = tda+au = tđ+au (6.1.97) = taú; yás ca devadattáś ca = yaú; sá ca yás ca = yaú; yaś ca kaś ca = kaú.

1.2.73 grāmyá-páśu-saṁghéṣu=ś-taruṇéṣu strī

[The feminine nominal stem (strī) alone subsists 64] when a troop of domestic animals (grāmyá-páśu-saṁghá), other than the young (ś-taruṇa) are referred to together.

1. *gáwa imáh* 'these (are) cattle'.
2. *imé rúruvaḥ* (67) 'these (are) antelopes'. This exception applies only to domesticated animals where the feminine is used instead of the masculine.

1.3.1 bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ

(The t.t.) dhātu- 'verbal base or stem or root' denotes the class of expressions whose first member is bhū- 'become' (I 1).

In the ancillary text called Dhātu-pāṭha all these items are listed under ten major sections corresponding to nine classes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka), the tenth being considered as a derived verbal stem with the formans ṆIC (3.1.25,32), falling within the ambit of the first or general class; ṆIC also functions as the marker of the causative stem (3.1.26). There are almost 2000 stems registered in the extant Dhātu-pāṭha under these ten groups as under: I bhū-class 1059, II ad-class 72, III hu-class 25, IV div-class 137, V su-class 34, VI tud-class 143, VII rudh-class 25, VIII tan-class 9+1, IX kṛt-class 61 and cur-class 395 (according to Boehtlingk's edition). The original Dhp. consisted only of the actual lists of verbal stems, and meanings were added later, separating the individual members in the continuous text; original form appears like bhv-edh- and in the revised Dhp. bhū- sattāyām, édha- vṛddhau etc. Verbal stems in general depict action.

1.3.2 upadeśé=aC=ānunāsika IT

(The t.t.) IT denotes a nasalized (ānunāsika- 1.1.8) vowel (aC) (of an element when it is) first introduced (in the grammatical instruction: upadeśé).

P. uses the nasalized vowels as IT markers for various purposes: primarily to indicate in the Dhp. which verbal stems take the middle voice or Ātmanepadā when they are associated with the ānudātta accent (12 below) as in the case of [edhĀ vṛddhau I 2]. Later commentators assert (as in the Kāśīkā) that in the sixth ŚS [ĀN²] the vowel [a] is nasalized in order to give the siglum [rĀ] for liquids [r, l] in the sūtra [ur aN rĀ-parah 1.1.51]. Since most sacred and science texts were primarily transmitted verbally from teacher to pupil in unbroken succession, this nasalization must have been apparent in the oral transmission. With its loss, the later Pāṇinīyas only theoretically recognized this nasalization by this rule in the written transmission. The same reasoning holds good for the use of accents as markers.

1.3.3 haL āntyam

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes a final (āntya) consonant (haL) [in the element when first introduced in the grammatical instruction (upadeśé) 2].

To arrive at the meaning of the siglum haL this rule is interpreted in two different ways:

1. [haL-āntyam] is taken as a compound derived from the under-lying deep structure [haL+Ni-āntya+am = haL+Ø+āntya+am] 'the final (element) in [haL]', giving

the meaning: 'The t.t. IT denotes the final element in the expression [h_aL]'. With this definition L is such a marker and we get the siglum [h_aL] by 1.1.71 denoting all consonants beginning with (h) of ŚS 5 and ending with L of ŚS 14. This then provides for C of aC as an IT marker and the present rule can be properly re-interpreted as under:

2. "The t.t. IT (2) denotes a consonant (h_aL) occurring at the end (ántya) of an element when first introduced in the grammatical instruction (upadeśé 2)".

Thus h_aL is a cover symbol for all consonants and aC for all vowels. All other sigla are then derived with the use of these definitions and 1.1.71.

1.3.4 ná vibháktau tU-s-máh

[The t.t. IT 2] does not (ná) denote [final 3] dental stops (tU 1.1.69) and the phonemes [s] and [m] in vibhákṭi (1.4.104) endings.

While 3 is specifically a general rule, the exception given here restricts the scope of that general rule: thus in [°-āt replacement of ŌasI 7.1.12] after stems ending in short [°-a-] [t] is not an IT marker; similarly in the case of Jas, Ōas, am, Ēm [s, m] are not IT-s, as in the case of verbal endings °tas, °-thas, °Ātām, °Āthām, dhvam (3.4.78). Since [tU, s, m] are not markers when occurring at the end of a vibhákṭi affix by this rule, they are not subject to the operation of 9 below [replacement by Ø].

1.3.5 ādīr ŌI-ṬU-ḌAV-aḥ

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes the syllables ŌI, ṬU and ḌU occurring as initials (ādīḥ) [of verbal stems when first introduced in grammatical instruction (upadeśé) 2].

These initial syllables accompany certain verbal stems in the Dhṛ. list: ŌI-mīd-Ā snēhane I 779 'be unctuous'; ṬUnád-Ī samṛddhaú I 67 'thrive', ḌU-kṛ-Ō káraṇe VIII 16 'do, make, perform'. By 3.2.187 the affix [Ktá] which properly belongs to the past passive participle, however, generates a participle expressing the present tense with verbal stems marked with ŌI as IT: mīd+Ktá- = min-ná- (8.2.42) 'is fat'; similarly after stems marked by ṬU 3.3.89 introduces kṛt affix athúC: nand+athúC (7.1.58) = nand-athú- 'delight'; affix Ktri- is introduced by 3.3.88 after stems marked by ḌU: kṛ+Ktri+maP (4.4.20) = kṛ-tri-ma- 'artificial'.

1.3.6 ṣaḥ pratyayásya

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes [the initial 5] phoneme ṣ of an affix (pratyayásya) [when first introduced in grammatical instruction (upadeśé 2)].

1. Such affixes are: Śá, ŚáC, ŚākaN, ŚkaN, ŚtaráC, ŚtraN, ŚtháC, ŚthaN, ŚthaL, Śpha, ŚphaK, ŚyaN, ŚyaN̄, ŚlaN̄, ŚvuN.

2. In 8.3.79 [iNah śdhvam-IUÑ-ITām dhaḥ-aṅgāt] the affix ś-dhvam has initial s-°, but it is not an IT marker, since it is a replacement of an original s of styuṭ (3.4.102) and consequently is not subject to the operation of 9 below.

1.3.7 cU-ṭŪ

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes the [initial 5] palatal and retroflex stops (1.1.69 cU, ṭU) [occurring in the affixes 6 when first introduced in grammatical instruction 2].

1. Affixes with initial palatal stops: (a) C: CaÑ, CānaŚ, CaP, CiN, CphaÑ, Oli, Cvi; (b) J: Jas, Jasi; (c-d) by separate rules initial ch- and jh- are replaced by iy- (7.1.2) and a(n)t (7.1.3,5) respectively, blocking out 9 below. In presenting the text of Aṣṭ. in roman transliteration, therefore, initial ch- and jh- of affixes are not indicated by capital letters, although by this rule they are IT markers; they rather go with ph- and kh- as indicated in 7.1.2.
2. Initial retroflex stops: (a) Ṭ: Ṭa, ṬaK, ṬaC, Ṭa, ṬaP, ṬenyaN, ṬyaN, Ṭyu, Ṭyul (exception ṇṭaC); (b) by a separate rule (7.3.51) initial ṭh- is replaced by ik and is therefore not subject to 9 below; (c) Ḍ: Ḍa, ḌāC, ḌaT, ḌaÑ, ḌatamāC, ḌatarāC, Ḍati, Ḍā, ḌāC, ḌaP, Ḍu, ḌupāC, ḌmatUP, Ḍya, ḌyaN, ḌyaT, Ḍyā, ḌvalāC, ḌvuN. (d) By a separate rule (7.1.2) initial ḍh-° is replaced by ey, and is therefore not subject to 9 below. All such exceptions to 9 are not indicated by capital letters like regular IT markers.

1.3.8 ¹la-²śa-³kU=ā-taddhite

[The t.t. IT 2 denotes initial 5] phonemes l, ś and velar stops [occurring in affixes 6] other than those belonging to taddhita 'secondary' (ā-taddhite) [when first introduced in grammatical instruction 2].

1. Affixes with L as IT marker: LyaP [replacement for Ktvā in verbal composition], Lyu, Lyuṭ.
2. Affixes with Ś as IT marker: Śā, ŚātṚ, Śādhyai, ŚadhyaiN, ŚaP, ŚānāC, ŚānaN, ŚāyāC, Śnām, Śnā, Śnū, ŚyaN, Ślu. Note: Ś has another function as IT in regard to replacements where an item marked with it replaces the whole of the substituend: cf. Śi, Śt, Śe.
3. Affixes with initial velar stops: (a) K: Kā, KaN, Kādhyai, KadhyaiN, KaP, Kamul, KasuN, KaseN, KānāC, Ki, KiN, KurāC, KeN, Kenya, Ktā, KtāvatU, KūC, Ktin, Ktrī, Ktvā, Knū KyaN, KyāC, KyāŚ (but not kāmyāC cf. 3.1.9), KlukaN, KvanīP, KvaraP, KvāsU, Kvī, KvīN, KvīP, Kśā, Kśā, Kanū-; (b) KH: KHāC, KHāl, KHAMuN, KHāl, KHāŚ, KHīṣṇūC, KHukaN KhyuN; (c) *G occurs only in *Gsnū (=Ksnū 3.2.138); (d) GH: GHā, GHāN, GHīnyuN, GHurāC; (e) Ņ: Ņt, ŅtN, ŅtP, ŅtŚ, Ņas, ŅasI, Ņi, Ņe, ŅvanīP.
4. In taddhita affixes these do not function as IT markers: (a) l: lāC; (b) ś: śā

(5.2.10), śás (5.4.42), śáláC; (c) k: káK, kaśáC, kaśyáC, kalpaP, kuṭārāC, kuṇaP, kṛtvá- suC; (d) initial kh replaced by iy (7.1.2); (e) g: gmini; (f) gh: replaced by iy (7.1.2): gha, ghaC, ghaN, ghaS.

1.3.9 táśya lópaḥ

Lópa (Ø) replaces that (táśya) [IT marker 2].

1. The word táśya is used instead of IT-ah to indicate that the Ø replaces the whole IT substituendum and not the final phoneme only (by 1.1.52). This has relevance to the initial IT markers ŃI, TU, DU.
2. The IT markers have several functions: (a) they generate the sigla (pratyāhārá); (b) they do not enter into actual grammatical operations except in introducing morpho-phonemic changes in the elements coming together to form the surface units of speech. The morpho-phonemic features associated with the markers relate to (i) replacement, (ii) augmentation, (iii) accentuation, (iv) generation of feminine stems both of primary and secondary derivatives. Both initial and final IT markers are subject to zero (Ø) replacement in actual derivation of surface forms after affecting these morpho-phonemic changes.
3. Guṇá and Vṛddhi blocked by K, Ń, *G (1.1.5); Vṛddhi of stem-final vowels indicated by Ń, N (7.2.115); and of initial syllable of nominal stems (by 7.2.117) and by K (7.1.118). Ń, N indicate udātta accent on the initial syllabic of the derived form (6.1.197) while K, C indicate this accent on the final syllable (6.1.164-5); L indicates accent on the final syllable preceding the affix (6.1.193) while R indicates that accent is placed on the pre-penultimate syllable of the surface form (6.1.217).
4. T indicates initial augmentation while K indicates final augmentation of the substituendum while M functions as an infix augment inserted after the last syllabic (1.1.46-7).
5. T and DH indicate a feminine affix ŃiP after a stem generated with these affixes, while NfS operates after stems generated with affixes with marker S (4.1.41).

1.3.10 yathā-saṁkhyām anudeśāḥ samānām

(When two sequences of elements) which have the same number of members (samānām) are stated in rules (the elements of the subsequent sequence) are related to the former in a (one-to-one) order (yathā-saṁkhyām).

There is a one-to-one correspondence in order of enumeration in the two sets, for instance, of the statement 6.1.77 [iKo yaN aCi] where iK represents the vowels [i, u, ṛ, ̣] as the substituenda, and yaN the semi-vowels [y, v, r, l] as the replacements: i:y, u:v, ṛ:r and ̣:l. However, a few instances do occur where this metarule does not operate, and certain devices have been used to indicate this fact which will be discussed at their appropriate places; here interpretation (vyākhyāna) gives the correct result when there is a doubt.

1.3.11 svaritēna=adhikārāḥ

Elements which are to serve as governing rules (adhikārā) or section headings valid in the subsequent rules are marked with the svaritā 'circumflex' accent (1.2.31).

1. There are major and minor section headings as also headings within headings: e.g., (pratyayāḥ, paraś ca, ādy-ūdāttas ca 3.1.1-3) cover the whole of chapters 3-5, but within this major governing system we have sub-sections headed by [dhātoḥ 3.1.93, Ōt=āP-prātipadikāḥ 4.1.1 and even within this last striyām 4.1.3].
2. These governing rules are, in a majority of cases, stated with a specification of their range, with words like [prāk: prāk=ivāt kaḥ 5.3.70] or [ā- as in ā-Kveś tacchīla-taddharma-tatsādhukāriṣu 3.2.137].
3. Since the corpus of Aṣṭ. is built up of sūtras, using maximum brevity possible, the full sense of each rule is to be extracted from recurrence of relevant items from the preceding sūtras in addition to those of metarules, and traditional commentators have often remarked suggesting that certain recurring expressions are uttered with the svaritā accent. Like nasalization mentioned in 2 above this accentual system must have continued in the oral transmission and been lost in later times. Interpretation (vyākhyāna) is the main alternate authority for indicating where this accent is employed. Two guiding rules generally referred to in this connection: prtiññānasikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ and pratijñā-svaritāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ.

1.3.12 anudātta-Ō-ITa ātmanepadām

Ātmanepadā (= taŌ and āna 1.4.100) 1-substitute endings (3.4.78) are introduced after verbal stems marked by an ānudātta vowel or Ō as IT.

1. ēdhA vḥddhau I 2 is marked with ānudātta A as an IT and so takes the Ātmanepadā or middle endings: *ēdhA+ŚaP (3.1.68)+ta = *ēdhθ+a+ta (9 above) = ēdh-a-te (3.4.79) 'grows, increases'.
2. *śfŌ (II 22)+ŚaP+ta = *śf+θ¹+ta (2.4.72) = śf-te (3.4.79).

1.3.13 'bhāva-²karmāṇoḥ

[Ātmanepadā 1-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 12] when bhāvā- 'impersonal action' or kārman- 'passive action' is to be expressed.

The 18 1-substitutes (3.4.77-78) are divided into two sets of nine members each, the first nine designated Parasmaipadā and the next nine by the t.t. Ātmanepadā (1.4.99-100). Each of these is again subdivided into three triplets, representing the third, second and first persons respectively, in the order of singular, dual and plural for each triplet (1.4.101-2). These members are introduced under general meaning conditions relating to kārakas (1.4.23ff.) and time references. With reference to transitive verbal stems 1-members are introduced when either kārtṛ-

'active' or *kārman-* 'passive' construction is to be expressed, and in the case of intransitive verbal stems either *kārtṛ-* or *bhāvā-* 'action in progress' is to be denoted. Thus active and passive constructions are associated with transitive verbal stems and active and impersonal constructions with intransitive verbal stems.

1. *bhāvā: ās-* (II 11) *+yāK* (3.1.87) *+te* = *ās-yā-te* 'sitting down takes place'.
2. *kārman: kṛ* (VIII 10) *+yāK+te* = *kṛi-yā-te* (7.4.28) *kṛtāḥ* 'the mat is being made'.

1.3.14 *kartari karma-vyatiare*

[*Ātmanepadā* l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] to denote the agent (*kārtari*) provided [the agent performs the action with another agent] reciprocally (*karma-vy-ati-hāre*).

- **vy-āti-lā* (IX 13) *+Śnā* (2.1.81) *+jha* = *vy-āti-lu-nṭ+ate* (7.1.5) = *vy-āti-lu-n-ate* 'they reap (corn, etc.) reciprocally (for one another)'.

1.3.15 *nā* ¹*gati-* ²*himsā=arthebhyah*

[*Ātmanepadā* l-substitutes 12] are not (*nā*) introduced after verbal stems denoting the sense of *gati* 'movement' or of *himsā* 'injury' [to express reciprocal action 14].

1. **vy-āti-gam* (I 1031) *+ŚaP+jhi* = *vy-āti-gacch-anti* (7.2.77) 'they go against each other'.
2. **vy-āti-hiaI* (VII 19) *+ŚndM* (7.1.78) *+jhi* = **vy-āti-hi-nṭ-s+* (6.4.23) *anti* (7.1.3,58) = *vy-āti-hims-anti* 'they injure each other'.

1.3.16 *itaretara=anyonyā=upapadāt=ca*

[*Ātmanepadā* l-substitutes 12 are not 15] introduced after verbal stems which have *anyonyā-* or *itaretarā* 'one another' as complementary words (*upapadā* 3.1.82) [to express reciprocal action 14].

- anyonyāśya / itaretarāśya vy-āti-lu-n-anti* 'they reap each other's grain'.

1.3.17 *nér viśah*

[*Ātmanepadā* l-substitutes 12] are introduced after the verbal stem *viś-* 'enter' (VI 130) co-occurring with preverb *ní-*°.

- viś+Śa+tiP* = *viś-ā-ti* : *ni+viś+Śa+ta* = *ni-viś-a-te* 'enters in'.

1.3.18 ¹pāri-²vī=³avébhyaḥ kriyaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krī- 'buy' (IX 1) when co-occurring with preverbs pāri-[°], vī-[°] and ava-[°].

**pāri-krī+Śnā+ta* = *parī-krī-nī-te* (6.4.113, 3.4.79), *áva-krī-ñī-te* 'buys, purchases'; *vī-krī-ñī-te* 'sells'. Since the verbal stem is *ḍU-krī-ñī* *dravya-vinimayé*, Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced when the fruit of the action is accruing to another; the present rule is when the fruit accrues to the agent himself.

1.3.19 ¹vī-²parā-bhyañ je-h

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jī- 'win, conquer, overcome' (I 593, 993) when co-occurring with preverbs vī-[°] and parā-[°].

**jī=ŚaP+tiP* = *jáy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 6.1.78) : *vī-jáy-a-te* / *parā-jáy-a-te* 'vanquishes, conquers, is victorious'.

1.3.20 áÑo dah=án-āsyā-viharaṇe

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] dā- 'give' (III 9) co-occurring with preverb áÑ except when expressing the sense of 'opening the mouth (wide)' (*an-āsyā-viharaṇé*).

**dā+Śtu+tiP/dā* = *dādā+tiP/dā* (6.1.10) = *dādā-ti* / *dat-té* (= *dadθ+té* 6.4.112; 8.4.55) : *ā-dat-te* 'acquires, gains', but *vy-ā-dadā-ti* 'opens the mouth wide' (contra 72 below).

1.3.21 krīḍaḥ=¹ānu-²sām-³pāribhyaś ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krīḍ- 'play, sport' (I 373) when co-occurring with preverbs ānu-[°], sām-[°], pāri-[°] and (ca) [áÑ-[°] 20].

krīḍ-a-ti : *ā-krīḍ-a-te*, *ānu-krīḍ-a-te*, *sām-krīḍ-a-te*, *pāri-krīḍ-a-te* 'sports'.

1.3.22 ¹sām=²áva-³prā-⁴vībhyaḥ shtaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] sthā- 'stand, stay, abide' (I 975) co-occurring with preverbs sām-[°], áva-[°], prā-[°] or vī-[°].

sthā+ŚaP+tiP = *tiṣṭh-a-ti* (3.1.137) : *sām-tiṣṭh-a-te* 'stays with'; *dva-tiṣṭh-a-te* 'stands or waits patiently'; *prā-tiṣṭh-a-te* 'sets out or forth'; *vi-tiṣṭh-a-te* 'stands apart'.

1.3.23 ¹prakāśana=²stheya=ākhyāyoh

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-22*] when expressing the sense of (1) 'disclosing one's intention' (*prakāśana*) or (2) resorting to some one as an arbitrator (*stheya=ākhyā*).

jāyā pātye tiṣṭh-a-te 'the wife discloses her inner feelings to the husband'.

tvdyi tiṣṭh-a-te 'he chooses you as an arbitrator'.

1.3.24 *ūdaḥ=ān-ūrdhva-karmaṇi*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-22*] co-occurring with preverb *ūd-*^o except when expressing the sense of 'arising' (*ān-ūrdhva-karmaṇi*).

gehe ūt-tiṣṭh-a-te 'strives in the house', but *āsanād ūt-tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'rises or gets up from the seat'.

1.3.25 *ūpāt=mantra-karaṇé*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-22*] when co-occurring with the preverb *ūpa-*^o to denote the sense of 'adore with the recitation of sacred hymns (*mantra-karaṇé*)'.

aindryā gārhapatyam ūpa-tiṣṭh-a-te 'worships the Gārhapatya Fire with Aindri hymns', but *bhārtāram ūpa-tiṣṭh-a-ti yauvanēna* 'approaches the husband with her youth'.

1.3.26 *a-karmākāt=ca*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-22* co-occurring with the preverb *ūpa-*^o 25] when it is intransitive also (*akarmākāt=ca*).

yāvad-bhuktām ūpa-tiṣṭh-a-te 'is present at every meal', but *rājānam ūpa-tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'approaches the king'.

1.3.27 ¹úd-²víbhyaṁ tapah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] tap- 'shine upon, heat' (I 1034), co-occurring with the preverbs úd-°, ví-° [when it is intransitive 26].

táp-a-ti : *út-tap-a-te*, *ví-tap-a-te* 'shines', but *út-tap-a-ti prēthām rauṣh* 'the sun warms up the back'.

1.3.28 ¹āñ-²yama-³hanah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] yam- 'restrain, stretch' (I 1033) and han- 'kill, injure' (II 2), co-occurring with the preverb āñ-° [as intransitive verbal stems 26].

Both verbs belong to the Parasmaipadā class: **yam+Śap+tiP* = *yācch-a-ti* (7.3.77) : *ā-yacch-a-te* 'extends, spreads, stretches'; **han+θ¹+ta* = *ā-haθ+te* (6.4.37) *ā-ha-te* 'strikes, injures' (when no object follows). But when they are transitive: *ā-yacch-a-ti kūpād rājjum* 'draws up the rope from the well'; *ā-han-ti vṛṣalām padéna* 'kicks the thief with the foot'.

1.3.29 ¹sámo ²gami=³ṛcchi-³pracchi-⁴svárati=⁵árti-⁶śru-⁷vídibhyaḥ

[Ātmanepadā endings are introduced after the verbal stems 12] gam- 'go' (I 1031), ṛch- 'go, faint, become hard or stiff' (VI 15), prach- 'ask' (VI 120), svṛ- 'sound' (I 979), ṛ- 'go' (III 16), śru- 'listen' (I 989) and víd- 'know' (II 55) when co-occurring with the preverb sám-°

The original reading of this sūtra is [sámo gami=ṛcchibhyaṁ] while the additions have been made by a vārtika to this rule; the present reading is according to Kāśika.

1. *gācch-a-ti* : *sám-gacch-a-te* 'joins, goes together'.
2. *ṛcch-a-ti* : *sám-ṛcch-a-te* 'goes, faints'.
3. *prācch-a-ti* (8.1.16) : *sám-prācch-a-te* 'asks [when not followed by an object 26].
4. *svāṛ-a-ti* : *sám-svār-a-te* 'sounds, afflicts'. *śyar-ti* (3.1.29) : *sám-ar-anta* 'they attained'. *śṛ-ṇó-ti* : *sám-ṣṛ-ṇu-te* (3.1.74) 'hears'. *véd-ti* : *sám-vid-ate* 'they realize'.

1.3.30 ¹ní-²sám-³úpa-⁴víhhyo hvah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] hve(Ñ) 'challenge, call' (I 1057) when co-occurring with the preverbs ní-^{*}, sám-^{*}, úpa-^{*} and ví-^{*}.

This verbal stem, with marker Ñ as IT belongs to the special class of stems after which Atm. l-substitutes are introduced when the result of the action is intended for the agent (72 below), but by this rule, when co-occurring with these preverbs, Atm. l-substitutes are introduced even when the fruit of the action is not so intended.

hudy-a-ti/hudy-a-te : but *ní-hvay-a-te* 'invokes'; *sám-hvay-a-te* 'shouts together'; *úpa-hvay-a-te* 'invites'; *ví-hvay-a-te* 'invites'.

1.3.31 spardhāyām āÑah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] hve(Ñ) 30] co-occurring with the preverb āÑ-^{*} to denote 'a challenge' (spardhā).

ā-hvay-a-te 'challenges'.

1.3.32 ¹gāndhana=²avakṣépaṇa-³sévana-⁴sāhasikya-⁵pratiyatnā-⁶prakāthana=⁷upayogéṣu kṛÑah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṛÑ 'do, make, perform' (VIII 10) when it expresses the sense of (1) divulging (gāndhana), (2) reviling (avakṣépaṇa), (3) serving (sévana), (4) violent action (sāhasikya), (5) transformation (pratiyatnā), (6) recitation (prakāthana) and (7) performance of a religious action (upayogā).

Ātm. l-substitutes are introduced without exception even when the result of the action is not intended for the agent.

1. *ūt-kur-u-te* (3.1.79; 6.4.110) 'informs or divulges against'.
2. *śyenó vārtikām ūd-ā-kur-u-te* 'the hawk overcomes the quail'.
3. *upādhyāyām ūpa-kur-u-te* 'serves the teacher'.
4. *paradārān prā-kur-u-te* 'outrages the modesty of another's wife'.
5. *édho dakṣya ūpa-s-kur-u-te* (6.1.139) 'the fuel transforms the quality of water'.
6. *gāthah prā-kur-u-te* 'recites the Gs.'
7. *śatām prā-kur-u-te* 'donates a hundred (pieces for charity to earn religious merit)'.

1.3.33 ádhēḥ prasāhane

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kṛÑ 32] co-occurring with the preverb ádhi-° to express the sense of 'overcoming' (prasāhane).

tām dāhi-kur-u-te 'overcomes him', but *dr̥tham dāhi-kar-o-ti* 'learns the meaning'.

1.3.34 vēḥ śābda-karmaṇaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kṛÑ 32] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° when denoting 'sound' for its object (śābda-karmaṇaḥ).

kroṣṭā vī-kur-u-te svarān 'the jackal howls'. In this rule [śābda] stands for its synonyms and not for itself as required by 1.1.68. Counter-example; *vī-kar-o-ti p̄dyāḥ* 'curdles milk'.

1.3.35 akarmākāt=ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kṛÑ 32, co-occurring with the preverb ví=° 34] when it is intransitive (akarmākāt) also (ca).

saindhavāḥ=vī-kur-u-ate; 'the steeds move gracefully'.

1.3.36 ¹sammānana=²utsāñjana=³ācāryakāraṇa-⁴jñāna-⁵bhṛtī-⁶vigāṇana-⁷vyayēṣu niyāḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] nī(Ñ) 'lead' (I 950) when it expresses the sense of (1) honor (sam-mānana), (2) lifting up (utsāñjana), (3) make one a spiritual guide (ācārya-kāraṇa), (4) knowledge (jñāna), (5) hiring for wages (bhṛtī), (6) repayment of a debt (vigāṇana) and (7) giving a donation to charity (vyayā).

nāy-a-ti/nāy-a-te 'leads' but:

1. *śāstrē nāy-a-te* 'demonstrates the truth of science'.
2. *daṇḍām ūn-nay-a-te* 'lifts up or raises the staff'.
3. *māṇavakām ūpa-nay-a-te* 'initiates the pupil so as to make him a teacher'.
4. *tattvām nāy-a-te* 'arrives at the truth'.
5. *karmakārām ūpa-nay-a-te* 'hires a servant'.
6. *kārām vī-nay-a-te* 'pays taxes'.
7. *śatām vī-nay-a-te* 'donates a hundred (pieces) in charity'.

1.3.37 kartṛsthé ca=ā-sārīre kārmaṇi

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 nī(Ñ) 36] also (ca) when the incorporeal (ā-sārīre) direct object (kārmaṇi) resides in the agent (kartṛ-sthé).

kródham uṇ-nay-a-te 'subdues (one's own) anger'; but *devadatidh-yaṇnadattāsya kródham uṇ-nay-a-ti* 'D. pacifies the anger of Y.'

1.3.38 ¹vṛtti-²sārga-³tātyaneṣu krāmaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krām- 'step up, walk' (I 582) to express the sense of (1) continuity (vṛtti), (2) ardor (sārga) and (3) growth, development (tātyana).

1. *ṛcī krām-a-te būddhiḥ* 'the intellect moves unobstructed in the Ṛgveda'.
2. *adhyāyanāya krām-a-te* 'shows ardor in study'.
3. *krāmante asmīn śāstrāṇi* 'sciences flourish in him'.

1.3.39 ¹ūpa-²pārābhyām

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krām- 38] co-occurring with preverbs ūpa- ° and pārā- ° [to express the sense of (1) continuity, (2) ardor and (2) growth, development 38].

1. *ṛcī ūpa-kram-a-te/pārā-kram-a-te būddhiḥ* 'the intellect moves unobstructed in the Ṛgveda' as above.
2. *adhyāyanāya ūpa-kram-a-te/pārā-kram-a-te*.
3. *ūpa-kram-ante/pārā-kram-ante asmīn śāstrāṇi*.

The scope of 38 above is extended by this rule only to these two preverbs and confined to the meanings indicated therein; elsewhere the forms are *ūpa-krām-a-ti/pārā-krām-a-ti* (7.3.75) and in these and other senses as well: *śam-krām-a-ti* 'transits'.

1.3.40 āÑa udgámane

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krām- 38] co-occurring after the preverb āÑ- ° to express the sense of 'rising (of a celestial body)' (udgámane).

ā-kram-a-te adityāḥ 'the sun rises'; but *ā-krām-a-ti harmya-talāt dhūmāḥ* 'smoke rises up from the roof of the house'.

1.3.41 vēḥ pāda-viharaṇé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krām-38] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° when expressing the sense of 'treading, placing the footstep' (pāda-viharaṇé).

dśvaḥ sādhuḥ ví-kram-a-te 'the horse paces well'.

1.3.42 ¹prá=²úpābhyām sám-arthā-bhyām

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krām-38] co-occurring with preverbs prá-°, úpa-° which have the same significance (sámarthābhyām : i.e., incipient action).

bhóktum prá-kram-a-te/úpa-kram-a-te 'begins to eat'.

1.3.43 án-upasargād vā

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krām-38] optionally (vā) when it is not co-occurring after a preverb (an-upasargāt).

krām-a-te/krām-a-ti (7. 2.75-6).

1.3.44 apahnavé jñāḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36) to express the sense of 'denying' (apahnavé).

jā-nā-ti 'knows', but *āpa-jā-ni-te* 'denies' as in *sahśaram āpa-jā-ni-te* 'denies (the debt of) a thousand (pieces)'; counter-example: *nā tvām kīm āpi jā-nā-si* 'you do not know anything'.

1.3.45 a-karmākā=ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 jñā-44] also (ca) when it is intransitive (a-karmākāt).

sarpīṣo jā-nī-té 'performs a sacrifice with clarified butter'; (2.3. 51 for the use of genitive for instrumental). This is a prior exception to 76 below where these l-substitutes are introduced when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent and the verbal stem does not co-occur with a preverb. Counter-example: *svarēṇa putrām jā-nā-ti* recognises the son by (his) voice'.

1.3.46 ¹sám-²prátibhyām án-ā-dhyāne

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 jñā-44] co-occurring with the preverbs sám-°, prāti-°, except when expressing the sense of 'remembrance with anger' (án-ā-dhyāne).

śatam sām-jā-nī-te 'seeks after a hundred (pieces)'; *sahasram prāti-jā-nī-te* 'promises a thousand (pieces)', but *mātūḥ sām-jā-nā-ti* 'remembers the mother with regret'.

1.3.47 ¹bhāśana=²upasambhāṣā-³jñāna-⁴yatná-⁵vimatī-⁶upamāntrapeṣu vadaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] vad-'speak' (I 1058) to express the sense of (1) be brilliant (bhāśana), (2) conciliate (upasambhāṣā), (3) know (jñāna), (4) exert (yatná), (5) disagreement (vimatī) and (6) coaxing in secret (upamāntrapeṣu), seduction.

1. *śāstrē vād-a-te* 'excels in learning'.
 2. *bhīṭyān ūpa-vad-a-te* 'conciliates the servants'.
 3. *śāstrē vād-a-te* 'knows or understands the sciences'.
 4. *kṣētre vād-a-te* 'exerts in the field'.
 5. *kṣētre vī-vad-ante* 'they quarrel in the field'.
 6. *paradārān ūpa-vad-a-te* 'seduces another's wife in secret'.
- But *kfricit=vād-a-ti* 'says something'.

1.3.48 vyaktāvācām samuccāraṇe

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-74] to express the sense of 'simultaneously utter' (samuccāraṇe) in articulate speech (vyaktā-vācām).

sam-prd-vad-ante brāhmaṇāḥ 'the brahmīns chant in chorus', but *vāratānu sam-prd-vad-anti kukkuṭāḥ* 'Oh lovely one, the fowl are clucking simultaneously'.

1.3.49 ānor a-karmākāt

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-47] co-occurring with the preverb ānu-° when it is intransitive (a-karmākāt) [to denote the sense of 'simultaneously uttering articulate speech' 48].

ānu-vad-a-te kathāḥ kalāpasya 'the Kathā expert chants in chorus with the Kalāpā expert', but *ānu-vad-a-ti vñā* 'the Vñā reverberates', or *pārvam eva yajur uditām ānu-vad-a-ti* 'repeats the chanting of the Yajus, chanted earlier'.

1.3.50 vibhāṣā vi-pra-lāpé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-47] optionally (vibhāṣā) when expressing the sense of 'contradiction' (vi-pra-lāpé) [while simultaneously uttering articulate speech 48].

vi-prā-vad-ante/vi-prā-vad-anti vaidyāḥ 'the doctors simultaneously contradict one another', i.e., express different diagnoses. When contradiction is not involved only Ātm. l-substitutes are introduced.

1.3.51 āvād graḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 gṛ- 'swallow' (VI 117) co-occurring with the preverb āva-°.

gṛ-ā-ti (7.1.100) ; *dva-gṛ-a-te* 'swallows down'.

1.3.52 sāmāḥ pratijñāne

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 gṛ-51] co-occurring with the preverb sām-° when expressing the sense of promise (pratijñāne).

sahāsram sām-gṛ-a-te 'promises to pay a thousand (pieces)'; but *adām-gṛ-a-ti grāsām* 'swallows a mouthful'.

1.3.53 ūdāś cāraḥ sa-karmākāt

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 cār- 'move, graze' (I 591) co-occurring with the preverb ūd-° when it is transitive (sakarmākāt).

kuṭumbam ūc-car-a-te 'deserts the family'; *guru-vacanām ūc-car-a-te* 'transgresses the precepts of the teacher'. But *bāṣpām ūc-car-a-ti* 'tear emerges'.

1.3.54 sámas tṛtīyā-yuktāt

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 cār- 52] after the preverb sám-°, co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā-yuktāt = instrumental case).

rāthena sām-car-a-te 'rides in a coach', but *ubhaú lokaú sām-car-a-ti* 'moves in both worlds'.

1.3.55 dāNás ca sá cét=caturthy-arthé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem] dāN 'give' (I 97) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in) the third sUP triplet 54] provided (céd) it is used in the sense of the fourth sUP triplet (caturthy-arthé: dative case).

dāsyā sam-prā-yacch-a-te (7.2.78) 'proffers money to the maid-servant (in order to seduce her)'. Here normally the dative is expected as the indirect object, but in this special sense the instrumental is used. When the instrumental does not have the sense of the dative we have: *pāṇśnā sam-prā-yacch-a-ti* 'gives with the hand'.

1.3.56 úpād yamaḥ sva-karaṇé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yam- 'hold, restrain, check' (I 1033) co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° to express the sense of 'espousal' (sva-karaṇé).

bhāryāṁ úpa-yacch-a-te (7.3.77) 'he espouses a wife', but *devadattāḥ yajnadattāsyā bhāryāṁ úpa-yacch-a-ti* 'D. has illicit relations with Y.'s wife'.

1.3.57 jñā-²śru-³smṛ-⁴dṛśām saNah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36), śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989), smṛ- 'recollect', remember' (I 845) and dṛś- 'see, perceive' (I 1057) when co-occurring with the desiderative marker saN.

1. *jñā+saN+ŚaP+te* = *jñā-jñā+saN+a+te* (6.1.9) = *jñā-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.59) = *jñā-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.60) = *jī-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.79) = *jī-jñā-sa-te* (6.1.97) 'desires to know', contra *jā-nā-ti*. *dhārman jī-jñā-sa-te* 'wishes to know the law'.
2. *gurūṁ sū-śrū-sa-te* 'desires to serve the teacher', contra *śy-ṇó-ti* (3.1.74) 'listens'.
3. *nastām sū-smṛ-sa-te* (6.4.16; 7.1.102; 8.2.77) 'wishes to remember (one's) loss' contra *smār-a-ti* remembers.

4. *nṛpām di-dṛk-ṣa-te* (8.2.36,41) 'desires to see the king'. This is a prior exception to 62 below.

1.3.58 *ná=ánor jñāḥ*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes 12] are not (*ná*) introduced after the verbal stem *jñā-* 'know' (LX 36) co-occurring after the preverb *ānu-* '[(and) the desiderative marker *saN* 57].

putrām ānu-jñā-ṣa-ti 'wishes to inquire after the son', but *dhārmam jñ-jñā-ṣa-te* (57).

1.3.59 ¹*prati=*²*āN**bhyām śruvaḥ*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes 12 are not 58] introduced after the verbal stem *śru-* 'hear, listen' (I 989) co-occurring with the preverbs *prati-* '°, *āN-* ' [and the desiderative marker *saN* 57].

prāti-śuśrū-ṣa-ti/ā-śuśrū-ṣa-ti 'promises'; when [*prāti-*, *āN*] are karma-pravacanīyas and not preverbs, this rule does not apply (1.4.84-6,92): *devadattām prāti śuśrū-ṣa-te* 'desires to serve D.'

1.3.60 *śadeḥ Ś-IT-aḥ*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] *śad-* 'fall, perish, decay' (VI 134) when it co-occurs with an affix with marker *Ś* (*sārvadhātuka* 3.4.113).

By 7.3.78 [*śad-*] is replaced by [*śty-*] before *Ś-IT* affixes: *śad+Śa+te* (3.1.77) = *śty-d-te*, but before non-*Ś-IT* affixes: *śad+syd+ti* (3.1.33) = *śat-syd-ti* (8.4.65), *d-śat-sya-ti*, *śf-śat-sa-ti*.

1.3.61 ¹*mriyater* ¹*IUN*-²*IIN**oś ca*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verb stem 12] *mṛ(N)* 'die' (VI 116) [co-occurring with *Ś-IT* affixes 60] and (*ca*) also with l-substitutes of Aorist (*IUN*) and Precative (*IIN*).

In this rule *IIN* represents the Precative or Benedictive mood as it is *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.116) and therefore not *Ś-IT* while l-substitutes of Optative (*IIN*) are *Ś-IT* and covered by the preceding rule.

By its marker [*N*] *mṛN* *prāṇa-tyāgé* it functions with the *Ātm.* l-substitutes, but

this rule restricts this operation only when the verbal stem co-occurs with \acute{S} -IT affixes and with the non- \acute{S} -IT affixes of the Aorist and Precative.

1. $m\ddot{r}+\acute{S}\acute{a}+te\ mriy-\acute{a}-te$ (7.4.28).
2. $m\ddot{r}+H\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = m\ddot{r}+ta = m\ddot{r}+Cl_i+ta$ (3.1.43) = $m\ddot{r}+s_iC+ta$ (3.1.44) = $\acute{a}T+m\ddot{r}+\emptyset+ta$ (6.4.71; 8.2.27) = $\acute{a}-m\ddot{r}-ta$.
3. $m\ddot{r}+I\ddot{N} = m\ddot{r}+td = m\ddot{r}+s\ddot{r}y\ddot{u}T+s\ddot{u}T+td$ (3.4.102,107) = $m\ddot{r}-s\ddot{r}\emptyset-s-t\acute{d}$ (6.1.66) = $m\ddot{r}-s\ddot{r}-s-t\acute{d}$ (8.3.59; 4.41) but $mar-i-sy\acute{a}-ti$, $\acute{a}-mar-i-sy\acute{a}-i$.

1.3.62 pūrvavát saNah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] co-occurring with the desiderative marker saN under the same conditions that apply to the primitive stem which precedes it (pūrvavát).

This is a general rule valid for the whole group of verbal stems, the exceptions having been noted in specific rules; thus $\acute{a}s-t\acute{d}$ 'sits' generates the desiderative form $\acute{a}s+iT-saN+\acute{S}aP+te = \acute{a}s-is-is-a-te$ (6.1.2; 8.3.59) 'wishes to sit', but from $p\acute{a}c-a-ti$: $pf-pak-sa-ti$ (8.2.30; 3.59) 'desires to cook'.

1.3.63 ām-pratyayavát kṛÑah=anuprayogásya

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after 12] the auxiliary verbal stem (anuprayogásya) kṛÑ 'do, perform, make' (VIII 10) (under the same conditions that apply to the (principal) verbal stem 62] co-occurring with the affix $^a-\acute{a}m$ (ām-pratyayavát).

By interpretation [kṛÑ] here is regarded as a siglum representing the verbal stems kṛÑ-, bhū- and as- which serve as auxiliary verbs in generating the Periphrastic Perfect forms, with the principal verbal stem with affix $^a-\acute{a}m$ and the voice associated with that stem determines the voice of the Periphrastic Perfect form. Thus from $édh-a-te$. $édh-/ám+kṛ+IIT = éd\acute{h}-ám+cakr-\acute{e}$ 'has increased'; but from $o\acute{s}-a-ti$: $o\acute{s}-ám+cak\acute{a}r-a$ 'has burnt'.

1.3.64 $^1pra=^2up\acute{a}bhy\acute{a}m$ yujer á-yajña-pātreṣu

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yuj- 'join' (VII 7), co-occurring with the preverbs prá-, úpa- except when co-occurring with (words signifying) sacrificial vessels (yajña-pātrá).

This is a prior exception to 72 below which allows both sets of Parasmaipadā and Ātmanepadā l-substitutes under the conditions stated there. Those conditions do not obtain here. $pr\acute{a}-yuj+Sn\acute{a}M+t\acute{d}$ (3.1.78) = $pr\acute{a}+yu-na-j+te = pr\acute{a}-yun\emptyset j+te$ (6.4.111) $pr\acute{a}-yun\acute{k}-te$ (8.2.30) 'joins'; $\acute{u}pa-yun\acute{k}-te$ 'uses'; but $yaj\acute{n}a-p\acute{a}tr\acute{d}m$ $\acute{u}pa-yunak-ti$ 'uses a sacrificial vessel'.

1.3.65 sāmah kṣṇúvah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṣṇú- 'whet, sharpen, hone' (II 28) co-occurring with the preverb sam= '.

kṣṇú+0¹+ti = kṣṇu-ti (7.3.89) : *sām-kṣṇu-te śāstram* 'sharpens the weapon'.

1.3.66 bhujaḥ=ān-avane

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] bhuja- 'protect; eat' (VII 17) except when expressing the sense of protection (ān-avane).

bhuk-ti 'eats' : *bhunák-ti* 'protects'.

1.3.67 Ner āNau yāt kárma Nau cét sá kartā ānādhyaṇe

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] co-occurring with the causative marker Ní (1.4.52) provided the direct object (kárman) of the primitive stem (āNi) has become the agent (kartā) of the (derived) stem with marker Ní and does not signify 'remember with regret' (ān-ā-dhya-ne).

Exception to 72 below. *ā-roh-anti hastīnam hasti-pakāḥ* 'the elephant riders mount the elephant' transforms itself into the passive construction: *ā-roh-ya-te hastī hasti-pakān*.

1.3.68 'bhī-²smyor hetu-bhayé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] bhī- 'fear, be afraid' (III 2) and smi- 'smile' (I 996) [co-occurring with causative marker Ní 67] for expressing the fact that the fear or astonishment arises from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhayé 1.4.55).

Exception to 72 below. [Ní-bhī-] normally takes the active while [smiN] takes the middle voice.

1. In the example *munḍo bhī-ṣ-āy-a-te* 'the shaved head frightens', *munḍāḥ* is the causative agent [hetú- 1.4.55] and is the source of the fear generated, but in *munḍāḥ kúñcikayā bhay-āy-a-ti* 'the shaved head frightens with a bamboo shoot', the source of fear lies in the bamboo shoot and not in the shaved head. The form *bhī-ṣ-āy-a-te* is generated by 7.3.40.

2. Similarly in *jaṭīlo vī-śmāp-ay-a-ti* (6.1.57; 7.3.36) *rūpeṇa* 'the person with matted hair astonishes with his appearance' the word *rūpa-* is the source.

1.3.69 ¹gṛdhi-²vancyoh pralāmbhane

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] gṛdh- 'covet' (IV 136) and vānc- 'go' (I 204) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ní 67] to express the sense of 'deceit' (pralāmbhane).

1. *mānavakām gārḍh-āy-a-te* 'deceives the boy'.
2. *śiśum vañc-āy-a-te* 'deceives the child'.
3. Exceptions: *śvānam gārḍh-āy-a-ti* 'makes the dog bark', *dhim vañc-āy-a-ti* 'avoids the snake'.

1.3.70 liyaḥ ¹sam-mānana-²śālinī-kāraṇayoś ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] ṛ- 'melt, cling' (IV 31, IX 31) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ní 67] to express the senses of 'honor, respect' (sammānana) or 'subdue, humiliate' (śālinī-kāraṇa) and (ca) [deceit 69].

1. *jaṭābhīr ṛ-lāp-āy-a-te* (6.1.51; 7.3.3) 'respects on account of matted hair'.
2. *śyenó vārtikām ṛl-lāp-āy-a-te* 'the hawk subdues the quail'.
3. *kās tvām ṛl-lāp-āy-a-te* 'who is deceiving you?'.
4. counter-examples: *bālakām ṛl-lāp-āy-a-ti* 'makes the child lie down'.

1.3.71 mithyōpapadāt kṛNḥ=abhyāśe

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṛN 'do, make, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ní 67] and having the complementary word (upapadā) mithyā 'incorrect, false' to express the sense of 'repetition' (abhyāśe).

Exception to 72 below. *padām mithyā kār-āy-a-te* 'repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly'; but *suṣṭhu kār-āy-a-ti*.

1.3.72 svaritā-Ñ-ITaḥ kartr=abhiprāyē kriyā-phalē

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] marked with a svaritā accent or Ñ as IT, if the result of the action is intended for the agent (kartr abhiprāyē).

yāj-a-te 'performs a sacrifice for oneself', but *yāj-a-ti* 'performs a sacrifice for some one else'; similarly *pāc-a-te* 'cooks for oneself', but *pāc-a-ti* 'cooks for another'.

Verbal stems have either (1) exclusively Parasmaipadā l-substitutes introduced after them or (2) Ātmanepadā l-substitutes or (3) have either of them optionally. 12

above defines the class after which *Ātm.* l-substitutes are introduced exclusively, while the present rule specifies stems after which both sets are optionally introduced, subject to the conditions stipulated: viz whether the action is intended for the agent or someone else. 78 below defines the class of stems after which *Paras.* l-substitutes are introduced exclusively. The set of rules 13-71 are exceptions to 72 where the stem is marked either with *svaritá* or *Ñ* as IT, and to 78 which is not so marked.

1.3.73 *ápād vadah*

[*Ātmanepadá* l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] *vad-* 'speak' (I 1058) co-occurring with the preverb *ápa-* " [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

dhána-kāmo nyāyām ápa-vad-a-te 'the wealth-seeker abuses the law (in order to gain wealth for himself)', but *ápa-vad-a-ti* (when the fruit of the action is intended for someone else).

1.3.74 *ÑiCaś ca*

[*Ātmanepadá* l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 12] co-occurring with the causative marker *ÑiC* also (*ca*) [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

odanām pāc-áy-a-te 'causes food to be cooked (for himself)', but *pāc-áy-a-ti* when it is intended for others.

1.3.75 ¹sám-²úd=³ĀÑbhyah=*yamaḥ*=*ś-granthe*

[*Ātmanepadá* l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] *yam-* 'restrain, check' (I 1033) co-occurring with the preverbs *sám-*°, *úd-*°, *ĀÑ-*°, except to designate a text (*ś-granthe*) [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

1. *indriyāni sám-yacch-a-te* 'restrains his sense organs'
2. *bhāráṁ úd-yacch-a-te* 'lifts up his load'.
3. *vāstram ā-yacch-a-te* 'draws out (= extends) the cloth (for himself)'.
4. counter-example: *ā-yacch-a-ti cikitsām vaidyaḥ* 'the physician diligently studies (the text) on treatment (= pharmacology) [intended for others]'.

1.3.76 *án-upasargāt=jñāḥ*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] *jñā-* 'know' (IX 36) when not co-occurring with preverbs (*án-upa-sargāt*) [and the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

dāvam jā-nī-te 'recognizes (his) horse', but *devadattāsyā gām jā-nī-ti* 'recognizes D.'s cow'.

1.3.77 *vibhāṣā=upapadéna pratīyāmāne*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [when the fact that the action is intended for the agent 72] is indicated (*pratīyāmāne*) by a complementary word (*upa-padéna*).

svām kṛtām kur-u-té/kar-o-ti 'makes his own mat' This optional rule applies to all the preceding five rules 71-76.

1.3.78 *śésāt kartāri parasmaipadām*

After the remaining verbal stems (*śésāt*), when the agent (*kartāri*) is to be denoted, Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced.

Such verbal stems are indicated in the Dhātupāṭha either with the udātta accent as an IT marker or by the absence of the markers *Ñ* or *Ṇ* if no reciprocal action is denoted (14). In the case of stems marked by svaritá or *Ṇ* as IT these endings occur only when the fruit of the action is intended for others and not the agent. In all cases where particular rules have not been formulated Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced. Now follow the particular rules regarding Ubhayapadāns or Ātmanepadān stems after which Paras. l-substitutes alone are introduced.

1.3.79 *'anu-²pārābhyāñ kṛṆāḥ*

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] *kṛṆ-* 'do, make, preform' (VIII 10) co-occurring with the preverbs *ánu-* 'or *pārā-*' [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

ánu-kar-o-ti 'imitates'; *pārā-kar-o-ti* 'does well, excels'.

1.3.80 ¹abhí-²práti=³átibhyaḥ kṣipañ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] kṣip- 'toss' (VI 5) co-occurring with the preverbs abhí-°, práti-° or áti-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

abhí-kṣip-a-ti 'throws on'; *práti-kṣip-a-ti* 'turns away'; *áti-kṣip-a-ti* 'throws beyond'.

The verbal stem is [kṣipÀ pré rane] with svaritá as IT marker (VI 5).

1.3.81 prád vahañ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] vah- 'bear, carry' (I 1053) co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

prá-vah-a-ti 'flows', but *á-vah-a-te* 'brings for oneself'.

1.3.82 párer mṛṣañ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] mṛṣ- 'endure, bear' (IV 55) co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

páti-mṛṣ-ya-ti 'endures', but *á-mṛṣ-ya-te* 'bears patiently'.

1.3.83 ¹vi-²āN-³páribhyaḥ=ramañ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] ram- 'sport, play' (I 908) co-occurring with the preverbs ví-°, āN-°, or pári-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

rád-a-te: *vi-ram-a-ti* 'rests'; *ā-ram-a-ti* 'delights'; *pári-ram-a-ti* 'sports', but *abhí-ram-a-te* 'reposes, dwells in, delights in'.

1.3.84 úpāt=ca

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78 ram-83] co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° also (ca) [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

devadattám úpa-ram-a-ti 'causes D. to refrain' (= *úpa-ram-ay-a-ti* with implied causative sense).

1.3.85 vibhāṣā=a-karmākāt

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78 ram-83] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° 84] and is intransitive (akarmākāt).

bhōjandd úpa-ram-a-ti/úpa-ram-a-te 'stops eating'.

1.3.86 ¹búdh-²yudhA-³naś-⁴jān-⁵iñ-⁶pru-⁷dru-⁸sru-⁹bhyo Ñeḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 78] búdh- 'perceive' (I 911), budh- (IV 83), yudh- 'fight' (IV 84), naś- 'disappear' (IV 85), jan- 'be born' (IV 41), iñ- 'study' (II 37, co-occurring with preverb ádhi-°), pru- 'spring up' (I 1006), dru- 'run' (I 992) and sru- 'flow' (I 987), co-occurring with the causative marker Ñi [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

An exception to 74 above.

1. *bodh-áy-a-ti pádmam* 'makes the lotus bloom'.
2. *kāṣṭhām yodh-áy-a-ti* 'makes the bundles of firewood to strike against one another'.
3. *duḥkhām naś-áy-a-ti* 'dispels unhappiness'.
4. *jan-áy-a-ti sukhām* 'brings in happiness'.
5. *vyākaraṇam adhy-āp-áy-a-ti* (6.1.48; 7.2.26) 'teaches grammar'.
6. *drāv-áy-a-ti* 'causes to run or melt'.
7. *sruv-áy-a-ti* 'causes to flow'.

1.3.87 ¹nigāraṇa-²cālana=arthebhyaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 78] denoting 'swallowing' (nigāraṇa) or moving' (cālana=arthebhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ñi 86, even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

1. *śā-áy-a-ti* 'causes to eat'.
2. *kamp-áy-a-ti* 'causes to tremble, shakes'

1.3.88 áÑau=a-karmākāt=cittavāt-kartṛkāt

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 78, co-occurring with the causative marker Ñi 86, even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72], provided the primitive stem without

the causative marker *Ńi* (áŃau) is intransitive (akarmákāt) and the agent of the action is an intelligent being (cittavāt-kartṛkāt).

śete devadattah 'D. sleeps', but *śay-áy-a-ti devadattam* 'causes D. to sleep'; *ās-te devadattah* 'D. sits', but *ās-áy-a-ti devadattam* 'makes D. sit'.

1.3.89 ná ¹pā-²dám] = ³āŃ-yamA-⁴āŃ-yas-⁵pári-muha-⁶rúci-⁷nṛti-⁸vadA-⁹vasaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78] are not (ná) introduced after the verbal stems *pā-* 'drink' (I 872), *dám-* 'subdue' (IV 94), *ā+yam-* 'extend' (I 1033), *ā+yas-* 'exert oneself' (IV 101), *pári+muh-* 'be bewildered' (IV 89), *rúc-* 'shine' (I 781), *nṛt-* 'dance' (IV 9), *vad-* 'speak' (I 1058) and *vas-* 'dwell, abide' (I 1054) [co-occurring with the causative marker *Ńi*C 86].

Exception to 87-88 above.

pib-a-ti (7.3.78) : *pā-y-áy-a-te* (7.3.37) 'causes to drink, makes one drink';
dam-áy-a-te 'causes to subdue'; *ā-yām-áy-a-te* 'causes to extend';
pari-moh-ay-a-te 'entices'; *roc-áy-a-te* 'makes agreeable'; *nart-áy-a-te* 'makes (one) dance'; *vād-áy-a-te* 'makes (one) speak'; *vās-áy-a-te* 'causes to reside'.

1.3.90 vā KyáṢaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78] are optionally (vā) introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the affix *KyáṢ* (3.1.13).

lohita+KyáṢ+ŚaP+ti/te = *lohita-yá-a-ti/te* (7.4.25) 'becomes red'.

1.3.91 dyudbhyo IUŃi

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78 are optionally 90 introduced after the verbal stem class] whose first member is *dyút-* 'shine' (= I 777-99) co-occurring with the marker of the Aorist (IUŃi).

dyót-a-te : *dyut+IUŃ* = *dyut+aŃ+t* (3.1.43) = *dŃ+dyut-a-t* (6.4.71) = *d-dyut-a-t*,
but before *Ātmanepadā* l-substitutes *d+dyut+iŃ-siO+ta* (3.1.44; 7.2.35) =
d-dyot-i-ṣ-ṭa (8.3.59; 4.41).

1.3.92 vṛdbhyaḥ ¹syā-²saNoḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78 are optionally 90 introduced after the class of verbal stems] whose first member is *vṛt-* 'exist' (= I 795-8) co-occurring with the markers *syá* and *saN* (respectively of the Future/Conditional and the desiderative derived stem).

várt-a-te : *vart-i-syá-te/ti*; *d-vart-i-sya-ta/t*; *vrt+saN+ŚaP+ti/ta* =
vf-vrt-sa-ti/vfuart-i-sa-te (1.2.10; 7.2.59).

1.3.93 IUṬi ca kṛp-aḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78 are optionaly 90 introduced] after the verbal stem *kṛp-* 'be able' (I 799) co-occurring with the marker of IUṬ (= *tās* 3.1.33) and (ca) [markers *syá* and *saN* 92].

1. *kṛp+tās+miP/iṬ* = *kalp-tās-mi/ 'tāh-d*.
2. *kṛp+syá+tiP/te* = *kalp-syá-ti/-te*; *d-kalp-sya-t/ta*.
3. *kṛp+saN+ŚaP+tiP/te* = *cf-kṛp-sa-ti/cfkalp-i-sa-te*.

1.4.1 ś kādārāt=ékā saṁjñā

(In this section, beginning with this sūtra) and ending with [kādārāḥ karmadhāraye 2.2.38] only one (ékā) technical term (saṁjñā) applies (to a given item).

Thus 10 below defines the t.t. [laghú-] as a short vowel (hrasvá) (1.2.28) but the t.t. [gurú-] is defined as a long vowel (12) as well as a short vowel followed by a consonant nexus (11). Since two t.t. now apply to a short vowel, viz. [laghú-, gurú-] only one of them can apply. This is provided by the following sūtra.

1.4.2 vipratishedhé páram kāryam

When there is incompatibility (vipratishedhé) [between two rules which can equally apply in a given domain] what is provided by the subsequent rule (páram) should operate (kāryam).

1. Since the short vowel has the option of two technical terms, a short vowel followed by a consonant nexus is uniquely [gurú] by this rule. The normal procedure adopted in framing the rules is to state the general rule (utsargá) first and the exception (apavādhá) next, which blocks the utsargá within its particular domain.
2. There has been much discussion about the domain of this metarule as governed by the preceding rule. Patañjali and the later Pāṇinīyas extend this metarule over the whole of the corpus of Aṣṭ., and not up to the end of the second pādā of the second chapter (i.e., from 1.1.1 to 8.1.74), and where this fails in a few instances, the word [pára-] is rendered by interpretation to mean [iṣṭá- 'desired'] as leading to realizing the correct surface form.
3. 8.1.77 [iKo yaN aCi] rules in that the vowels [i,u,r,] are replaced by the corresponding semi-vowels [y,v,r,] before a vowel (aCi), while 8.1.101 [aKaḥ sávarṇe dīrgháh] rules in that the vowels [a,i,u,r,] and the following homogeneous vowels are both replaced by the corresponding long vowel. In the example *dddhi-idám* both 77 and 101 situations apply equally since the bracketed word homogeneous (sávarṇe) is not a part of the utsargá or general rule 77, but by this metarule 101 uniquely applies.

1.4.3 yū strī=akhyaú nadv

(The t.t. [saṁjñā 1]) nadv designates uniquely feminine (strī=ākhyaú) nominal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the long vowels -ī or -ū.

1. As a t.t. occurs in 5.4.153; 8.1.173; 2.109; 3.44; 7.1.54,80; 3.107,112,116.
2. In its non-technical sense of 'river' occurs in 2.1.20; 4.7; 4.1.113; 2.88,97.
3. Examples of nadv type feminines: *nadv* 'river', *vadhú* 'daughter-in-law' which are uniquely feminine; exceptions are *grama-ní* m.f. 'village head', *khala-pú* m.f. 'sweeper' which are not uniquely feminine.

1.4.4 ná=iyāN̄=uvāN̄-sthānau=ā-strī

[The t.t. nadf 3] does not (ná) denote [uniquely feminine stems ending in long vowels -ī or -ū 3] if these endings are subject to replacement by -iy and -uv (respectively 1.3.10) [iyāN̄=uvāN̄-sthānau] with the exception of the nominal stem strī.

śrf f. 'glory', *bhrū* f. 'eye-brow' are examples of this class: nom. voc. sing. *śrfh*, voc. sing. *bhrūh*, nom. voc. acc. dual *śrfy-au*, *bhrūv-au* contra *nadf+eU* = *nadf+θ* (6.1.68); *nadf+au* = *nady-au*; *nadf+eU* (voc.) = *nādi+eU* (7.2.107) = *nādi+θ* (6.1.69) = *nādi*. Similarly voc. sing. (he) *strī*.

1.4.5 vā=āmi

[The t.t. nadf 3] optionally (vā) denotes [uniquely feminine stems ending in -ī or -ū 3 which are subject to replacement by -iy, -uv respectively 4] before the sUP triplet ām (6th or genitive plural).

śrī+ām = *śriy-ām* / *śrī-nuM+ām* (7.1.54) = *śrī-ṇ-ām* (8.4.2). *bhrū+ām* = *bhruv-ām* / *bhrū-ṇ-ām*.

1.4.6 NIT-i hrasvās ca

[The t.t. nadf 3 optionally 5 denotes uniquely feminine stems (ending in 1.1.72)] short vowels [-ī, -u 3] and (ca) [those which end in long -ī, -ū 3 and are subject to replacement respectively by -iy, -uv 4] before sUP triplets with marker N̄ as IT (= N̄e, N̄asI, N̄as and N̄i).

1. *gāti*- f. 'movement', *dhenū*- f. 'cow': *gāti+N̄e* = *gāte+e* (7.3.111) = *gātay-e* (6.1.78) / *gāti+āI+N̄e* (7.3.112) = *gāty-ai* (6.1.88); similarly *gāti+N̄as(I)* = *gāte+as* = *gāteh* (6.1.110) / *gāty-āh*; *gāti+N̄i* = *gāta+au* (7.3.118-19) *gāt-au* / *gāti+āI+ām* (7.3.112, 116) = *gāty-ām*; *dhenāuv-e*, *dhenōh*, *dhenau* / *dhenv-ai*, *dhenvāh*, *dhenv-ām*.
2. *śriy-ē/śriy-ai*.

1.4.7 śéṣo GHI=ā-sakhi

(The t.t.) GHI denotes the remainder (śéṣaḥ) [= stems (ending in 1.1.72) short -i, -u which are not uniquely feminine, as well as uniquely feminine stems which are not covered by the t.t. nadf] with the exception of sākhi- 'companion'.

agnī- m. 'fire', *vāyū*- m. 'wind' are examples of this class, while *gāti*-, *dhenū*- which

are feminine but not members of the *naḍf*-class, are also members of this class, but , optionally belong to the *naḍf*-class before *Ñ*-marked sUP triplets.

1.4.8 *pātiḥ samāśé=evā*

[The t.t. GHI 7] denotes the nominal stem *pāti-* 'protector' when it occurs (at the end of) a compound (*samāśé*) only (*evā*).

pāti+Ñe = *pāty-e* (8.1.77) *prajā-patī+Ñe* = *prajā-patē+Ñe* = *prajā-pāidy-e* (8.1.78);
pāti+Ṭā = *pāty-ā*; *prajā-patī+Ṭā* = *prajā-patī-nā* (7.3.120).

1.4.9 *ṣaṣṭhī-yuktaś chāndasi vā*

[The t.t. GHI 7] optionally (*vā*) denotes [the nominal stem *pāti-*] co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the sixth sUP triplet (*ṣaṣṭhī-yuktaḥ*) in the domain of *Chāndas*.

kuluñcā-n-ām pātay-e nāmaḥ 'homage to the lord of Kuluñcās'; *kṣēṭrasya pāti-nā vayām* 'we, with the master of the field'.

1.4.10 *hrasvām laghú*

(The t.t.) *laghú* denotes a short (*hrasvá*) vowel (1.2.28).

1. A distinction is made here between a short (*hrasvá*) vowel and a metrically light (*laghú*) vowel. Whereas the absolute values of the vowel class are defined as one mora for the short, two for the long and three for the prolated, the concept of light (*laghú*) and heavy (*gurú*) has relevance only to the context of situation.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 5.1.131; 8.4.56-61; 7.2.7,94; 3.86; 4.93; 8.3.18.

1.4.11 *saṁyogé gurú*

(The t.t.) *gurú* denotes [a short vowel (*hrasvá*) 10] before a cluster (of consonants 1.1.7 *saṁyogé*).

1. The word [*gurú*] indicates a metrically heavy syllable. In the expression *agní- m.* 'fire', the initial phoneme (vowel) is *gurú* since it is followed by two consonants; similarly in the expression *mitrá- n.* 'friend' and in *yuddhá- n.* 'war strife' , *ṛddhá- mfn.* 'grown', *kṛptá- mfn.* 'formed, effected', the short vowels (*hrasvá*) are metrically heavy (*gurú*) in the context of being followed by consonant next.

1.4.12 dīrghām ca

[The t.t. gurú 11] also (ca) denotes a long (dīrghá) vowel (1.2.28).

In the expression *ṛṣā* f. 'desire' both vowels are metrically heavy (gurú) as the sonant vowel is in *pitṛn*.

1. As a t.t. occurs in 3.3.103; 4.1.78; 5.1.132; 8.2.86.

1.4.13 yásmāt pratyaya-vidhís tād-ādi pratyayé=āngam

In a unit after which (yásmāt) an affix is introduced (pratyaya-vidhíḥ), the unit beginning with that is denoted by the t.t. ānga before that affix (pratyayé).

1. In the three-fold set-up of the Aṣṭ. consisting of nominal and verbal stems [prātipadikā 1.2.45, dhātu 1.3.1; 3.1.32 and affixes (pratyayá) 3.1.1ff.] the nominal or verbal pre-affixal stem after which the affixes are introduced is defined by this t.t. Since a sentence (vākyā), the unit of thought in articulate speech, is analyzed into its component units consisting of a concatenation of stems and affixes, the pre-affixal base (whether nominal or verbal) requires a single t.t. for indicating the morpho-phonological processes needed to generate the sentences. It will be seen that these stems, under defined situations, have technical terms associated with them; besides [ānga] defined here, we have [padá 14] and [bhá 18] below.
2. The 3rd pers. sing. Present Indicative (IAT) form *su-nó-ti*, dual *su-nu-tás*, *su-* 'distil' is an ānga before the class marker [Śnú] (= nú-), and the theme *su-tnú-* is also an ānga before the sUP triplets [tiP, tás].
3. As a t.t. occurs in 4.2.72; 6.4.1-7.4.97; 8.2.27; 3.78.

1.4.14 sUP-tiñ=antam padám

[The t.t. 1] padá denotes an item terminating in (°-antam) (nominal ending) sUP or (l-substitute) tiñ triplet.

1. In *hára+sU*, *hára+s* is a [padá], and so also *hará+am* = *harám*, *haréna*, *harésu* etc.
2. In *bhā+ŚaP+tiP* = *bhā+a+ti* (7.3.84) = *bhāv-a-ti* (8.1.78), *bhāv-a-ti* is a padá, and so also *bhāv-a-tas*, *bhāv-a+anti* = *bhāv-a-nti* (6.1.97) are padás.
3. As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.1; 3.1.110; 8.1.16; 3.57; 4.1.38.

1.4.15 naḥ Kyé

[The t.t. 1 padá 14] denotes an item (ending in 1.1.72) the phoneme n before affix Kyá (= Kyáñ 3.1.11, KyáC 3.1.8 and KyáṢ 3.1.13).

1. $rājan + KyāN + ŚaP + tād = rāja\emptyset + yā + tād$ (8.2.7) = $rājā-yā + ta$ (7.4.25) = $rājā-yā-te$ (3.4.79). By 18 below, normally a pre-affixal stem is defined as BHA before initial [y-°] of an affix, so this is a prior exception to that rule.
2. $rājan + KyāC + ŚaP + tiP = rāja\emptyset + yā + ti$ (8.2.7) = $rājī-yā + ti$ (7.4.23) 'treats like royalty'.
3. $vārman + KyāS + ŚaP + tiP = varma\emptyset + yā + ti$ (8.2.7) = $varmā-ya + ti$ (7.4.25) 'becomes like a coat of mail'.

1.4.16 S-IT-i ca

[The t.t. 1 padā 14] also (ca) denotes an item before an affix with marker S as IT.

$bhāvat + chaS$ (4.2.115) = $bhavat + fya-$ (7.1.2) = $bhavat-fya-$ 'your honor's'; voicing of an unvoiced consonant can only take place at the end of a padā (8.2.39).

1.4.17 sŪ=ādiṣu=ś-sarvanamasthāne

[The t.t. 1 padā 14] denotes an item before the class of affixes whose first member is the sUP triplet sU (4.1.2) excluding those denoted by (the t.t. 1) sarvanāma-sthānā (= sUT 1.1.43 and Śi 1.1.42 = strong case affixes).

1. All affixes are dealt with in the three chapters of Aṣṭ. (3-5) and this class of affixes benning with sU (4.1.2) extends up to affix kaP (5.4.151).
2. $rājan + bhyām = rāja\emptyset + bhyām$ (8.2.7) = $rājā-bhyām$.

1.4.18 y-aCī BHAm

[The t.t. 1] BHA denotes an item before an affix with initial semivowel [y-°] or any vowel (aC).

1. $rājan + Śas = rājñ + as$ (8.4.134) = $rājñ-as = rājñ-ah$ (8.3.15); similarly $rājan + Ne = rājñ-e$, $rājan + Nas(I) = rājñ-as = rājñ-ah$.
2. $kata + yaN$ (4.1.105) = $kāt\emptyset-ya-$ (6.4.148) 'gotra descendant of Kata'; since [t of kāt\emptyset] is not at the end of a padā by its being a BHA 8.2.39 is blocked.
3. As a t.t. occurs in 6.4.22-123; 129-75; 7.1.88; 8.2.79.

1.4.19 'ta-'sṇu matU=arthe

[The t.t. 1 BHA 18] denotes an item (ending in 1.1.72) the phonemes (°-t, °-s) before an affix having the meaning of affix matU(P) (5.2.94).

$vidyūt + matUP = vidyūt + vatUP$ (8.2.10) = $vidyūt-vat-$ 'possessed of lightning'; note that the stem-final unvoiced stop is not replaced by the voiced as required by 8.2.39 because the preaffixal stem is BHA and not a padā.

yāśas+uñ- (5.2.121) = *yāśas-uñ-* 'glorious' where stem-final [s] is not replaced by [rU] (according to 8.2.86).

1.4.20 *ayasmaya=ādīni chāndasi*

[The t.t. 1 BHA 18] denotes the stem in the class of expressions whose first member is *ayas-māya-* 'made of metal (or iron)' before affixes introduced after them, in the domain of *Chāndas*.

Some of these function as though both t.t. apply to the pre-affixal stem: in [*ayas-māya-*] the pre-affixal stem functions like a BHA while in *fc+vatUP* = *fk-vat-* 'praising', the pre-affixal stem functions first as a *padā* in replacing the palatal stop by the corresponding velar unvoiced stop: *fc+vat-* = *fk-vat-* (8.2.30) and it then functions like a BHA stem in blocking out the operation of 8.2.39 which would have required *fk : fg* transformation.

1.4.21 *bahūṣu bahu-vacanām*

[The t.t. 1] *bahu-vacanā* 'plural' denotes plurality (*bahūṣu*) of units [functioning as subjects (*kartṛ-*) or objects (*kārman-*)].

1. As a t.t. occurs in 1.4.102; 4.3.100; 6.2.34; 7.3.103; 8.1.21; 2.28; 1.2.58,63.
2. By 4.1.2 a set of 21 affixes are introduced after nominal stems, divided into seven triplets; similarly by 3.4.78 a set of 18 affixes are introduced as replacements for the l-members (denoting tenses and moods), consisting of two sets of three triplets each. 102 below uses the three t.t. [*ekavacanā* 'singular', *dvi-vacanā* 'dual' and *bahuvacanā* 'plural'] to denote the three members of each of these triplets. The present and the following sūtras define the meaning of these terms; [*bahuvacanā*] here denotes the third member of each of these triplets. Sanskrit is the only Indo-European language to maintain the system of three numbers throughout its history. Ex. *brāhmaṇa+Jas veda+am pāṭh+ŚaP+gḥi* = *brāhmaṇās* (6.1.102) *vedam* (6.1.107) *pāṭh-a-anti* (7.1.2) = *pāṭhanti* (8.1.97) = *brahmaṇā(ḥ)* (8.2.66; 2.17,22) *vedam pāṭh-anti* 'brahmins recite the Veda'.

1.4.22 ¹dvi=²ekāyor ¹dvi-vacana=²eka-vacanē

[The t.t. 1] *dvi-vacanā* 'dual' and *eka-vacanā* 'singular' respectively (1.3.10) denote duality and singularity of units [functioning as subjects or objects].

1. *dvi+au* = *dva+au* (7.2.102) = *dvaḥ* (6.1.88,104) *hāsta+au* = *hāstau* (6.1.88,104) 'two hands'.
2. *ekā+sU nāsikā+sU* = *ekā+ḥ nāsikā+ḥ* (6.1.68) = *ekā nāsikā* 'one nose'.
3. *vidyūt+sU pāt+ŚaP+tiP* = *vidyūt+ḥ pāt-a-ti* = *vidyūt pāt-a-ti* 'lightning falls'.
4. As a t.t. *dvivacanā* occurs in 1.1.11; 5.3.57; 7.1.77; 2.88,92; *ekavacanā* occurs in 1.2.61; 4.102; 2.3.49; 4.1; 5.4.43; 7.1.32; 2.87; 8.1.22.

1.4.23 kārake

In the domain of Kāraka.

1. This is an adhikārā (1.3.11) 'governing rule' beginning here and extending up to 55 below. Since the principal meaning of an utterance is an action denoted by a verbal stem, those things which bring about the development of that action are referred to by this term. Six of these are enumerated below: apādāna (24) 'point of departure'; sampradāna (32) 'point of arrival'; kārana (42) 'instrument'; adhikārana (45) 'locus, sub-stratum'; kārman (49) 'direct object' and kartṛ (54) 'agent' and hetū (55) as 'causal agent' as its sub-type. The relationship between two or more kārakas can only occur through an action of which they are different kārakas. Thus, with the exception of the sixth or genitive (saṣṭhī) case, all the remaining sets of sUP triplets are kāraka-forming affixes.
2. By the fact of this being a governing rule, the word [kārake] will recur in all subsequent rules of this sub-section.

1.4.24 dhruvām apāyē=apādānam

[The t.t. 1] apādāna 'ablation' denotes [that kāraka 23] which functions as a stable point (dhruvām) with respect to a movement away from itself (apāyē), i. e., a point of departure.

*grāma+Nasi = grāma+at (7.1.12) = grām-āt ā-gacch-a-ti 'comes from the village';
pārvat-āt=āva-roh-a-ti 'descends from the hill'.*

1.4.25 ¹bhī-²trā=arthānām bhaya-hetūḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes a cause of fear (bhaya-hetūḥ) with reference to actions denoted by the verbal stems expressing fear (bhī-) or protection (trā=arthānām).

1. *vṛka+bhyas =vṛke-bhyas (7.3.103) bī-bhe-ti 'is afraid of wolves, fears from wolves'.*
2. *vṛke-bhyas trāy-a-te 'protects from wolves'.*

1.4.26 pārā-jeṛ ā-sodhah

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes what is unbearable (āsodhah) with reference to the verbal stem pārā+ji- 'overcome'.

adhyāyanāt pārā-jay-a-te 'is overwhelmed by study', but śātrūn pārā-jay-a-te 'overcomes enemies'.

1.4.27 vāraṇa=arthānām Ipsitáh

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes what [an agent desires to reach (Ipsitáh)] by means of actions meaning 'ward off' (vāraṇa=arthānām).

yāvebhya gām vār-āy-a-ti 'wards off the cow from the barley (field)', but *gām vār-āy-a-ti keśīre* 'wards off the cow in the field'.

1.4.28 antardhaú yéna á-darśanam icchátí

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes (the person) by whom (yéna) the agent wishes not to be seen (á-darśanam icchátí) when concealment (antaradhaú) is indicated (by the verbal stem).

upādhyāyāt antárdhatte/nī-lī-ya-te 'hides from the teacher'.

1.4.29 ākhyātā=upayogé

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes a reciter (ākhyātā) where instruction is signified (upayogé) (by the verbal stem).

upādhyāyād ádhi-te/ā-gam-āy-a-ti 'learns from the teacher'.

1.4.30 janī-kartúḥ prakṛtiḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes the source (prakṛtiḥ) from which the agent (kárta) of the verbal stem jan- 'be born' (IV 41) evolves.

śṛṅgāt śaró jā-yá-te 'the arrow is produced from the horn'.

1.4.31 bhuváh prabhaváh

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes the source (prabhaváh) of the [agent 30] of the verbal stem bhū- 'become' (I 1).

himdvato gāṅgā prā-bhav-a-ti 'the river Ganges originates in the snow-clad mountain'.

As a t.t. apādāna occurs in 3.4.52,74; 5.4.45; 8.2.48.

1.4.32 kārmaṇā yām abhi-prāṭi śā sampradānam

[The t.t. 1] sampradāna [kāraka 23] denotes one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient (abhi-prāṭi-ti) through the object (kārmaṇā) of the action (of giving).

devadattāya gām dā-dā-ti 'gives a cow to D.' Here the object of the verb is the cow and the goal is Devadattā; in general sampradāna is the indirect object.

1.4.33 rūci=arthānām priyāmāṇaḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one who is pleased (priyāmāṇaḥ) in relation to the verbal stem having the sense of 'to please' (rūci=arthānām).

devadattāya mōdako rōc-a-te 'D. likes sweetmeats'.

1.4.34 ¹ślāgha-²hnuṆ-³sthā-⁴śapām jñīpsyāmāṇaḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one who is to be informed (jñīpsyāmāṇaḥ) in relation to the verbal stems ślāgh- 'praise' (I 118), hnuṆ 'hide' (II 72), sthā- 'express one's desire' (I 975) and śap- 'swear, curse' (I 1049).

1. *devadattāya ślāgh-a-te* 'praises D. (and shows it to him)'.
2. *gopī kṛṣṇāya hnu-tē* 'the gopī hides K. (from his co-wives and shows it to him)'.
3. *tīṣṭh-a-te* (1.3.23) *kanyā chāttrāya* 'the maiden reveals (her desires) to the pupil'.
4. *devadattāya śāp-a-ti* 'swears at or reviles D.'

1.4.35 dhārér uttamarnāḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes a creditor (uttamarnāḥ) in relation to the causative verbal stem dhār-í- 'owe' (VI 119+N(C)).

devadattāya śatām dhār-áy-a-ti 'owes D. a hundred pieces'.

1.4.36 sprhér īpsitāḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes the object desired (īpsitāḥ) in relation to the verbal stem sprh- 'yearn for' (X 325).

phālebhyaḥ sprh-áy-a-ti 'yearns for fruit'.

1.4.37 ¹krudhÁ-²druhÁ-³īṣyÁ=⁴asūyānām

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one towards whom (yām prāti) anger (kópa) is felt in relation to the verbal stems krudh- 'feel anger' (IV 82), druh- 'injure' (IV 88), īṣy- 'not tolerate' (I 544) and asūy- 'find fault with'.

1. *devadattāya krudh-ya-ti* 'is angry with Devadatta'.
2. *devadattāya druh-ya-ti* 'injures D.'
3. *devadattāya īṣy-a-ti* 'does not tolerate D.'
4. *yañnadattāya asūy-a-ti* 'finds fault with Y.'

1.4.38 ¹krudhÁ-²druhor úpasṛṣṭayoḥ kárma

[The t.t. 1] kárman (49 below) [kāraka 23] denotes one [towards whom anger is felt 37] in relation to verbal stems krudh- 'feel anger' and druh- 'injure' when they co-occur with preverbs (úpasṛṣṭayoḥ).

- devadattām abhi-krudh-ya-ti* 'is angry towards D.'
yañnadattām abhi-druh-ya-ti 'injures Y.'

1.4.39 ¹rādh-²īkṣyor yāsya vipraśnāḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one about whom (yāsya) there is a questioning or inquiry (vipraśnāḥ) in relation to the verbal stems rādh- 'satisfy' (IV 71) and īks- 'look' (I 641).

1. *devadattāya rādh-ya-ti* 'casts D's horoscope'.
2. *yañnadattāya īks-a-te* 'looks into Y's horoscope'.

1.4.40 ¹prāti=²Āñbhyām śruvāḥ pūrvasya kartā

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes the agent (kartā) of the previous act (pūrvasya) (of requesting) in relation to the verbal stems śru- 'listen, hear'; (I 989) co-occurring with preverbs prāti-° or Āñ-° (and meaning 'promise').

- The agent of the previous act (of requesting) is one who makes the request or demand, in response to which the subsequent promise is made. *devadattāya gām prāti-śṛ-ṇo-ti/Ā-śṛ-ṇo-ti* '(on demand or request) promises a cow to D.'

1.4.41 'anu-²prati-grṇaś ca

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes also (ca) [the agent of the previous act 48] (of uttering a praise) in relation to the verbal stem gṛ- (IX 28) co-occurring with the preverbs ānu-^o and prāti-^a meaning 'answer or respond to praise'.

hōtre ānu-gr-nā-ti/prāti-gr-nā-ti 'he responds to the Hōtṛ by praising in chorus',

As a technical term occurs in 2.3.13,61; 3.4.73.

1.4.42 sādhakatamam kāranaṃ

(The t.t. 1) kārana (kāraka 23) denotes the means par excellence (sādhaka-tamam) (in relation to the verbal stem).

asīnā vyāghrām hān-ti [*asi+Tā* = *asi+nā* 7.3.120] 'kills a tiger with a sword';

paraśū-nā kṣēṭhām chi-nā-ti 'cuts the log with an axe'.

1.4.43 divāḥ kārma ca

[The t.t. kārana 43 kāraka 23] as well as (ca) kārman (49 below) [kāraka 23] denote [the means par excellence 42] in relation to the verbal stem dīv- 'gamble, sport' (IV 1).

akṣaṇḥ/akṣān dīv-ya-ti 'gambles with dice'.

1.4.44 pari-kṛāyaṇe sampradānan anyatārāsyām

[The t.t. 1] sampradāna [kāraka 23] optionally (anya-tārāsyām) denotes [the means par excellence 42] in relation to the act of hiring (pari-kṛāyaṇe).

When this option is not operating the normal kārana kāraka prevails:
śatā-ya/śatēna pāri-kṛṇaḥ 'hired for a hundred pieces'.

As a t.t. occurs in 3.1.102; 2.45,56,86,182; 3.82,117; 4.37; 4.4.97; 6.1.20; 4.27; 8.4.10; 2.3.18,33,51,63; 2.1.32; 4.1.50.

1.4.45 ādhārāḥ=adhikāraṇam

[The t.t. 1] adhikāraṇa [kāraka 23] denotes the locus or substratum (ādhārāḥ).

kāṭa+Ñi = *kāṭe=ās-te* 'sits on the mat'; *sthālī+Ñi*=*sthālī+āṭ+am* (7.3.112,116) = *sthāly-ām pāc-a-ti* 'cooks in the pot'.

1.4.46 ¹ádhi-^śñ-²sthā=³āsām kārma

[The t.t. 1] kārman (49 below) [kāraka 23] denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stems śñ- , 'lie down, sleep' (II 22), sthā- 'stay, stand' (I 975) and ās- 'sit' (II 11) all co-occurring with the preverb ádhi-^{*}.

grāmam ádhi-śa-te 'lies down in the village'.

grāmam ádhi-tiśh-a-ti 'remains in the village'.

grāmam ádhy-śa-te 'settles in the village'.

1.4.47 abhi-ní-viśaś ca

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] also (ca) denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stem viś- 'enter' (VI 136) co-occurring with the preverb abhi-ní-^{*}.

grāmam abhi-ní-viś-a-ti 'enters the village'.

1.4.48 ¹úpa=²ānu=³ádhi-⁴ñ-vasaḥ

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stem vas- 'dwell, abide' (I 1054) co-occurring with the preverbs úpa-^{*}, ānu-^{*}, ádhi-^{*} or ñ-^{*}.

grāmam úpa-vas-a-ti / ānu-vas-a-ti / ádhi-vas-a-ti / ñ-vas-a-ti sēñá 'the army remains at the village'.

1.4.49 kartúr ĩpsitátamam kārma

[The t.t. 1] kārman (kāraka 23) denotes what the agent (kartúr) most desires to reach (ĩpsitá-tamam) (through his action).

1. *kāṭa+am = káṭam* (8.1.97) *kar-ś-ti* 'makes a mat'; *pātram likh-ś-ti* 'writes a letter'.

1.4.50 tathā-yuktām ca=ān-ĩpsītam

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] also (ca) denotes what is so connected (tathā-yuktām) (with the agent's action like kārman) whether the agent wishes to reach or not (ān-ĩpsītam).

vīṣam bhakṣe-ḍy-a-ti 'eats poison'; *caurān pāḍy-a-ti* 'sees the thieves'; *grāmam gacchan vykṣa-mālāni ūpa-sarp-a-ti* 'going to the village, meets with (protruding) roots of trees'.

1.4.51 á-kathitaṁ ca

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] also (ca) denotes [that kāraka to which no other kāraka name 23] is assigned (á-kathitam) [from 24ff.].

In the example *gām dōg-dhi pāyah* [*duh* + θ^1 + *ti* = *dogh* + *ti* 8.2.32 = *dogh* + *dhi* 8.2.40 = *dog-dhi* 8.4.53] 'milks the cow', the cow is an optional object to which no other kāraka name such as [apādāna 24] etc, has been assigned, and therefore is assigned to this kāraka, while the word for milk is what the agent most wishes to reach. This sentence can alternatively be expressed by **gō+ĪnasI* = *gō+as* = *gós* (8.1.110) = *gōḥ* (8.3.15) *pāyo dōg-dhi*.

Verbs of this type are designated [dvi-karmā-ka] 'having two objects (kārman)'; in addition to [duh-] 'milk' (II 4), we have the following stems belonging to this category: [yác-] 'beg' (I 916), [pác-] 'cook' (I 187), [daṇḍ-] 'punish' (X 381), [rudh-] 'obstruct' (VII 1), [prach-] 'ask' (VI 120), [ci-] 'gather' (V 5), [brū-] 'speak' (II 35), [śās-] 'instruct' (II 66), [ji-] 'conquer' (I 593,993), [māth-] 'churn' (I 901), [muṣ-] 'steal' (IX 58), [nī-] 'lead' (I 950), [hṛ-] 'carry' (I 947), [kṛs-] 'draw, drag' (I 1039, VI 6), and [vah-] 'carry' (I 1053).

Exx.: (a) *balīm yāc-ā-te vasudhām* 'begs Bali for the earth'; (b) *tanḍulān oḍanām pác-a-ti* 'cooks rice'; (c) *gargān śatām daṇḍ-āy-a-ti* 'punishes the descendants of Garga a hundred pieces'; (d) *vrajām ūva-ru-ṇad-dhi gām* 'confines the cow to the pen'; (e) *māṇavakām pānthān-am prcch-a-ti* 'asks the lad about the route'; (f) *vykṣām ūva-ci-no-ti phālāni* 'picks fruit from the tree'. (g) *māṇavakām dhārma-m brū-té* 'instructs the pupil in law'; (h) *māṇavakām dhārmam śās-ti* 'teaches the pupil law'; (i) *sātām jáy-a-ti deva-dattām* 'wins a hundred pieces from D.'; (j) *sudhām kṣīra-nidhīm math-nā-ti* 'churns the milky ocean for ambrosia'; (k) *devadattām śatām muṣ-nā-ti* 'steals a hundred pieces from D.'; (l) *grāmam ajām nāy-a-ti/hār-a-ti/kāṛṣ-a-ti/ vāh-a-ti* 'leads/carries/leads/carries the goat to the village'. In the case of the first twelve verbal stems (a-l), when the passive construction is employed, the accusative of the second object is replaced by the nominative: *gām dōg-dhi pāyah* : *gauḥ duh-yā-te pāyah*, and in the case of verbal stems referred to in (l) above, the principal object is replaced by the nominative: *ajām grāmam nāy-a-ti* : *ajā-ḥ grāma-m nī-yā-te*.

1.4.52 ¹gāti-²buddhi-³pratyavasāna=artha-⁴śābda-karma= ⁵a-karmākāṇām āNi kartā śā Nau

[That kāraka 23] which is called the agent (kartā 54) in relation to verbal stems which denote movement (gāti=artha), 'perception'

(búddhi=artha) or 'eating' (pratyavasāna-artha), or stems whose object is 'sound' (śabda-karman) and intransitive verbal stems, not co-occurring with the marker *Ńi*(C) (of the causative) becomes the [kārman 49 kāraka 23] of the causal action (*Ńaú*) denoted by these stems co-occurring with the causative marker *Ńi*(C).

1. *gacch-a-ti devadattó grāmam* 'D. is going to the village', but *yajñadattó devadattám grāmam gam-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. go to the village'.
2. *devadattó dhārmam budh-ýa-te* 'D. understands the law', but *yajñadattó devadattám dhārmam bodh-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. understand the law'. Similarly for the other categories.

1.4.53 ¹hṛ-²kror anyataráśyām

[That kāraka 23 which is called the agent (kartā) 52] in relation to the verbal stems *hṛ-* 'take, remove' (I 942) and *kṛ-* 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [when not co-occurring with (causative marker) *Ńi*(C) 52] is optionally (anyataráśyām) [the kārman 49 kāraka 23 of the causal action 52] (denoted by these stems) [co-occurring with the (causative marker) *Ńi*(C) 52].

1. *devadattó bhāram hār-a-ti* 'D. fetches the load' but *yajña-dattó devadattám/devadatténa bhāram hār-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. fetch the load'
2. *devadattáh kāmam kar-ó-ti* 'D. makes a mat', but *yajñadattó devadattám/devadatténa kāmam kār-áy-a-ti* 'Y. causes D. to make a mat'
3. As a t.t. kārman- occurs in 1.4.32,38,43; 1.3.13,37,67; 2.2.14; 3.2.12,14,17,22,52ff.,65ff.; 3.1.7,15,86,67; 2.1ff.,86,92ff.,100,181; 3.12,93,116,127; 4.25,29,45; 8.2.48,150; 4.62.

1.4.54 svatantrāḥ kartā

[The t.t. 1] kartā 'agent' denotes [that kāraka 23] which is independent (sva-tantrāḥ) (relative to others).

devadattó+sU = devadattáh (8.3.15) *pác-a-ti* 'D. is cooking'; *sthālī pác-a-ti* 'the pot is cooking'.

1.4.55 tat-prayojakó hetús ca

[The t.t. 1] hetú and (ca) [the t.t. kartā 54 kārakas 23] denote the instigator (tat-prayojaká = kartā-°) of that agent.

Here [hetú] is the technical term for the agent of the causative stem-form, which

permits the derivation of such forms as $kṛ + NiC + ŚaP + tiP = kār-āy-a-ti$ in which the agent affix [tiP] and the causal marker [NiC] are both introduced [kurvānām prā-yuñk-te] 'instigates the agent'.

- (a) The t.t. kartṛ occurs in 1.3.14,37,67,78; 4.30,40,49; 2.1.32; 2.15,16; 3.18,24,71; 3.1.11,18,48,62,68; 2.19,21,57,79,86,186; 4.43,67,71; 5.4.50; 6.1.195,207.

The t.t. hetú occurs in 1.3.68; 6.1.58; 7.3.40. As a non-technical term it occurs in 1.4.25; 2.3.23; 3.2.20,126; 3.158 etc.

1.4.56 prāk=īśvarāt=nipātāḥ

[The t.t. 1] nipātā 'particle' denotes elements specified in the subsequent rules [in the sub-section beginning here and] preceding (prāk) (the sūtra) [ādhir-īśvaré 1.4.97 below].

This is an adhikarā or governing rule and the word nipātā will recur in all subsequent rules prior to 97.

1.4.57 ca=ādayo=ā-sattve

[The t.t. 1 nipātā 56] denotes members of the group beginning with ca 'and' when they do not signify things (ā-sattve).

These are listed in the Ganapāṭha.

1.4.58 prā=ādayaḥ

[The t.t. 1 nipātā 56] denotes the class of (preverbs or prepositions 59) beginning with prā- 'forth'.

The separate mention of this group of particles is in relation to the subsequent rules 59-60 which apply only to this group and not to the earlier group (57). Members of this group are: [pra-] 'forth', [pārā-] 'away', [āpa-] 'away', [śam-] 'with', [ānu-] 'after', [āva-] 'off, down', [nīś-] 'away', [nīr-] 'away', [dūs-], [dūr-] 'bad, difficult, hard', [vī-] 'apart, asunder', [āñ-] 'near', [nī-] 'down', [ādhi-] 'over', [āpi-] 'proximate', [āti-] 'beyond', [śū-] 'good, excellent', [ūd-] 'up(wards)', [abhī-] 'to, towards', [prāti-] 'against', [pāri-] 'round, around' and [ūpa-] 'towards, near'. The list is given here because of its importance arising from the subsequent two sūtras. Verbal stems by themselves have a variety of denotations, but they can be significantly modified by this class co-occurring with them.

1.4.59 upasargāḥ kriyā-yogé

[The t.t. 1] upasargá 'preverb, preposition' denotes [the group of particles (nipātā) 56 beginning with *prá-* 58] when there is connection with the action (kriyā-yogé = 'co-occurrence with a verb').

[kriyā] 'action' here stands for the verbal stem denoting an action: *gacch-a-ti* 'goes', but *ā-gacch-a-ti* 'comes'; *nir-gacch-a-ti* 'sets out', *anu-gacch-a-ti* 'follows', *sam-gacch-a-ti* 'goes with, joins', *abhi-gacch-a-ti* 'goes towards'.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.3.43; 2.3.59; 3.1.71; 2.81,99,147; 3.22,59,92,106; 5.1.118; 4.85,119; 6.1.91; 2.154,177; 3.122; 4.96; 7.1.67; 4.24,47; 8.2.19; 3.65.

1.4.60 gātiś ca

[The t.t. 1] gāti also (ca) denotes [the group of particles 56 beginning with *prá-* 58 when there is co-occurrence with the action 59].

1. A separate enumeration has become necessary because this t.t. includes much more than the [*prá-*] -class of particles as indicated in the subsequent sūtras.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.18; 6.2.49,139; 7.3.63; 8.3.40.
3. The two t.t. [upasargá] and [gāti] as applied to this class are never in competition since they are distinct.
4. *prá-kr-ta-* is a tatpuruṣa compound by virtue of 2.2.18 and bears the udātta accent on *prá-*, proper to a member of the [gāti]-class according to 6.2.49. Similarly in *prá-kar-o-ti*, *pra-* is an [upasargá] preceding the stem [*kr-*] and retains its accent (8.1.28), but in *sam-ud-ā-nay-a-ti* 'assembles' *nay-a-ti* loses its accent (8.1.28) while both preverbs *sam-*, *ud-* lose theirs by virtue of being assigned simultaneously the t.t. [gāti] and [upasargá] by 8.1.70.

1.4.61 ūrī=ādi-Cvī-DāCaś ca

[The t.t. 1 gāti 60] also (ca) denotes the class [of particles 56] beginning with *ūrī-* 'assent' and items (ending in 1.1.72) affixes *Cvī* (5.4.50) and *DāC* (5.4.57).

1. *ūrī+kr+Kivā* = *ūrī+kr-t+LyaP* (8.1.71; 7.1.37).
2. *śuklā+Ovī+kr+Kivā* = *śuklī+kr+LyaP* (7.4.28) = *śuklī-krt-ya* 'having made white (what was not white before)'.
3. *paṭapaṭat+Dā+kr+Kivā* = *paṭapaṭat-krt-ya* 'having made the sound "pat, pat"'

1.4.62 anukāraṇam ca=án=iti-param

[The t.t. 1 gāti 60] also (ca) denotes an expression imitating (anukāraṇam) (natural sound), provided it is not followed by the particle iti (án-iti-param).

khāṭ+ky+Kivá = khāṭ-ky+LyaP = khāṭ-kyt-ya 'having made the sound "khāṭ"' but
khāṭ=iti ky+Kivá = khāṭ iti ky-tvá.

1.4.63 ¹ādará=²án-ādarayoh ¹sát-²ásat-I

[The t.t. 1 gāti 60] denotes the particles sát- and ásat- when they (respectively 1.3.10) denote respect (ādará) and disrespect (án-ādará).

sát+ky+Kivá = sat+ky+LyaP = sat-kyt-ya 'having shown respect'.
asat-kyt-ya 'having shown disrespect'.

1.4.64 bhūṣaṇe=álam

[The t.t. 1 gāti 60 denotes the particle 56] álam used in the sense of 'adornment' (bhūṣaṇe).

álam+ky+Kivá = alam-ky+LyaP = alam-kyt-ya 'having adorned', but *álam bhuktvá odanám gatáh* 'went away after eating sufficient (álam) rice'.

1.4.65 antár á-parigrahe

[The t.t. 1 gāti 60 denotes the particle 56] antár used in the sense of 'non-acceptance' (á-parigrahe).

antár+han+Kivá = antar+haṭ+LyaP (6.4.24) = *antar-hát-ya* 'having abandoned',
 but *antár hat-vá māsikām éyeno gatáh* 'the hawk went away after seizing the mouse'.

1.4.66 ¹kāṇe-²mānas-I śraddhā-pratīghāté

[The t.t. 1 gāti 60 denotes the particles 56] kāṇe and mānas used in the sense of 'quenching (pratīghāté) of desire (śraddhā-°) (by full satisfaction)'.

kāṇe+han+Kivá = kaṇe-hát-ya / mano-hát-ya pṛyaḥ pib-a-ti 'drinks milk (or water) till one's desire is quenched', but *kāṇe ha-tvá gatáh* where [kāṇa- m.] denotes 'grain'.

1.4.67 purás=ávyayam

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 58] purás when it is indeclinable (ávyayam) (meaning 'in front').

purás+kr+Ktvā = *purás+kr+LyaP* = *purás-krī-ya* 'having placed in front' (= honored). The indeclinable [purás] is derived from the word [pūrva- 'front'] with affix [-ás] 5.3.39; the word ávyaya is used to separate the nom. acc. pl. *pur-ás* from the fem. stem *pūr-* 'fortified city' and so block the operation applicable to a gáti.

1.4.68 ástam ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] also denotes [the indeclinable 57 particle 56] ástam 'setting, disappearance'.

ástam+gam+Ktvā = *ástam+gaṭ+LyaP* = *ástam-gāt-ya* 'having set or disappeared' where [ástam] is an indeclinable ending in '-m. while *astá-* (*as+Ktá*) is the passive past participle of [*as=* 'toss, throw' IV 100].

1.4.69 áccha ¹gáti=²artha=²vadésu

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the indeclinable 57 particle 56] áccha, used in the sense of 'movement' (gáti-artha) and 'speak' (vadá).

áccha+gam+Ktvā = *áccha-gāt-ya* 'having gone towards'.

áccha+vad+Ktvā = *áccha-uad+LyaP* (6.1.15) = *acchód-ya* 'having saluted or greeted'. When it is not an indeclinable [áccha-] means 'pure' as a qualifying word (adjective).

1.4.70 adáh=án-upa-deśe

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the indeclinable 57 particle 56] adás when no communication to another (án-upadeśe) is implied.

adáh+kr+Ktvā = *adáh+kr+LyaP* = *adáh-krī-ya* 'having reflected that', but *adáh-kr-tvā* 'having done that', where [adáh] is the neut. nom. acc. sing. of the pronominal base *adás-*.

1.4.71 tiráh=antardhaú

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] tirás used in the sense of 'disappearance' (antardhaú).

tiráś+bhā+Ktvā = *tiras+bhā+Lyap* = *tīro-bhā-ya* 'having disappeared', but *tīro bhā-tvā* 'having gone aside'.

1.4.72 vibhāṣā kṛÑ-i

[The t.t. gāti 60] optionally (vibhāṣā) [denotes the particle 56 *tiráś* 71] co-occurring with the verbal stem *kṛÑ* 'do' (VIII 10).

tiráś-kṛ+Ktvā/tiras+kṛ+Lyap = *tiras-kṛ-tvā/tiras-kṛt-ya* 'having disappeared' (8.3.42), with alternative forms *tīrah-kṛ-tvā/-kṛt-ya* but *tīrdh kṛ-tvā* 'having set aside'.

1.4.73 upājé=anvājé

[The t.t. gāti 60 denotes the particles 56] *upājé*, *anvājé* 'support, aid, assist' [optionally 72 when co-occurring with verbal stem *kṛÑ* 72].

upājé+kṛ+Ktvā = *upāje+kṛ+Lyap* = *upāje-kṛ-tvā/-kṛt-ya* 'having supported' and similarly *anvāje-kṛ-tvā/-kṛt-ya*.

1.4.74 sāksāt-prabhṛtīni ca

[The t.t. gāti 60 denotes the class of particles 56] beginning with *sāksāt* 'before one's eyes' also (ca) [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem *kṛÑ* 72].

sāksāt-kṛ-tvā/-kṛt-ya 'having made apparent before one's eyes'.

1.4.75 ān-atyādhāne=¹úrasi-²mānāsī

[The t.t. gāti 60 denotes the particles 56] *úrasi* 'in the chest or heart', *mānāsī* 'in the mind' except when used in the sense of 'placing upon' (*ān-atyādhāne*) [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem *kṛÑ* 72].

urasi-kṛ-tvā/-kṛt-ya 'having assented', but *úrasi kṛtvā pañīm śe-tē* 'lies down (or sleeps), having placed one's hands on the chest'.

manasi-kṛ-tvā/-kṛt-ya 'having taken to heart', but *mānāsī kṛ-tvā* 'having grasped in the mind'.

1.4.76 ¹mádhye-²padé-³nivácane ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particles 56] mádhye 'in the middle', padé 'in the foot' and nivácane 'leading to obstructing speech' [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem $kṛ\tilde{N}$ 72 except when used in the sense of 'placing upon' 75].

1. *madhye-kṛ-tvā/madhye-kṛt-ya* 'having placed in the middle (i.e., made an intermediary)'.
2. *padē-kṛ-tvā/padē-kṛt-ya* 'ib.', but *padē kṛ-tvā śīraḥ śe-tē* 'having placed one's head under (the elephant's) foot'.
3. *nivacane-kṛ-tvā/nivacane-kṛt-ya* 'having ceased to speak'.

1.4.77 nītyam hāste pāṇau=upayāmane

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] necessarily (nītyam) [denotes the particles 56] hāste and pāṇau 'in the hand' [when co-occurring with verbal stem $kṛ\tilde{N}$ 72] to denote 'espouse, take a wife' (upayāmane).

haste-kṛt-ya/pāṇau-kṛt-ya 'having espoused', but *hāste kṛ-tvā kārṣāpaṇam gatāḥ* 'has departed, palming off a kārṣāpaṇa (coin)'.

1.4.78 prādhvām bāndhane

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] prādhvām 'favorably' [co-occurring with verbal stem $kṛ\tilde{N}$ 72] when expressing the sense of 'bondage' (bāndhane).

prādhvām+kṛ+Ktvā = prādhvaṁ-kṛ+LyaP = prādhvaṁ-kṛt-ya 'having bound', but *prādhvaṁ kṛ-tvā śakaṭam gatāḥ* 'has departed after making the cart suitable (for the road)'.

prādhvām is an indeclinable in the above sense as a gáti, ending in the phoneme [·-m] by 1.1.39, but *prādhva-* is a tatpuruṣa compound (2.2.18), in the counter-example.

1.4.79 ¹jīvikā-²upaniṣádau=aúpamye

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56 expressions] jīvikā- 'means of livelihood' and upaniṣád- 'the concluding part of a Vedic text' [co-occurring with verbal stem $kṛ\tilde{N}$ 72] when denoting comparison (aúpamye).

jīvikā+kṛ+Ktvā = jīvikā+kṛ+LyaP = jīvikā-kṛt-ya 'having made it as though a

means of livelihood', but *jīvikām kṛ-tvā gatāḥ* 'has left after earning his livelihood'.

upaniṣad+kr+Ktvā = *upaniṣad+kr+LyaP* = *upaniṣat-kṛt-ya pāṭh-a-ti* 'recites as though it were an upaniṣad'.

1.4.80 té prāg dhātoh

Those (té) [= upasargá 59 and gāti 60] occur before the verbal stem (with relation to which they have the status of upasargá or gāti).

Examples cited under sūtras 59ff., already illustrate this.

1.4.81 chāndasi páre=ápi

In the domain of Chāndas [those gāti 60 and upasargá 59] also (ápi) occur after (the verbal stem with relation to which they have the status of gāti or upasargá).

vāyav indras ca sunvatā ā yātam úpa niskṛtām (RV 1.2.6) 'O Vāyu and Indra, approach the rendezvous for the Soma pressing' where the preverb *úpa* follows the verbal stem *yā-tam*.

1.4.82 vyāvahitās ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 81 they (= gāti 60 and upasargá 59)] occur separated (*vyāvahitāḥ*) (from the verbal stem with relation to which they have the status of gāti or upasargá).

ā mandraṭṭ indra hārībhir yāhi 'Come, O Indra, with the charming horses' (RV 3.45.1) where the preverb occurs before, but with intervention of three words.
gāmad vāḥebhir ā sá naḥ 'may he come with gifts hither to us' (RV 1.5.3) where *ā* occurs after the verbal stem with intervention of one word.

1.4.83 karma-pravacanīyāḥ

(Here begins the section on) karma-pravacanīya-s.

This section covers subsequent rules up to 97 below. The t.t. [karmapravacanīya] denotes particles (nipātá 56) mentioned in the following sūtras. They are truly governing prepositions (modifying substantive nominal stems) and modify a verbal stem, but differ from both upasargá and gāti. This is a governing rule, and the word [karma-pravacanīya] will recur in all subsequent rules up to 97 below.

1.4.84 ánur lákṣaṇe

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] ánu when a characteristic (lákṣaṇe) is to be indicated.

Here the word [lákṣaṇa] does not signify a mere characteristic, but 'cause' (hetú), cf. 90 below. *parjāṇyo jápam ánu prá-vare-a-t* 'rain began falling after (= as a result of) muttering prayers'. The accusative of [jápam] is ruled in by 2.3.8.

1.4.85 tṛtīyā=arthe

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56 ánu 84] when it has the value of the third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā=arthe).

nadīm ánu=avastá śenā 'the army is situated (= encamped) by the river'. The meaning of ánu here is equivalent to that of *sahá* which governs the instrumental case.

1.4.86 hīné

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56 ánu 84] when it is used to indicate 'inferior' (hīné).

ánu śákāṭāyaṇám vaiyākaraṇāḥ '(all) grammarians are inferior to Ś.';
ánu=árjunam yóddhāraḥ 'all warriors are inferior to A.'

1.4.87 úpaḥ=ádhiḥ ca

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] úpa when used to indicate 'superior' (ádhiḥ) as well as (ca) ['inferior' 86].

(a) superior: *úpa niṣke kārṣāpaṇam* 'the k. is superior to n.' and in this sense governs the locative case (2.3.9).

inferior: *úpa śákāṭāyaṇám vaiyākaraṇāḥ*.

1.4.88 ¹ápa-²pári várjane

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particles 56] ápa and pári when they are used in the sense of 'exclusion' (várjane).

ápa²/pári² trīgartebhyo vṛtá devāḥ 'it rained (everywhere) except in the region of Trīgarta', but *odanám pári-śiñcati* 'sprinkles rice (with water)' where the retroflexion of verb-initial by 8.3.59 indicates that [pári] here is not a karmapravacanīya. The ablative case is used by virtue of 2.3.10 and reduplication of the particles by 8.3.5.

1.4.89 āñ maryādā-vacané

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] āñ when it is used to show a limit (maryādā-vacané).

Normally two types of limits are involved: [maryādā] 'exclusive limit' and [abhividhī] 'inclusive limit', but by using the compound expression [maryādā-vacané] both types of limits are included here. *ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devdā* 'it rained up to (but excluding) Pāṭaliputra; ablative by 2.3.10

1.4.90 'lākṣaṇa=²ittham-bhūta=³ākhyānā=³bhāgā=⁴vīpsāsu 'prāti=²pāri=³ānavah

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particles 56] prāti, pāri and ānu when they are used to indicate (a) characteristic (lākṣaṇa), (b) statement of fact (ittham-bhūta=³ākhyānā), (c) division (bhāgā) and (d) distributive function (vīpsā).

1. *vṛkṣam prāti/pāri/ānu ul-dyot-a-te vidyāt* 'the lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.
2. *sādhūr devadattō mātṛam prāti* 'D. is good towards his mother'.
3. *yād ātra mām prāti/pāri/ānu syāt* 'that it may fall to my share'.
4. *vṛkṣām vṛkṣām prāti siñc-ā-ti* 'sprinkles tree after tree (= every tree with water)'.

Since [ānu] here is denoted by the t.t. karmapravacanīya as well as 84 above, the special meaning of [lākṣaṇa] is [hetū] 'reason, cause' and not a mere characteristic, and in this sense the kāraka would be the instrumental case (2.3.23) which, though subsequent to (2.3.8) ruling in the accusative with karmapravacanīya, becomes inoperative by the force of 1.4.84.

1.4.91 abhī ā-bhāge

[The t.t. karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] abhī when it is used to indicate [(a) a characteristic (lākṣaṇa), (b) statement of fact (itthambhūta=³ākhyānā) and (c) distributive function (vīpsā) 90] excluding 'division' (ābhāge).

Exx. as in 90 above, but when division (bhāgā) is denoted: *yād ātra mām abhī-syāt* 'whatever falls to my share, let that be given', since [abhī-'] functions here as a preverb (upasargā), by 8.3.87 the initial [s] of the verbal stem is replaced by the retroflex sibilant.

1.4.92 ¹prātiḥ ¹pratinidhi-²pratidānayoḥ

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *prāti* when it is used in the sense of 'representative' (*pratinidhi*) or 'exchange' (*pratidāna*).

1. *abhimanyūr arjunatāḥ prāti* 'Abh. is the representative of Arj.'
2. *māsān asya tīlābhyaḥ prāti yacch-ā-ti* 'he exchanges (= barter) his māsa beans for sesame seeds'; [*prāti*] in these meanings governs the ablative case (2.3.11).

1.4.93 ¹ādhi-²pāri ānarthakau

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particles 56] *ādhi*, and *pāri* when they do not convey any meaning (*ān-arthakau*).

kúto yām ādhi/pāri ā-gacch-a-ti 'whence has he come?'. By being assigned this t.t. these particles are not subject to operations associated with them otherwise as *upasargās* [e.g., 8.3.87: *adhī-syāt* or loss of accentuation 8.1.70].

1.4.94 *súḥ pūjāyām*

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *sú* when it indicates 'excellence, praiseworthiness' (*pūjāyām*).

sú siktām bhāvātā 'has been well sprinkled by you (honorific)'; *sú stu-tām bhāvātā* 'has been praised well by your honor'; replacement of dental sibilant by the retroflex of the initial of the verbal stem after the particle is debarred (8.3.65).

1.4.95 *āti atikrāmaṇe ca*

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *āti* when it indicates 'overstepping, exceeding' (*atikrāmaṇe*) and also (*ca*) [excellence 94].

1. *āti siktām evā bhāvātā* 'you have only over-sprinkled'.
2. *āti stutām bhāvātā* 'been praised well by your honor'.

1.4.96 *āpiḥ ¹padārthā-²sambhāvana-³anvavasargā-⁴garhā-⁵samuccayēṣu*

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *āpi* when it indicates: (a) paucity of a substance (*padārthā*), (b) possibility or assumption

tion (sambhāvana), (c) permission to do as one likes (anvavasargá), (d) censure (garhā) or (e) aggregation (samuccayá).

1. *śrpiṣaḥ=āpi syāt* 'may be a drop of clarified butter'.

2. *āpi siñc-ēt mūlaka-sahasrām* 'may be possible to sprinkle a thousand radishes'.

3. *āpi siñc-ē* 'thou mayest sprinkle, if thou likest'.

4. *āpi stu-yāt=vr̥ṣalām* 'he might even praise a low-caste person'.

5. *āpi siñc-ē āpi stu-hś* 'sprinkle as well as praise'.

In all these examples, as in the preceding sūtras, the initial dental sibilant of the verbal stem is not replaced by the retroflex as required by 8.3.65.

1.4.97 ādhīr īśvaré

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] ādhī when it indicates 'master, lord, ruler' (īśvaré).

ādhi pañcīśeu brahmadattāḥ/ddhi brahmadattē pañcāśdḥ 'Br. is the rule of P.' (locative by 2.3.9).

1.4.98 vibhāṣā kṛÑ-i

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 56] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes [the particle 56 ādhī 97] co-occurring with verbal stem kṛÑ- 'do' (VIII 10).

ādhi kṛ-tuā / adhi-kṛt-ya [**adhi+kṛ+LyaP*] where it functions as a preverb, but in *yād ātra mām ādhī kar-i-ṣyā-ti* if it is [karmapravacanīya] it does not lose its accent as when it is [gāti] 8.1.71.

1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadām

[The t.t. 1] parasmaipadā denotes (the substitutes of) l-members.

1. The cover symbol [l] stands for various tenses and moods: (a) LAT 'present indicative'; (b) LIT 'perfect'; (c) LUT 'periphrastic future'; (d) LR̥T 'sigmatic future'; (e) LET 'subjunctive mood'; (f) LOT 'imperative mood'; (g) laÑ 'imperfect tense'; (h) lIN 'optative or potential mood', (i) lUN 'aorist'; and (j) lṛÑ 'conditional'. A sub-variety of lIN (= śśr-lIN) is the Benedictive or Precative mood.
2. The substitutes of l-members are by 3.4.77-8: tiP, tās, jhi; siP, thās, thā; miP, vās, mās; tā, śtām, jha; thās, śthām, dhvām; fṭ, vāhi, māhiÑ, consisting of six triplets, each triplet representing in order the singular, dual and plural (1.4.101); the first and fourth belong to the third person (prathama-puruṣā), the second and fifth to the second person (madhyama-puruṣā) and the third and sixth to the first person (uttama-puruṣā) (1.4.102). This general rule (utsargá) stipulates that all these l-substitutes are denoted by the t.t. [parasmaipadā] The following rule is an exception (apavāḍá) to this general rule.

1.4.100 ¹táÑ-²āmaú=ātmanepadám

[The t.t. 1] ātmanepadá denotes [the substitutes of l-members 99] indicated by [the siglum] táÑ [= tá átām jha, thás áthām dhvám, {Ṭ váhi máhiÑ}] and the affix "-āná- [=ŚānáC KānáC].

This is an exception to the preceding rule which constitutes the general rule (utsargá). Since by 99 táÑ is included within the t.t. [parasmaipadá] while this assigns it to [ātmanepadá], by rules 1-2 of this padá the t.t. [ātmanepadá] will uniquely or exclusively denote [táÑ, āná] while the rest of l-member substitutes are uniquely [parasmaipadá].

1.4.101 tiÑas trīṇi trīṇi ¹prathamá-²madhyamá=³uttamáh

[The t.t. 1] prathamá 'third', madhyamá- 'second' and uttamá 'first' respectively (1.3.10) denote the three (and) three triplets of tiÑ [parasmaipadá and ātmanepadá 99-100].

The repetition of the word [trīṇi] is to cover both [parasmaipadá and ātmanepadá] l-substitutes. It may be noted that what is 'third person' in western grammatical terminology is here prathamá (lit. 'first') while the 'first person' is uttamá 'highest'. The word [púruṣa] associated with these triplets is considered by Pāṇinīyas as a pre-Pāṇinīan technical term.

1.4.102 táni=¹ekavacaná-²dvivacaná-³bahuvacanāni ekaśáh

Those (táni) = [three and three triplets of tiÑ 101] taken one by one (ekaśáh) have the [t.t. 1] ekavacaná 'singular, dvivacaná 'dual' and bahuvacaná 'plural' to denote them respectively (1.3.10).

[ekavacaná] 'denoting one', [dvivacaná] 'denoting two' and [bahuvacaná] 'denoting many' are represented respectively as follows: singular: tiP, siP, miP; tá, thás, {Ṭ; dual: tás, thás, vás; átām, áthām, váhi; plural: jhi, tá, mäs; jha, dhvám, máhiÑ.

1.4.103 sUpaḥ

[The triplets 101] of the affixes denoted by the siglum sUP [= sU au Jas, am auṬ Śas, Ṭā bhyām bhis, Ñe bhyām bhyas, ŅasI bhyām bhyas, Ņas os ām, Ņi os suP 4.1.2 taken one by one have the t.t. ekavacaná, dvivacaná and bahuvacaná to denote them 102 respectively].

1. ekavacaná: sU, am, Ṭā, Ñe, ŅasI, Ņas, and Ņi.

2. dvivacaná: au, auṬ, bhyām, bhyām, bhyām, os, and os.

3. bahuvacaná: Jas, Śas, bhis, bhyas, bhyas, ām and suP.

4. These seven triplets of sUP have respectively been given the t.t. prathamā 'first' (nominative), dvitīyā 'second' (accusative), tṛtīyā 'third' (instrumental), caturthī 'fourth' (dative), pañcamī 'fifth' (ablative), ṣaṣthī 'sixth' (genitive) and saptamī 'seventh' (locative) cases [vibhakti 104 below].

1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca

[Each set of three triplets 101] has [t.t. 1] vibhakti to denote it [for tiṅ 101 as well as sUP 103].

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.38; 2.44,64; 3.4; 2.1.6; 5.3.1-27; 6.1.168; 3.132; 7.1.73; 8.4.11.

1.4.105 yuṣmādi=upapadé samānā=adhikaraṇe sthānīny=āpi madhyamāḥ

Madhyamā (second person) triplets are introduced (after a verbal stem) when (the pronominal stem) yuṣmād 'you' co-occurs as an upapadā 'subordinate word' (= subjoined or complementary item) either expressed (sthānīni) (or implied) and denotes the same thing (samānā=adhikaraṇé) (= or is in general grammatical agreement).

Thus: (tvām) pāc-a-si, (yuṣmām) pāca-thas, (yūyām) pāc-a-tha 'thou art cooking, you two are cooking, all of you are cooking' respectively.

1.4.106 prahāśé ca mán-ya=upapade manyāter uttamā ekavát=ca

When irony (prahāśé) is indicated and the verbal theme mán-ya- 'think' (IV 97) co-occurs as an upapadā 'complementary word' [madhyamā triplets are introduced after (the principal) verbal stem 105] but the uttamā (first person) triplet singular (uttamā ekavát) is introduced after the verbal stem mán-ya.

chī mán-ye odanám bhok-syá-se 'come, thou thinkest: "I will eat the rice" (but there is no rice, all of it has been eaten by the guests)'. When irony is not intended the phrase will read as chī mán-ye odanám bhok-sy-é 'come, thou art thinking: "I will eat rice" (thou thinkest well)'.

1.4.107 asmády uttamáh

Uttamá (first person) triplets are introduced [after a verbal stem] when (the pronominal stem) asmád- 'we' [co-occurs as a complementary word (upapadá) either expressed (or implied) and denotes the same thing 105].

(ahám) gācch-ā-mi, (āvām) gācchā-vas, (vayām) gācch-ā-mas respectively meaning 'I go, we two go, all of us go'.

1.4.108 śeṣe prathamáh

Prathamá (third person) triplets are introduced (after a verbal stem) when (a pronominal stem) other than (śeṣe) [yusmád 105 and asmád 107] co-occurs as a complementary word (upapadá) either expressed or implied and denotes the same thing [= or is in grammatical agreement 105].

pāc-a-ti, pāc-a-tas, pāc-anti 'he, she, it) cooks, they two cook, they all cook' respectively.

1.4.109 páraḥ saṁnikarṣáh sāmhitā

[The t.t. 1] sāmhitā 'placing together' denotes the maximum contiguity (sam-nikarṣáh) [of phonemes].

An interval of half a mātrā is supposed to denote this maximum contiguity:
dddhi+dīra = dddhy-dīra (8.1.77) 'curds here'.

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.39; 6.1.72-157; 3.114-39; 8.2.108.

1.4.110 virāmáh avasānam

[The t.t. 1] avasāna denotes cessation (virāmá of articulation = pause, pausa).

As a t.t. occurs in 8.3.15; 4.56.

2.1.1 samarthāḥ pada-vidhīḥ

An operation (vidhī) on padās (1.4.14ff.) (takes effect) only when they are semantically and syntactically connected (samarthāḥ).

This is a metarule (paribhāṣā) and whenever such operations are involved, the word [samarthā] 'semantically and syntactically connected' is to be understood. The compound *rāja-puruṣa-ḥ* alternates with *rājñ-aḥ pūruṣa-ḥ* and both derive from the underlying deep structure [**rājan+Ñas+pūruṣa+sU*] denoting 'servant of the king'; now in the string like *bhāryā rājñah, pūruṣo devadattasya* 'wife of the king, servant of Devadatta', although *rājñah pūruṣah* are contiguous padās, the operation of compounding is blocked, despite 2.2.8, since there is no semantic relationship connecting these two. Similarly by 24 below we have the string *kaṣṭam śritāḥ* [**kaṣṭa+am+śritā+sU*] = *kaṣṭa-śri-tah*, but in the string *paśyā devadatta kaṣṭam, śritō viṣṇudatto gurukulām* 'look at the trouble O Devatta, Viṣṇudatta has taken refuge in the teacher's house' there is not any semantic relationship between the two contiguous padās *kaṣṭam śritāḥ* in this string which will permit the derivation of a compound.

2.1.2 sUP āmantrite para=aṅgavāt svāre

[An expression ending in 1.1.72] sUP triplets occurring before a vocative (āmantrite) [with which it is semantically and syntactically connected 1] is treated as an integral part of the subsequent pre-affixal stem (para=aṅgavāt) with respect to accentuation (svāre).

By 8.1.198 the initial syllable of a vocative bears the udātta accent; thus in the expression *ūrjo napāt sahasvan* 'O mighty son of strength' the pada [urj+Ñas] precedes the vocatives *napāt sahasvan* and bears the udātta accent on its first syllable.

2.1.3 prāk kāḍārāt samāsāḥ

[The t.t.] samāsā 'compound' denotes (all items resulting from the application of subsequent rules in this section) prior to (prāk) [the sūtra (kāḍārāḥ karmadhārayé) 2.2.38].

This is a governing rule and the word [samāsā] recurs in the whole of this section.

2.1.4 sahá sUP-ā

[An item ending in (1.1.72) sUP triplets 2] combines with (sahá) another item (ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets [to generate a compound 3].

This is also a governing rule and the three words [sUP 2] and *saha* sUP-ā will also

recur along with [samarthā 1 and samāsā 3] in the subsequent rules of this section. Thus in 14 below [dvitīyā śrīta=atīta-° etc.] the ellipsis is filled in by [dvitīyā(antām 1.1.72) sUP(antām 2) śrītā=ādibhiḥ sUp(antāḥ 1.1.72) samarthāḥ 1 sahā 3 sāmasyate 3].

2.1.5 avyayI-bhāváḥ

[The t.t.] avyayI-bhāvá [compound 2] denotes all items derived by the application of subsequent rules (up to 21 below).

This is also a governing rule. All such rules are deemed to have the svaritá accent (1.8.11). This t.t. will recur in all the rules from 6 to 21.

2.1.6 ávyayam ¹vibhákṭi-²samīpá-³samḥddhi-⁴vy-ḥddhi-
⁵artha=abhāvá=⁶atyayá-⁷á-samprati-⁸śabda-prādurbhāvá-
⁹paścāt=¹⁰yáthā=¹¹ānupūrvya-¹²yaúgapadya-¹³sādrśya-
¹⁴sampátti-¹⁵sākalya=¹⁶antavacanésu

An indeclinable (ávyaya) [ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 2 combines with 4 a semantically and syntactically connected nominal padá (sUPā) 4 to form an avyayibhāvá 5 compound 3] if it is used to connotate: (1) what is denoted by a nominal (sUP) triplet (vibhákṭi 1.4.104), (2) proximity (samīpá), (3) prosperity (samḥddhi), (4) adversity (vyḥddhi), (5) absence of an object (artha=abhāvá), (6) a passing (away) (atyayá), (7) now is not the proper time (á-samprati), (8) the appearance of a sound (śabda-prādurbhāvá), (9) posteriority (paścāt) (10) the sense of [yáthā], (11) sequence (ānupūrvya), (12) simultaneity (yaúgapadya), (13) similarity (sādrśya), (14) fulfilment (sampátti), (15) completeness (sākalya) and (16) end or terminus (antavacanā).

1. *striṣú dḍhi-kṛt-ya* = *adhi-stri* 'with reference to women'.
2. *kumbhḍeya samīpe* = *upa-kumbhám* 'near the pitcher'.
3. *samḥddhir madráṇām* = *su-madrám* 'things are prospering with the Madrá-s'.
4. *yávanānām vy-ḥddhiḥ* (= *ḥddher dbhāvah*) = *dur-yavanám* 'things are not prospering with the Yavana-s'.
5. *dbhāvo mākṣikāṇām* = *nir-mākṣikám* 'absence from flies'.
6. *himásya atyayám* = *ati-himám* 'the time is now when snow is past'.
7. *nidrā samprati ná* = *ati-nidrám* 'not the proper time for sleep'.
8. *pāṇini-śabdó loké prá-kāś-a-te* = *iti-pāṇiní* 'the name Pāṇini (is being spread)'.
9. *rāthānām paścāt (pādātām)* = *anu-rathám (pādātām)* '(the infantry) is behind the armed chariots'.
10. There are four meanings of [yáthā]: (a) fitness (*yogyatā*), (b) repetition (*vṛpsā*), (c) similarity (*sādrśya*) and (d) not going beyond (*án-ati-vṛtti*) of something

(padārthā). (a) *anu-rūpām* = *rūpa-yogyām* 'fittingly'; (b) *praty-arthām* = *ārīham ārīham prāti* 'object by object'; (c) *śaktīm ān-ati-kram-ya* = *yathā-śakti* 'not going beyond one's ability' and (d) *hāreḥ sādṛśyam* = *sa-harī* 'like Hari'.

11. *jyēṣṭhasya ānupūrvyeṇa* = *anu-jyēṣṭhām* 'in the order of seniority'.
12. *cakreṇa yugapād* = *sa-cakrām* 'simultaneously with the wheel'.
13. *sadṛśāḥ sākhy-ā* = *sa-sakhī* 'like a friend'. While normal similarity is already covered by the meaning (c) of [yāthā] under (10) above, [sādṛśya] here means non-essential secondary similarity.
14. *kṣatráṇām sampāttiḥ* = *sa-kṣatráṇām* 'as befitting a warrior'.
15. *iṇam āpi=d-pari-tyaj-ya* = *sa-tyjām* 'right down to a blade of grass'.
16. *agni-grantha-paryantām ddhī-te* = *sāgnī=ddhī-te* 'studies up to the end of section on Agni'.

2.1.7 yāthā=ā-sādṛśye

[The indeclinable 6 nominal stem 2] *yāthā* [combines with a syntactically and semantically connected 1 nominal padā 4 to form an avyayībhavā 6 compound 3] except when it signifies 'resemblance' (ā-sādṛśye).

yathā-urddhām brāhmaṇān ā-mantr-ay-a-sva 'invite every old brahmin', but *yāthā devadattāś tāthā brahmadattāḥ* 'B. resembles D'. In the compound *sa-harī* illustrating 6 (10 d) above, the meaning of [sādṛśya] in that compound is a property of [sahā] which is replaced by [sa-'] by 6.3.81 and not of [yāthā], since in this sense it is debarred from forming a compound.

2.1.8 yāvad avadhāraṇe

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padā 2] *yāvat* [combines with 4 a syntactically and semantically connected 1 nominal padā 4 to form an avyayībhavā 6 compound 3] when it is used to signify 'limitation' (avadhāraṇe).

yāvad-amatráṇām brāhmaṇān ā-mantr-ay-a-sva 'invite as many brahmins as there are pots', but *yāvad dattām tāvad bhuktām* 'it was eaten so long as it was served' (i.e., one had no idea of how much was actually eaten).

2.1.9 sUP prátinā mātrā=arthé

An item (ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets [combines with 4 the indeclinable nominal padā 2] *prāti* [to form an avyayībhavā 6 compound 3] when it indicates 'a bit' (mātrā=arthé).

śāka-pratī = *śākasya mātrā* 'a little (quantity) of vegetables'; *sūpa-pratī* 'a little of

soup', but *vykṣām prāti vī-dyot-a-te* 'lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.

The repetition of the word [sUP] here while it was recurring from 2 above is to block the recurrence of [ávyaya 6] in the following sūtras.

2.1.10 ¹akṣa-²śalākā-³saṁkhyāḥ páriṇā

[The nominal padās 2] akṣā- 'dice', śalākā 'a small ivory stick used in gambling' and numerals (saṁkhyā) [combine with 4 the indeclinable nominal padā 4] pári [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

This particular formation is restricted to gambling games and has relevance to a game known as Pañcikā in which five dice or ivory sticks are thrown; in a given throw when all five face upwards or downwards the player wins, otherwise he loses. Thus *akṣa-parī* 'unlucky throw of dice'; similarly *śalākā-parī* 'unlucky throw of sticks'; *eka-parī*, *dvī-parī* 'unlucky by one, two, etc.'

2.1.11 vibhāṣā

The word [vibhāṣā] 'optionally' (governs the subsequent rules beginning with this section and ending with 2.2.35).

This governing rule provides that compounds are hereafter formed by subsequent rules optionally which implies that compounds thus formed alternate freely with the uncompounded string of [padās] from which the compounds are derived. It also implies that the compounds generated by rules 6-10 are obligatory (nitya) compounds.

2.1.12 ¹āpa-²pāri-³bahís=⁴āñcavaḥ pañcamyā

[The indeclinable nominal padās 2] āpa-°, pári-°, bahís-° and items (ending in 1.1.72) -°-añc- [optionally 11 combine with syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4] (ending in 1.1.72) the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamyā) [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

1. *apa-trigartām vṛṣṭó devāḥ* 'it rained away from T.' or alternatively: *āpa trīgartebhya vṛṣṭó devāḥ*.
2. *pāri-trigartām/pāri trīgartebhyaḥ* 'around Tr.'
3. *bahīḥ-śālām/bahīḥ śālāyāḥ* 'outside the school, extra-curricular'.
4. *prāg-grāmām/prāg grāmāt* 'east of the 'village'.

2.1.13 āN 'maryāḍā'abhividyōh

[The indeclinable nominal padā 2] āN [optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4 (ending in 1.1.72) the fifth sUP triplet 12 to form an avyayībhāṣā 6 compound 3] when indicating exclusive (maryāḍā) or inclusive (abhividyōh) limit.

1. *ā-pāṭaliputrām/ā pāṭaliputrāt* 'up to (but excluding) P.'
2. *ā-kumarām/ā kumārāt yāśāḥ pāṇineḥ* 'P's fame has reached even the young boys'; ablative by 2.3.10.

2.1.14 lākṣaṇena=¹abhi-²prāti=ābbhimukhye

[The indeclinable nominal padās 2] abhi-¹ and prāti-² [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4 to form an avyayībhāṣā 6 compound 3] when they denote a direction towards (ābbhimukhye) and the nominal padās imply the goal of that direction (lākṣaṇena).

abhy-agnī/agnīm abhi śalabhāḥ pāt-anti 'moths fly in the direction of the fire'; similarly *praty-agnī/agnīm prāti* but *srugham prāti gatāḥ* 'returning, he turned towards the direction of Sr.'

2.1.15 ānur yat-samayā

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padā 2] ānu-¹ 'after' [optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4] whose proximity is indicated by it (yat-samayā) [to form an avyayībhāṣā 6 compound 3].

anu-vandm/vānam ānu aśnir gataḥ 'the thunderbolt fell near the forest', but *vrkṣām ānu vī-dyot-a-te vidyūt* 'lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.

2.1.16 yāsyā ca=āyāmāḥ

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padā 2 ānu-¹ 15 optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4] whose extent (āyāmāḥ) is indicated by it [to form an avyayībhāṣā 6 compound 3].

anu-gaṅgām/gāṅgām ānu vīrāṇasī 'V. extends along the river G.' But *vrkṣām ānu vīdyot-a-te vidyūt*.

2.1.17 tiṣṭhad-gú-prabhṛtīni ca

The class of words whose first member is tiṣṭhad-gú are [avyayībhāvá 6 compounds 3] also (ca).

tiṣṭhanti gāvo yāmin kālē dōhanāya = *tiṣṭhad-gú* 'time for milking when the cows stand to be milked'.

2.1.18 pāré mādhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padās 2] pāré and mādhye (respectively denoting 'across' and 'amid') [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4 (ending in 1.1.72)] the sixth sUP triplet [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3 optionally 11].

pāre-gaṅgām/pāré gaṅgāyāḥ 'across the river G'; or by 2.2.28 *gaṅgā-pārdm*; the operation of this would have been blocked by the present rule if the particle [vā] were not used. Similarly *madhye-gaṅgām/mādhye gaṅgāyāḥ/gaṅgā-madhydm* 'in the midst of the river Ganges'.

2.1.19 saṁkhyā vāṁśyena

A numeral (saṁkhyā) [ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 2 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4] denoting a 'lineal descendant' (vāṁśyena) [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3 optionally 11].

[vāṁśya] 'lineal descendant' pertains either to (1) consanguinous group or family or (2) an intellectual or spiritual one.

1. *ekavimśati-bhāradvājām* 'a lineage of Bh. consisting of 21 members'.
2. *trāyo mūnayo vyākaraṇasya vāṁśyāḥ* = *tri-munī vyākaraṇam* 'a grammar of three seers'.

2.1.20 nadībhiś ca

[A numeral 19 ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 2 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4] denoting the name of a river (nadībhiḥ) [optionally 11 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

sapta-gaṅgām / saptaṇām gaṅgānām samāhārāḥ 'at the confluence of seven G.s'; *dvi-yamunām, pañca-nadām* respectively denoting 'at the confluence of two Y.s/five rivers'.

2.1.21 *anya-padārthé ca samjñāyām*

[A nominal padá 2 combines with 4 a nominal padá 4 denoting a river 20 to form an avyayibhāvá 6 compound 3] when signifying something distinct from the constituent members (*anya-padārthé*) to designate a name (*samjñāyām*).

un-matta-gaṅgām = *unmatā gāṅgā yāmin pradēśe*; *lohita-gaṅgām* = *lohita gāṅgā yāmin pradēśe* are proper names of places where the river rages or is red in color.

2.1.22 *tatpuruṣāḥ*

[The t.t.] *tatpuruṣā* [samāsá 'compound 3] (denotes compounds formed by subsequent rules in the section beginning here and ending with 2.2.23 below).

This is also a governing rule and the words [*tatpuruṣāḥ samāsāḥ* 3] will recur in each of the following sūtras up to 2.2.23.

2.1.23 *dvigús ca*

[The t.t. *tatpuruṣā* 22 samāsá 3] also (*ca*) denotes [the compound 3] named *Dvigú* (52 below).

By thus including *Dvigú* in this section the samāsānta rules 5.4. 68-160 apply to it:
pañca-rājām 'an aggregate of five princes' [**pañca+Jas+rājan+Jas* = *pañcaḥ+rājan+Jas* 7.1.22 = *pañca+rājan+TāC+ḥ* 5.4.91 = *pañca-rāja+á* = *pañca-rājā-* 8.1.97 = *pañca-rājā+am* 2.4.1]

2.1.24 *dvitīyā¹śrītā=²ātīta=³patitā-⁴gatā=⁵ātyasta-⁶prāpta=⁷āpannaiḥ*

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*dvitīyā*) [optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) *śrītā-* 'resorted to, attained', (2) *ātīta-* 'gone beyond', (3) *patitā-* 'fallen', (4) *gatā-* 'gone', (5) *ātyasta-* 'thrown beyond', (6) *prāpta-* 'reached', (7) *āpanna-* 'arrived at, attained' [to form a *tatpuruṣā* 22 compound 3].

1. *kaṣṭām śrītāḥ/kaṣṭā-śrītāḥ* 'fallen upon misfortune' (8.2.47 for accent).
2. *kāntāram ātītaḥ/kāntārātītaḥ* 'gone beyond the forest'.
3. *nārakam patitāḥ/nāraka-patitāḥ* 'fallen into hell'.
4. *grāmam gataḥ/grāma-gataḥ* 'gone to the village' (8.2.47 for accent).
5. *tarāṅgān ātyastaḥ/tarāṅgātyastaḥ* 'thrown beyond the waves'.

6. *sukhám prāptah/sukhā-prāptah* 'attained happiness'. *sukhám āpannah/sukhāpannah* 'ibid.' (Accent for 2, 3, 5, 8 by 6.2.144).

2.1.25 svayám Kténa

[The nominal *padá* 2] *svayám* 'by oneself' [optionally 11 combines with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72] the affix *Ktá* [to form a *tat-puruṣá* 22 compound 3].

svayam-dhauṭaṣ/svayám dhauṭaṣ pādaṣ 'feet washed by oneself'.

2.1.26 khātvā kṣépe

[The nominal *padá* 2] *khātvā* 'bed' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 combines with an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix *Ktá* 25 to form a *tatpuruṣá* 22 compound 3] to denote censure (*kṣépe*).

khaṭvārūḍhā 'gone astray', but *khaṭvām ārūḍhaḥ* 'ascended the bed' does not convey censure, and so when censure is to be implied, the compound is necessarily formed contra the governing rule 11 above. Cf. 6.2.147 for accent.

2.1.27 sāmí

[The indeclinable 6 nominal *padá* 2] *sāmí* 'half' [optionally 11 combines with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix *Ktá* 25 to form a *tatpuruṣá* 22 compound 3].

sāmi-kṛtām / sāmí kṛtām 'half done'.

2.1.28 kālāḥ

[Nominal *padás* 2] denoting 'time' (*kālāḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 optionally 11 combine with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix *Ktá* 25 to form a *tatpuruṣá* 22 compound 3].

dhara-atīṣṭah (muhartdḥ)/dhar atīṣṭah 'which has passed through the day';
māsa-pramitāḥ/māsam pramitah (candramāḥ) 'new moon, engaged in measuring out the month'.

2.1.29 atyanta-saṁyogé ca

[Nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 optionally 11 combine with nominal padás 4] also (ca) when expressing a complete connection (atyanta-saṁyogé) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

muhūrtām sukhām/muhūrtā-sukham 'happiness lasting a muhūrtā'.

2.1.30 tṛtīyā tat-kṛtā=arthena guṇa-vācanena

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting a property (guṇa-vācanena) which is produced by what is signified by the prior member (tat=kṛtā=arthena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

śankulādyā khaṇḍāḥ/śankulā-khaṇḍāḥ 'cut by a pair of nippers'; *kirīṇā kāṇḍāḥ/kirī-kāṇḍāḥ* 'blinded in one eye by a boar'.

2.1.31 ¹pūrva-²sadṛśa-³samā=⁴ūnā=artha-⁵kalahā-⁶nipuṇā-⁷miśrā-⁸ślakṣṇāḥ

[A nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] pūrva- 'previous, prior', sadṛśa- 'like', samā- 'same', words denoting 'lacking' (ūnā=artha), kalahā- 'strife, quarrel', nipuṇā- 'skilful', miśrā- 'mixed' and ślakṣṇā- 'polished' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *māseṇa pūrvah/māsa-pūrvah* 'previous by a month'.
2. *mātrā sadṛśah/mātrī-sadṛśah* 'resembling the mother'
3. *pitrā samāḥ/pitrī-samāḥ* 'equal to the father'.
4. *kārṣaṇeṇa vikalam/kārṣaṇa-vikalam* 'short by a k.'
5. *aśnā kalahāḥ/aśī-kalahāḥ* 'a fight with swords'.
6. *vācā nipuṇah/vān-nipuṇah* 'skilful at words'.
7. *gudēṇa miśrah/gudā-miśrah* 'mixed with molasses'.
8. *ācārēṇa ślakṣṇāḥ/ācārā-ślakṣṇāḥ* 'polished in manners'.

2.1.32 ¹kartṛ-²kāraṇe kṛtā bahulām

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30] denoting the agent (kartāri) or the instrument (kāraṇe) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] a kṛt affix (primary derivative affix) in various ways (bahulām) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. denoting an agent: *āhina hatāḥ/āhi-hataḥ* 'killed by a snake'.
2. denoting an instrument: *paraśūnā chinnāḥ/paraśūc-chinnāḥ* 'chopped with an axe'.
3. compounds are not formed: *bhikṣābhīr usitāḥ* 'lives on alms'; *dātṛeṇa lā-navān* 'has cut with a sickle'; *paraśūnā chinnāvān* 'has chopped with an axe'.

2.1.33 kṛtyair adhika=ārtha-vacané

[A nominal padā 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 denoting the agent or instrument 32 optionally 11 combines with nominal padās 4 ending in 1.1.72] kṛtya (3.1.95-132) affixes when conveying the sense of 'exaggeration' (adhika=ārtha-vacané) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

1. denoting an agent: *kākena pēyā/kāka-peyā nadf* 'a shallow river (which has so little water in it that it can only be drunk by a crow)'.
2. denoting an instrument: *vātena chedyām/vāta-c-chedyam tñam* 'grass (which is so tender that it) can be cut by the breeze'.

2.1.34 ānnena vyāñjanam

[A nominal padā 2] denoting a condiment (vyāñjana) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 optionally 11 combines with a nominal padā 4] denoting food (ānnena) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

dādānā (āpasiktāḥ) odanāḥ / dādhy-odanāḥ 'rice, (sprinkled with) curds'. The syntactic connection is provided by the alternative string of padās.

2.1.35 bhakṣyēṇa miśrīkāraṇam

[A nominal padā 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30] denoting a 'relish' (miśrī-kāraṇam) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padā 4] denoting an item of food (bhakṣyēṇa) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

guḍēna (miśrāḥ) dhānāḥ / guḍā-dhānāḥ 'barley mixed with molasses'; *guḍēna (miśrāḥ) pñthukāḥ* 'fried rice mixed with molasses' = *guḍā-pñthukāḥ*

2.1.36 caturthī ¹tad-ārtha=²ārtha-³balī-⁴hita-⁵sukha-⁶rakṣitaḥ

[A nominal padā 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (caturthī)

[optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] (1) signifying something for what is denoted by the prior member (tád-artha) or with (2) ártḥa- 'purpose', (3) balí- 'sacrificial offering', (4) hitá- 'beneficial', (5) sukhá- 'agreeable', and (6) rakṣitá- 'reserved, protected' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *yūpāya dāru/yāpa-dāru* 'wood for sacrificial post'; *kuṇḍalāya hiraṇyam/kuṇḍala-hiraṇyam* 'gold for ear-rings', but not from *rāndhanāya eṭhālī* 'pot for cooking'.
2. By an interpreting vārttika an obligatory compound is enjoined: *brāhmaṇārtham pāyaḥ* 'milk (or water) for the brahmin'.
3. *kūberāya balīḥ/kubera-balīḥ* 'a sacrificial offering to K.'
4. *gōbhyo hitām/gō-hitām* 'beneficial to cattle' (6.2.45 for accent).
5. *dēve-bhyaḥ sukhām/aśva-sukhām* 'agreeable or conducive to the happiness of horses'.
6. *gō-bhyo rakṣitām/gō-rakṣitām* 'reserved for cattle' (6.2.45).

2.1.37 pañcamī bhayéna

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] bhayá- 'fear' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

vṛke-bhyo bhayām/vṛka-bhayām 'fear of wolves'; *caurē-bhyo bhayām/caura-bhayām* 'fear of thieves'. This rule also applies to synonyms of [bhayá] such as [bhīṭá-] 'was afraid of', [bhīṭī-, bhī] 'fear'.

2.1.38 ¹apetá=²ápoḍha-³muktá-⁴patitá=⁵apatrastáṛ alpaśáḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 37 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) apetá- 'parted', (2) ápoḍha- 'carried away', (3) muktá- 'released', (4) patitá- 'fallen' and apatrastá- 'afraid of', in a very few cases (alpaśáḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *sukhād apetāḥ/sukhāpetāḥ* 'parted from happiness'.
 2. *kālpānyāḥ=ápoḍhaḥ/kālpānapoḍhāḥ* 'carried away by imagination'.
 3. *cakrāt=muktāḥ/cakra-muktāḥ* 'released from the wheel'.
 4. *svargāt patitāḥ/svarga-patitāḥ* 'fallen from paradise'.
 5. *tarāṅgē-bhyaḥ=apatrastāḥ/tarāṅgāpatrastāḥ* 'afraid of waves'.
- Governing rule 11 operates here.

2.1.39 ¹stoká=²antiká=³dūrā=artha-⁴kṛcchrāṇi Kténa

[Nominal padá 2] denoting the sense of (1) stoká- 'a little', (2) antiká- 'near' (3) dūrā- 'far' and (4) the expression kṛcchrā- 'difficulty' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 37 optionally 11 combine with the nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Kta [to form a Tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

1. *stok-āt-muk-tā-h/stokān-muk-tā-h* 'barely released'.
2. *antik-āt-ā-ga-tā-h/antik-ād-ā-ga-tā-h* 'come from near'.
3. *dūr-āt-ā-ga-tā-h/dūr-ād-ā-ga-tā-h* 'come from far'.
4. *kṛcchr-āt-lab-dhā-h/kṛcchr-āl-lab-dhā-h* 'obtained with difficulty'.

These expressions constitute what are known as [a-luK-samāsas] (6.3.2) where the sUP triplet of the first member is not replaced by Ø¹ (luK) as required by 2.4.71.

2.1.40 saptamī śauṇḍāñh

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) [optionally 11 combines with the nominal padá 4 class] whose first member is śauṇḍā- 'adroit, skilful' [to form a tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

akṣe-ṣu śauṇḍāñh/akṣā-śauṇḍāñh 'skilful at dice'. The list of words headed by [śauṇḍā] forms part of the Ganapāṭha.

2.1.41 ¹siddhā=²śuṣkā=³pakvā=⁴bandhāś ca

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) siddhā- 'perfected', (2) śuṣkā- 'dried', (3) pakvā- 'cooked' and (4) bandhā- 'binding, combination' [to form a tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

1. *sāmkāśye siddhāñh/sāmkāśya-siddhāñh* 'perfect in S.'
2. *ātapē śuṣkāñh/ātapā-śuṣkāñh* 'sun-dried'.
3. *sthalyām pakvāñh/sthālī-pakvāñh* 'cooked in a pot'.
4. *cakrē bandhāñh/cakrā-bandhāñh* 'bound on the wheel'.
5. A separate rule is necessary since these are not included in the śauṇḍā-list of Ganapāṭha.

2.1.42 dhvāñkṣeṇa kṣépe

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting the sense of dhvāñkṣa- 'crow' when expressing the sense of 'derision, contempt' (kṣépe) [to form a tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

tīrthē dhvāṅkṣa (iva) = *tīrthā-dhvāṅkṣaḥ/tīrthā-kakāḥ, tīrthā-vāyasah* 'an unstable person (lit. a crow in a sacred bathing place)', but *tīrthē dhvāṅkṣas tīṣṭh-a-ti* 'a crow is remaining in the sacred bathing space'.

2.1.43 kṛtyair ṛṇé

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4 ending in 1.1.72] kṛtya affixes [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when signifying a debt (ṛṇé).

māsē dēyam/māśā-dēyam ṛṇām 'a debt to be paid within a month'. The word [ṛṇé] by implication extends the scope of this rule to other situations when an obligation of time is involved; thus *purvāḥṇé-geyam/pūrvāḥṇā-d-geyam sāma* 'a sāman that is to be recited in the morning' in which the prior member retains its sUP triplet by 6.3.14

2.1.44 saṁjñāyām

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when denoting a name (saṁjñāyām).

dranyē-tīlakāḥ 'wild sesamum' with non-replacement of sUP triplet of the prior member by 6.3.9.

2.1.45 Kténa=¹aho=²rātra=avayavāḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40] denoting the divisions of day (áhan) and night (rātrī) [combines with a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

pūrvāḥṇé kṛtām/pūrvāḥṇā-d-kṛtām 'accomplished in the day'; *aparāḥṇé kṛtām/aparāḥṇā-d-kṛtām* 'accomplished in the afternoon'; similarly: *purvarātré kṛtām/pūrvā-rātrā-d-kṛtām* 'performed in the first half of the night'; *apara-rātré kṛtām/apara-rātrā-d-kṛtām* 'done in the second half of the night'; but *dhani bhuktām* 'eaten in the morning'.

2.1.46 táttra

[The nominal padá 2] táttra [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 (5.3.10) combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 45 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

tātra-kytam 'done there', *tātra-bhuktam* 'eaten there'.

2.1.47 kṣépe

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 45 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when indicating censure (kṣépe).

dvatāpie-nakula-sthītam 'inconstancy (like that of mangoose on a hot plate)'; non-elision of the seventh sUP triplet by 6.3.14. Similarly *bhḍemani-hutam* 'fruitless action (like offering an oblation in ashes)'.

2.1.48 pātre-samita=ādayas=ca

The class of expressions beginning with *pātre-samita-* 'constantly present at meals' (= a parasite) are [tatpuruṣá 22 compounds 3 when indicating blame or censure (kṣépe) 47].

2.1.49 ¹pūrva-kālā=²éka-³sarvā-⁴járat-⁵purāṇá-⁶náva-⁷kévalāḥ samāná=adhikaraṇena

[A nominal padá 2] denoting something which precedes in time (*pūrva-kālā*) [and nominal padás 4] *éka-* 'one', *sarva-* 'all', *járat-* 'old', *purāṇá-* 'ancient', *náva-* 'new' and *kévala-* 'sole, alone' [combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] having a common frame of reference (*samāná=adhikaraṇena*) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. The word [*pūrva-kālā*] 'previous time' is relative to the time referred to by the second member: *pūrvam snātdh paścāt=ānulyptah = snātānulyptdh* 'first bathed and then perfumed'; the intention is to settle the order of these nominal padás in composition where the previous action becomes the prior member.
2. *éka (evā) śāṭī = éka-śāṭī* 'one (sole) skirt'; *éka bhikṣā = éka-bhikṣā* '(only) one alms (in a day)'.
3. *sarve devāḥ = sarva-devāḥ* 'all divinities'.
4. *járat hastī = jarat-dhastī* 'old elephant'.
5. *purāṇam āvasathām = purāṇāvasathām* 'ancient habitation'.
6. *nāvam annām = navānnām* 'new rice'.
7. *kévalam annām = kevalānnām* 'mere or only rice'.
8. *kévalo vaiyākaraṇāḥ = kevala-vaiyākaraṇāḥ* 'unique grammarian'.

2.1.50 ¹dīk-²saṁkhyé saṁjñāyām

[Nominal padās 2] denoting directions (dīś) or numbers (saṁkhyā) [combine with 4 syntactically connected nominal padās 4, having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3] provided the compound denotes a name (saṁjñāyām).

1. *pūrvā ca=asaū īṣukāma-sāmī ca = pūrveṣukāmasāmī* 'East īṣukāmasāmī (n.pr. of a village)'; similarly *aparēṣukāma-sāmī* 'Western īṣukāmasāmī'.
2. *saptā fṣayaḥ = saptaṛṣayāḥ* 'Ursa Major (n.pr. of a constellation: Great Bear)'.

2.1.51 ¹taddhita=arthā-²uttara-padā-³saṁāhāre ca

[Nominal padās 2 denoting direction (dīś) or number words (saṁkhyā) 50 optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4 having a common frame of reference with them 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3] provided (a) the meaning to be expressed is one for which a taddhita affix is introduced or (b) the two constituent members occur before a subsequent member (uttara-padā) or (c) a collection (saṁāhāra) is to be denoted.

1. *taddhita=arthā: pūrvasyām śālayām bhāvaḥ = [pūrva+θ+śāla+Ńa (4.1.107)] = pūrva-śāl-a-h (7.2.117; 8.4.64)* 'situated in the eastern house'; *pūrvā śālā priyā yasya = pūrva-śālā-priyaḥ* results in a bahuvrīhi compound 'to whom the eastern house is dear' and the prior member *pūrva-śālā-* 'eastern house' constitutes a tatpuruṣā compound and is accented on the final syllable.
2. *ṣaṇṇām māṭṛṣṇām āpṭyam = [ṣaṭ+θ¹+māṭṛ+āN 4.1.115 = ṣaṭ+mātur+āN 1.1.51] = ṣaṇ-mātur-ā-h (7.1.117; 8.4.45)* 'descendant of six mothers', where the nominal stem *ṣaṭ+māṭṛ* 'six mothers' forms a tatpuruṣā compound. *pañca gāvo dhānam āsya = [pañca+θ¹+go+θ¹+dhana] resulting in a bahuvrīhi compound pañca-gav-dhanaḥ* 'whose wealth consists of five cows', before the final member '-dhana-, *pañca-gav-* constitutes a tatpuruṣā compound
3. *pañcānām gāv-ām saṁāhārāḥ = [pañca+θ¹+go+θ¹+TāC (5.4.92)] = pañca-gav-ā-m (8.1.78)* is accented on the final syllable (8.1.168), where *pañca+go* forms a Dvigu compound (52 below) and is assigned the singular sUP triplet (2.4.1) which is neuter (2.4.17). Similarly *aṣṭānām adhyāyānām saṁāhārāḥ = aṣṭa+adhyāya+ŃIP (4.1.21)+sU = aṣṭādhyāy (6.4.148)+θ (8.1.68)*: 'collection of eight chapters, title of the present work'.

2.1.52 saṁkhyā-pūrvo dvigūḥ

(The t.t.) dvigū denotes [a compound 3] whose first member is a number word (saṁkhyā) [optionally 11 combining with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4 having a common frame of reference 49 provided (a) the meaning to be expressed is one for which a taddhita affix is introduced (taddhita=arthā) or (b) the two constituent members occur before a subsequent member (uttarapadā) or (c) a collection is to be denoted 51].

1. *pañcasu kapāleṣu sāmśkṛtaḥ* 'a sacrificial offering prepared in five vessels' = [pañca+θ¹+kapāla+āN (4.1.16) = pañca-kapāla+θ¹ (4.1.88)] = pañca-kapāla-ḥ (6.2.29); since the affix replacement is by luK (=θ¹) the operation of 7.2.117 is blocked out and there is no vṛddhi replacement of the vowel of the initial syllable of the compound expression.
2. *pañca nāvah priyāḥ=āśya* [pañc+θ¹+nau+θ¹+priya- pañca+nau+TāC (5.4.90)+priya-] since by this rule, before the posterior member '-priya-', pañca+nau- is defined as a dvigū: = pañca-nāvā-priya-ḥ.
3. *pañcānām pālānām samāhārah* = pañca+θ¹+pālā+sU (2.4.1) = pañca-pālā+am (2.4.17) = pañca+pālā+NtP (4.1.21)+θ (6.4.68) = pañca-pālā 'a collection of five bunches of grass'.

2.1.53 kutsitānai kūtsanaḥ

[Nominal padās 2] denoting despicable or contemptible objects (kutsitāni) [combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4 having the same frame of reference 49] denoting reproach (kūtsanaḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

vaiyākaraṇāś ca=asaū khaśūcīś ca = *vaiyākaraṇa-khaśūcī-ḥ* 'stupid grammarian'; the expression khaśūcī- 'one who looks vacantly at the sky (when a response to a question is sought)' = 'a stupid or ignorant person' is indicative of contempt.

2.1.54 ¹pāpā=²aṇaké kutsitaḥ

[The nominal padās 2] pāpā- 'bad, evil' and aṇaka- 'insignificant' [denoting reproach 53 combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4] denoting what is despised (kutsitaḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

By the preceding rule these nominal padās would have been posterior members of compounds, but the present rule reverses the order and they occur as prior members. *pāpāś ca=asaū nāpitāś ca* = [pāpa+θ¹+nāpita+sU] = pāpa-nāpitā-ḥ 'an incompetent barber'; *aṇakāś ca=asaū kulālaś ca* = *aṇaka-kulāla-ḥ* 'an inefficient potter'.

2.1.55 upamānāni sāmānya-vacanaḥ

[A nominal padā 2] denoting an upamāna 'object of comparison' [optionally 11 combines with nominal padās 4] denoting objects possessing a shared feature (sāmānya-vacanaḥ) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

ghaṇḍa iva śyāmdh = *ghaṇḍa-śyāma-h* 'dark as a cloud'; similarly *kūmuda iva śyenī* = *kūmuda-śyenī* 'lily-white' (6.2.2 for accent).

2.1.56 upamitām vyāghrā=ābibhiḥ sāmānya=a-prayogē

[A nominal padā 2] denoting an upamitā 'subject compared' [optionally 11 combines with the class of nominal padās 4] beginning with vyāghrā- 'tiger' [as objects of comparison 55] provided an expression implying that common feature (sāmānya) is not employed (ā-prayoge) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

This is a prior exception to rule 57 below. *pūruṣo vyāghrā iva* = *puruṣa-vyāghrāḥ* 'strong like a tiger' but not when we have a string like *pūruṣo vyāghrā iva śū-rah* 'a person strong as a tiger'.

2.1.57 viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyēṇa bahulām

[A nominal padā 2] denoting a qualifier (viśeṣaṇam) [optionally combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4, having the same frame of reference 49] and denoting the item qualified (viśeṣyēṇa) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3] variously (bahulām).

nīlam utpalām = *nīlotpalām* 'blue lotus'; the word [bahulām] implies that in certain cases the compound is obligatory, despite the governing rule 11 above: *kṛṣṇa-sarpā* 'cobra', and in others like *rāmo dāśarathiḥ* 'Rama, son of Daśaratha' no composition takes place.

2.1.58 ¹pūrva=²āpara=³prathamā=⁴caramā=⁵jaghanyā=⁶samānā=⁷mādhyā=⁸madhyamā=⁹vīrās ca

[The nominal padās 2] pūrva- 'prior', āpara- 'another', prathamā- 'first', caramā- 'last', jaghanyā- 'hindmost, lowest', samānā- 'equal', mādhyā-, madhyamā- 'middle' and vīrā- 'hero' also (ca) [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

1. *pūrva-vaiyākaraṇāḥ* = *pūrvāś ca=asaū vaiyākaraṇāś ca* 'ancient or older grammarian'.
2. *apara-puruṣāḥ* 'another person, successor'. *carama-puruṣāḥ* 'last person'. *jaghanya-puruṣāḥ* 'lowest person'. *samāna-puruṣāḥ* 'equal person'. *madhya-puruṣāḥ*/ *madhyama-puruṣāḥ* 'middle person' and as a t.t. for the second person. *uttra-puruṣāḥ* 'heroic person'.

2.1.59 śrēṇi=ādayaḥ kṛtā=ādibhiḥ

[The class of nominal padās 2] beginning with śrēṇi- 'line' [optionally 11 combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padā class 4] beginning with kṛtā- 'fashioned, made' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

By a vārttika this usage is restricted to indicate the meaning of affix Ovi (5.4.50).
ā-śrēṇayaḥ śrēṇayaḥ kṛtāḥ = *śrēṇi-kṛtāḥ* 'arranged in a line or tier' (6.2.48 for accent).

2.1.60 Ktēna nāñ-viśiṣṭena=ā-nañ

[A nominal padā 2 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktā not co-occurring with particle nāñ [optionally 11 combines with the same nominal stem 4 ending in 1.1.72] affix Ktā co-occurring with particle nāñ [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

kṛtām ca tad ākṛtam ca = *kṛtākṛtām* 'partially done' and similarly *bhuktābhuktām* 'partially eaten', but no composition takes place from the string *siddhām ca tād ābhuktām ca* 'prepared but not eaten'.

2.1.61 ¹sāt=²mahāt=³paramā=⁴uttama=⁵utkrṣṭāḥ pūjyāmanaiḥ

[The nominal padās 2] sāt- 'good', mahāt- 'great', paramā- 'highest', uttama- 'best' and utkrṣṭa- 'eminent, excellent' [optionally 11 combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4 having the same frame of reference 49] and denoting persons deserving of respect (pūjyāmānaiḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

1. *śān vaidyāḥ* = *śān-vaidyāḥ* 'good physician'.
2. *mahāṁś ca=asaū vaiyākaraṇāś ca* = *mahā-vaiyākaraṇāḥ* (6.3.46) 'great grammarian'.
3. *paramāś ca=asaū haṁśāś ca* = *parama-haṁśāḥ* 'highest swan', a designation of the highest class of monks.

4. *uttama-puruṣāḥ* 'highest person' and as t.t. 'first person'.
5. *ut-kṛṣṭa-puruṣāḥ* 'most eminent or excellent person'.

2.1.62 ¹*vṛndāraka*-²*nāgā*-³*kuñjaraiḥ* *pūjyāmānam*

[A nominal *padā* 2] denoting a person deserving of respect (*pūjyāmānam*) [combines with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal *padā*s 4] *vṛndāraka*- 'excellent', *nāgā*- 'elephant' and *kuñjara*- 'elephant' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a *tatpuruṣā* 22 compound 3].

1. *go-vṛndārakāḥ* 'excellent bull'.
2. *go-nāgāḥ/go-kuñjarāḥ* 'excellent bull'.

2.1.63 ¹*katara*-²*katamaú* *jāti-pari-praśné*

[The nominal *padā*s 2] *katara*- 'which of two' and *katama*- 'which of many' with reference to a question regarding genus or class (*jāti-pari-praśné*) [combines with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal *padā* 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a *tatpuruṣā* 22 compound 3].

1. *andyoḥ kāḥ kathāḥ* = *katara-kathāḥ* (for alternate accentuation cf. 6.2.57: *ka-īarā-kāṭha-ḥ*?) 'which of these two is an adept in the Kathā school of Vedic studies?'.
2. *esām kāḥ kalāpāḥ* = *katama-kalāpāḥ* 'which among these many is an adept of the Kalāpā school of Vedic studies?'.

2.1.64 *kīm* *kṣépe*

[The pronominal *padā* 2] *kīm* 'who, what, which', when indicating censure (*kṣépe*) [combines with 1 a syntactically connected 1 nominal *padā* 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a *tatpuruṣā* 22 compound 3].

kutsītó rājā = *kīm-rājā* (*yó ná rāḁa-a-ti*) 'a bad king (who does not protect his subjects)'. Here the *saṁāsānta* affix [TáC] introduced by 5.4.91 is blocked by 5.4.70, thus generating the compound stems like *kīm-rājan*-, *kīm-sakhi*- 'a vile friend (who hates)', *kīm-go*- 'an ox (who does not carry)' etc. Here the word [kīm] functions like an indeclinable, but *kāśya rājā* = *kīm-rājāḥ*, *kāśya sākha* = *kīm-sakhāḥ*, *kāśya gauḥ* = *kīm-gavāḥ*.

2.1.65 ¹poṭā-²yuvatī-³stokā-⁴katipayā-⁵gr̥ṣṭī-⁶dhenú-⁷vaśā-⁸vehāt-⁹baṣkayaṇī-¹⁰pravaktī-¹¹śrōtriya-¹²adhyāpaka-¹³dhūrtāir jātiḥ

[A nominal padā 2] denoting species (jātiḥ) [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4] poṭā 'hermaphrodite', yuvatī- 'young female', stokā- 'a little', katipayā- 'some', gr̥ṣṭī- 'a cow which has had only one calf', dhenú- 'milch cow', vaśā- 'barren cow', vehāt- 'a cow that miscarries or aborts', baṣkayaṇī 'a cow that has a half adult calf', pravaktī- 'promulgator, expounder', śrōtriya- 'a brahmin who studies the Veda' (5.2.88), adhyāpaka- 'teacher' and dhūrtā- 'clever' [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

1. *ibhī ca asaú poṭā ca* = [*ibha*+*NIṢ* (4.1.63)+*pottā* = *ibha*+*ṭ*+*poṭā* (8.2.34)] = *ibha-poṭā* 'a hermaphrodite elephant'.
2. *ibha-yuvatī-ḥ* 'a young female elephant'.
3. *agni-stokā-ḥ* 'a little fire'.
4. *udaśvit-katipayā-m* 'a little buttermilk'.
5. *go-gr̥ṣṭī-ḥ* 'a cow having a single calf'.
6. *go-dhenú-ḥ* 'milch cow'.
7. *go-vaśā* 'a barren cow'.
8. *go-vehāt* 'a cow that miscarries'.
9. *go-baṣkayaṇī* 'a cow having a half adult calf'.
10. *kāṭha-pravaktī-* 'propagator of Kāthā'.
11. *kalāpa-śrōtriya-* 'a student of Kalāpa'.
12. *kāṭhādhyāpaka-* 'a teacher of Kāthā'.
13. *kāṭha-dhūrtā-* 'clever in Kāthā'.

2.1.66 praśaṁsā-vacanaiś ca

[A nominal padā 2 denoting species (jāti) 65 optionally 11 combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4 having the same frame of reference 49] and signifying praise (praśaṁsā) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

matallikā- ca asaú gaś ca = *go-matallikā* 'an excellent cow; similarly *aśva-praśaṁdām* 'an excellent horse'.

2.1.67 yúvā ¹khalatī-²palitā-³valina-⁴jāratībhiḥ

[The nominal padā 2] yúvan- 'young, youthful' [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padās 4] khalatī- 'bald', palitā- 'grey-haired',

valina- 'wrinkled' and járati 'old' (f.) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *yúvā khalatf-h* = *yuva-khalatf-h* 'a bald youth', similarly *yuvatā khalatf* = *yuva-khalatf* 'a bald maiden'.
2. *yuva-palitā-h*, *yuva-palitā* 'grey-haired young person'.
3. *yuva-valinā-h*, *yuva-valinā* 'a wrinkled young person'.
4. *yuva-jarān*, *yuva-jaratf* 'prematurely old young person'.

Note: By using the form [járati] in the sūtra the following maxim of interpretation is introduced: "When a nominal padá is introduced it includes all the genders associated with it".

2.1.68 ¹kṛtya-²túlya=ākhyā á-jātyā

[Nominal padás 2 ending in 1.1.72] kṛtya (3.1.95ff.) affixes as well as synonyms of túlya- 'equivalent' [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] not denoting a species (á-jātyā) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *bhojyām ca tād uṣṇām ca* = *bhojyoṣṇām* 'hot food'; *pānīyam ca tat śītām ca* = *pānīya-śītām* 'cold drink'.
2. *tulya-śvetāh/sadyśa-śvetāh* 'equally white'.
3. But *bhojyā odandāh* 'edible rice'.

2.1.69 várṇo várṇena

[A nominal padá 2] denoting a color (várṇah) [combines with another nominal padá 4] denoting color (várṇena) [syntactically connected with it 1 and having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

kṛṇád ca asau sārāṅgāś ca = *kṛṇa-sārāṅgāś-h* 'black and dappled, a spotted deer'.

2.1.70 kumārāḥ śramaṇā=ādibhiḥ

[The nominal padá 2] kumārā- 'lad, boy' [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 class of nominal padás 4] beginning with śramaṇā 'lady ascetic' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

kumārī śramaṇā = *kumāra+ÑIP+śramaṇā* = *kumāra+Ø+śramaṇā* (6.3.34) = *kumāra-śramaṇā* 'young lady ascetic or mendicant'.

2.1.71 *cātuspādo garbhīṇyā*

[Nominal padās 2] denoting quadrupeds (*cātuspādaḥ*) [combine with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4] *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a *tatpuruṣā* 22 compound 3].

garbhīṇī ca asaś gaś ca = go-garbhīṇī 'a pregnant cow'. Composition here is restricted to words denoting species (*jāti*), hence no composition takes place in the string *kālākṣī garbhīṇī* 'the cow named *Kālākṣī* is pregnant'.

2.1.72 *mayūra-vyaṁsakā=ādayaś ca*

[The class of compound padās 2] beginning with *mayūra-vyaṁsakā-* are also (*ca*) designated [*tatpuruṣā* 22 compounds 3].

mayūraś ca asaś vyāṁsakaś ca = mayūra-vyaṁsakā-ḥ 'a cunning peacock'.

2.2.1 ¹pūrva=²āpara=³ādharma=⁴úttaram ekadeśinā=eka=adhikarāṇe

[The nominal padās 1.2] pūrva- 'front, fore', āpara- 'back', ādhara- 'lower' and úttara- 'higher' [combine with a nominal padā 1.4] denoting a single substance (eka=adhikarāṇe) consisting of parts (eka-deśinā) [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

Since the single substance with parts is referred to as forming the posterior member of a compound, the sixth sUP triplets are introduced after it (technically known as [avayava-ṣaṣṭhī]). This rule is a prior exception to 8 below.

1. *pūrvam kāyāśya* = *pūrva-kāyā-ḥ* 'front of the body'.
2. *āparam kāyāśya* = *āpara-kāyā-ḥ* 'back of the body'.
3. *adhara-kāyā-ḥ* 'lower part of the body'.
4. *uttara-kāyā-ḥ* 'upper part of the body'.

In a Karmadhāraya compound *pūrvāś ca asaú kāyāś ca* = *pūrva-kāyā-ḥ* the reference is not to a part of the body but to the whole body.

2.2.2 ardhām nāpuṃsakam

[The nominal padā 1.2] ardhām (used as a neuter: nāpuṃsakam) 'half' (but not as a qualifier) [combines with a nominal padā 1.4 denoting a single substance consisting of parts 1 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

ardhām pippalyāḥ = *ardha-pippalī* 'half a pepper'; when not neuter we have the string *grāmasya ardhāḥ* = *gramārdhā-ḥ* 'half the village' where it is the posterior member.

2.2.3 ¹dvitīya-²ṭṭīya-³caturthā-⁴túryāṇi anyatarāśyām

[The nominal padās 1.2] dvitīya- 'second', ṭṭīya- 'third', caturthā- and túrya- 'fourth' optionally (anyatarāśyām) [combine with a nominal padā 1.4 denoting a single substance with parts 1 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

dvitīyam bhikṣāyāḥ = *dvitīya-bhikṣā* 'a second alms-giving' or alternately *bhikṣā-dvitīyam*; similarly: *ṭṭīya-bhikṣā/bhikṣā-ṭṭīyam*; *caturtha-bhikṣā/bhikṣā-caturtham*; *túrya-bhikṣā/bhikṣā-túryam* 'third/fourth alms-giving'.

2.2.4 ¹prāpta=²āpanne ca dvitīyayā

[The nominal padās 1.2] prāpta- and ā-panna- 'gained, attained' also (ca) [combine with nominal padās 1.4] co-occurring with the second sUP triplets [optionally 3 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

prāpto jīvikām = *prāpta-jīvikā-h/jīvikā-prāptāḥ* (1.24) 'who has gained his livelihood'; = *āpanna-jīvikā-h/jīvikāpannā-h*.

2.2.5 *kālāḥ partimāṇīnā*

[Nominal padās 1.2] denoting time (*kālāḥ*) [combine with nominal padās 1.4] denoting objects which are measured (*partimāṇīnā*) by time [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

māso jātāḥ=asya = *māsa-jātā-h* 'born a month back'.

2.2.6 *nāñ*

[The negative particle] *nāñ* [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

nā brāhmaṇā-h = *ā-brāhmaṇa-h* (6.3.73) 'not a brahmin'; *nā kūsāla-h* = *ā-kūsāla-h* 'not dextrous or clever'.

2.2.7 *ṛṣāt=ā-kṛt-ā*

[The indeclinable padā 1.2] *ṛṣāt* 'a little, slightly' [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4] not (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛt (3.1.93ff.) affix [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

ṛṣat-piṅgalā-h 'slightly brownish'; *ṛṣat-kaḍārdā-h* 'a little tawny'. (Cf. 6.2.54 for alternative accent *ṛṣāt-kaḍāra*.)

Note: A vārttika modifies this rule by replacing [ā-kṛt-ā] by [guṇa-vācanena]: Pāṇini himself has the compound [ṛṣad-a-samāpti] 'slight incompleteness' (5.3.67).

2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*

[A nominal padā 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*ṣaṣṭhī*) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

rājñah pūruṣa-h = *rāja-puruṣa-h* 'king's man, royal servant'.

2.2.9 yājaka=ādibhiś ca

[A nominal padā 1.2. ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 9] also (ca) [combines with 1.4 the class of nominal padās 1.4] beginning with yājaka- 'sacrificer' [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

Words forming this class end in the affix [°-tṣC or °-aka-] and by 16 below do not combine with a prior member ending in the sixth sUP triplet, and so this rule is a prior exception to that: *brāhmaṇasya yājaka-h* / *brāhmaṇa-yājaka-h* 'performer of a sacrifice for a brahmin'.

2.2.10 nā nirdhāraṇe

[A nominal padā 1.2. ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced (by 2.3.42) to denote a setting apart (nirdhāraṇe) does not (nā) [combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

ny-ñām dviṣḍh śrēṣṭhah 'among men the twice-born is the best'; *kṛṇḍ gūvān admpanna-kṣīra-tamā* 'the black cow is the most bounteous of milch-cows'.

By a vārttika an item ending in the sixth sUP triplet introduced by a rule other than 2.3.50 never combines to form a compound.

2.2.11 ¹pūraṇa-²guṇā-³sūhita=artha-⁴SAT=⁵avyaya-⁶tāvya-⁷samānā=adhikaraṇena

[A nominal padā 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4] consisting of (a) ordinals (pūraṇa), (b) qualifying expressions (guṇā), (c) a word denoting 'satisfaction' (sūhita=artha), (d) a participle ending in the affix SAT (= ŚātR-, ŚānāC 3.2.127), (e) an indeclinable, (f) padās ending in °-tāvya- and (g) a padā having the same frame of reference (samānā=adhikaraṇena) [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

1. *chatrāṇām pañcamāḥ* 'fifth among pupils'.
2. *kākasya kārṇyam* 'blackness of the crow'.
3. *phālānām sūhitah/ṭṣṭāḥ* 'satisfied with fruit'.
4. *brāhmaṇasya kurvaṇ/kurvānāḥ* 'working for a brahmin'.
5. *brāhmaṇasya kṛ-tvā* 'having worked for a brahmin'.
6. *rājñah kar-tāvya-m* 'duty of a king'.

2.2.12 Kténa ca pūjāyām

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 7 does not 10] also (ca) [combine with 1.2 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá denoting homage (pūjāyām 3.2.188) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

rājñām matāh/buddhāh/pājītāh 'respected, honored or recognized by the king'.

2.2.13 adhikarāṇa-vācīnā ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10] also (ca) [combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 12] introduced as a locus signifier (adhikarāṇa-vācīnā 3.4.76) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

īdām eṣām bhuktām 'this is their place for eating'; *īdām eṣām āsitām* 'this is their place of sitting'.

2.2.14 kārmaṇi ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced as an object marker (kārmaṇi 3.26) also (ca) [does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

āścaryò gāvām dōhah d-gopālakena 'wonderful is the milking of cows by one who is not a cowherd'.

2.2.15 ¹tṛC=²akābhyām kartāri

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced as an agent marker (kartāri 3.65) [does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affixes °-tṛC- or °-aka- [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

bhāvatah śāyikā/āśikā 'your honor's turn for sleeping/sitting'. The affix [°-aka-] is a replacement of [vu 7.1.1] occurring in the following affixes: [(a) kṛt: NvuC, NvuL, vuN¹, vuN¹, ŠvuN and (b) taddhita: DvuN, vuK, vuC, vuN² and vuN²]. All kṛt affixes are markers of the agent (3.4.76) and so do not enter into com-

position with a genitive having the value of an agent (16 below); its inclusion here is with reference to the *taddhitā* affixes only. Similarly [t_rC] is an agent marker (3.1.133) and has its domain in the subsequent sūtra.

2.2.16 kartāri ca

[A nominal padā 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10 combine with 1.4. syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padās 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes °-t_rC- or °-aka- 15] introduced as agent markers (kartāri) [to form tatpuruṣā 1.22 compounds 1.3].

[°-t_rC] is a k_{rt} affix (3.1.133) as are [NvuC] and [NvuL], [vuN¹], [vuN¹] and [ṢvuN], and all k_{rt} affixes are agent markers (3.4.670).

1. *apām srasṭā* 'creator of waters'; *vajrasya bhartā* 'bearer of the thunderbolt'; *pūram bhettā* 'destroyer of fortified cities'.
2. *yāvānām lāvakah* 'reaper of barley'; *odanāsya pācakah* 'who cooks rice'.

2.2.17 nītyam ¹krīḍā-²jīvikayoḥ

[A nominal padā 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] necessarily (nītyam) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes °-t_rC or °-aka 15 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3] when denoting a sport (krīḍā) or livelihood (jīvikā).

Since the affix [t_rC] does not occur in these two senses, the affix involved is [aka] only, though both are present by anuvṛtti.

1. sport: *uddālaka-puṣpa-bhañjikā* 'n.pr. of a sport in which Uddālaka flowers are crushed' (6.2.74 for accent).
2. livelihood: *danta-lekh-akā-ḥ* 'dentist', *nakha-lekh-akā-ḥ* 'manicurist'.

2.2.18 ¹kū-²gāti-³prā=ādayaḥ

[The indeclinable padā 1.2] kū- 'bad, worthless', items of the gāti-class (1.4.60ff.) and prā-class (1.4.58) [combine with 1.4 syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padās 1.4 necessarily 17 to form tatpuruṣā 1.22 compounds 1.3].

1. *kuteitāḥ pūruṣaḥ* = *kū-puruṣaḥ* 'worthless person'
2. *grī-kṛt-ya* 'having accepted'.
3. *sū-brāhmaṇaḥ* 'worthy brahmin'; *śī-brāhmaṇaḥ* 'excellent brahmin', *ś-kāḍṛaḥ* 'slightly tawny'.

A set of vārtikas on this indicate the case relationship of the nominal padās co-occurring with the preverbs:

(a) first sUP triplet: *pra-gatā ācāryaḥ* = *prācāryaḥ* 'professor, excellent teacher'; *prāntevāsin-* 'excellent pupil'.

- (b) second sUP triplet: *atīkrāntaḥ kṣāṭvām* = *āti-kṣaṭvāḥ* 'gone beyond the bedstead (i.e., able to do without one)'.
 (c) third sUP triplet: *āva-kṛṣṭaḥ kokilāyā* = *āva-kokilāḥ* 'announced by the song of the cuckoo'.
 (d) fourth sUP triplet: *pari-glānāḥ adhyāyanāya* = *pāry-adhy-ayanaḥ* 'weary of study'; *dlam kumaryāḥ* = *dlam-kumārīḥ* 'suitable for the maiden'.
 (e) fifth sUP triplet: *niṣ-kṛāntāḥ kauśāmbīyāḥ* = *niṣ-kauśāmbīḥ* 'departed from Kauśāmbī'.

2.2.19 upapadām ā-tiN̄

An upapadā (3.1.92) which does not terminate (1.1.72) in a verbal personal ending (l-substitute tiN̄) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 necessarily 17 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

kumbhām kar-ś-ti = [*kumbhā+0+kr+āN̄* 3.2.1] = *kumbha-kār-ś-* 'a potter';
nagara-kār-ś- 'a builder of cities'.

2.2.20 amā=evā=āvyayena

[When an upapadā which does not terminate 1.1.72 in tiN̄ 19 combines with 1.4] an indeclinable (āvyayena) [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3] it does so only (evā) with one ending in (1.1.72) the affix ^o-am.

svādum+kr+Nam̐L (3.4.26) = *svādum-kār-am bhukṭ-tē* 'eats making (one's food) palatable'. *lavanam-kār-am bhukṭ-tē* 'eats after adding salt (to one's food)'
 But *āgre bha-tvā*.

2.2.21 tṛtīyā-prabhṛtīni=anyatārasyām

[Upapadās 19] introduced from 3.4.47 with those ending in the third sUP triplet (up to 3.4.64) optionally (anyatārasyām) [combine with 1.4 an indeclinable ending in 1.1.72. ^oam (=Nam̐L) 20 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

3.4.47: *mālakena=upa-dāṛś-am* = *mālakopa-dāṛś-am bhukṭ-tē* 'eats with radish as a relish'. 3.4.48: *pāśvāyora upa-pīḍ-am* = *pāśvōpa-pīḍ-am śe-tē* 'lies down pressing on one's sides'.

2.2.22 Ktvā ca

[Upapadās 19] introduced from 3.4.47 with those ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (up to 3.4.64) 21 [combine with 1.4 an indeclinable 20 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktvā [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3] optionally (anyatāraśyam).

uccaḥ kṛtvā / uccaḥ-kṛt-ya 'loudly (with a high-pitched voice)'.

2.2.23 śéṣo bahuvrīhīḥ

(The t.t.) bahuvrīhī denotes residual (śéṣaḥ) [compounds 1.3] (with respect to those provided by 2.1.6-2.22).

This is a governing rule up to 28 below. Since only padās ending in sUP triplets other than the first have been dealt with in the preceding section 2.1.6-2.22, the first sUP triplet constitutes this residue.

2.2.24 ānekam anyapada=arthé

Two or more (ān-ekam) [nominal padās 1.2 can combine with 1.4 each other] to denote something distinct (from what is implied by the constituent padās) (anyapada=arthé) [to form a bahuvrīhī 23 compound 1.3].

1. *prāptam udakām yām grāmam = prāptodako grāmah* 'an inundated village'; 2. *ādhō rātho yēna śd = ādhā-rathah (= anadvañ)* 'a bull by which the chariot has been drawn'; 3. *ūpa-hṛtaḥ paśūḥ yāsmāi śd = ūpa-hṛta-paśuḥ (rudrāḥ)* 'Rudrá, to whom an animal has been offered as sacrifice'; 4. *ūddhṛtaḥ-odanō yāsyāḥ śd = ūddhṛtaudanā śthālī* 'a vessel from which rice has been lifted'; 5. *citrā gāvo yāsya śdḥ = citrā-gur devadattāḥ* 'D. who owns brindled cows'; 6. *vīrāḥ pūruṣāḥ yāsmīn grāme sa = vīrā-puruṣa-ka grāmah* (5.4.154) 'a village in which heroic persons live'.

2.2.25 saṁkhyāyā=¹avyaya=²āsanna=³ádūra=⁴ádhika- ⁵saṁkhyāḥ saṁkhyéye

An indeclinable (avyaya) and [the nominal padās 1.2] āsanna- 'near', ádūra- 'not distant', ádhika- 'surplus' and numerals (saṁkhyā) [combine with 1.4] another numeral (saṁkhyāyā) used for enumeration (saṁkhyéye) [to form a bahuvrīhī 23 compound 1.3].

1. indeclinable: *vimśatīḥ samīpe yē = ūpa-vimś-ā-ḥ* 'about ten (= nine or eleven)'.
2. *vimśatēr āsannāḥ yē = té āsanna-vimśāḥ* (5.4.73; 6.4.142) 'near 20 (= 19 or 21)'.

3. *adūra-vimśāḥ* 'not far from 20 (= 19 or 21)'.

4. *vimśatér ádhikāḥ* = *adhika-vimśāḥ* 'exceeding 20'.

5. *dvau vā trāyo vā* = *dvi-trāḥ* 'two or three'; *dvīḥ avyṭṭā daśa* = *dvī-daśāḥ* 'twice ten (= twenty)'.

2.2.26 *dīn-nāmāny antarālē*

[Nominal padās 1.2] denoting names of directions (*dīn-nāmāni*) [combine with one another 1.4 to form a bahuvrīhī 23 compound 1.3] denoting the intermediate (*antarālē*) direction.

dāśiṇasyās ca pūrvasyās ca diśoh=antarālm = *dāśiṇa-pūrvā* 'south-east'.

2.2.27 *tātra téna=idām iti sārūpe*

Two identical (*sārūpe*) nominal padās 1.2 ending in the seventh or third sUP triplet (*tātra*, *téna*) [combine with (one another) 1.4 to form a bahuvrīhī 23 compound 1.3] to express the meaning 'in this'.

The expression [iti] in the sūtra indicates the meaning of the compound is to be understood from popular usage; these are seizing (*grāhaṇa*), striking (*prahāraṇa*) and fighting mutually (*karma-vyāthārā* in a *yuddhā*).

1. *kéśesu kéśeṣu gṛh-i-tvā idām yuddhām pra-vṛttām* = *keśakeśī yuddhām* 'a fight in which there is mutual pulling of hair'.

2. *daṇḍāś ca daṇḍāś ca pra-gṛh-ya idām yuddhām pra-vṛttām* = *daṇḍādaṇḍī yuddhām* 'a fight in which there is mutual striking with staffs'. (Samāsānta 1C 5.4.127).

■. In both cases the affix 1C (5.4.127) is introduced at the end of the compound.

2.2.28 *téna sahā=iti tulya-yogé*

The indeclinable [padā 1.2] *sahā* 'with' [combines with a padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*téna*) [to form a bahuvrīhī 13 compound 1.3] provided both the person accompanied and the accompanying person have the same relation to the action (*tulya-yogé*).

sahā putréṇa ā-ga-tāḥ = *sā-putra-ḥ-ā-ga-tā-ḥ* 'has come with (his) son' where [*sahā*] is replaced by [*sa-*] in composition by 6.3.82. When [*tulya-yogá*] is not denoted no composition takes place: *sahavā dāśābhiḥ putraś bhārdm vāhati gardabhī* 'the she-ass carries the load, accompanied by (her) ten sons'.

2.2.29 ca=arthé dvaṁdvāḥ

[An unrestricted number (āneka) 24 of nominal padās 1.2 combine with (one another) 1.4] to form a Dvaṁdvā [compound 1.3] (and a part of the meaning is that expressed by) the particle [ca] 'and'.

plakṣāś ca nyagródhāś ca = plakṣa-nyagrodhau 'the trees P. and Ny.' *vāk ca tvāḥ ca = vāk-tvac-dm* 'voice and akin' [+TāC 5.4.108].

The meaning of particle [ca] is fourfold: (a) samuccayā 'co-ordinate conjunction', (b) anvācayā 'subordinate conjunction', (c) itaretara-yogā 'mutual connection; and (d) samāhārā 'aggregation'. Composition takes place only in the last two meanings.

2.2.30 upasārjanam pūrvam

An upasārjana (1.2.43: an item indicated with the first SUP triplet in the section on compounds) occurs as the prior (pūrvam) member [in a compound 1.3].

1. 2.1.4: [dvitīyā] : *kaṣṭām śritā-h = kaṣṭā-śrita-h*.

2.1.6: [avyayam] : *adhī-śtrī = śtriṣū*.

2. This rule fixes the position of members constituting compounds like those following it below.

2.2.31 rāja-dantā=ādiṣu páram

In the class of [compounds 1.3] beginning with rāja-dantā- 'principal tooth' [the upasārjana 30] occurs as the posterior (páram) member [of a compound 1.3].

dāntānām rājā = rāja-dantā-h 'chief or principal tooth'.

2.2.32 dvaṁdvé GHI

In a dvaṁdvā [compound 1.3 nominal padās 1.2] defined by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) occur [as prior members 30].

hārīś ca harāś ca = hari-harau 'Hāri and Harā'; *gurūś ca śukrāś ca = guru-śukrau* 'the planets Gurū (Jupiter) and Sukrā (Venus)'.

2.2.33 áC=adi=áT=antam

[In a dvamdvá 32 compound 1.3 a nominal padá 1.2] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādi) and ending with a short vowel a(T=antam) occurs as a [prior member 30].

uṣṭraś ca khāraś ca = uṣṭra-kharaś 'the camel and the donkey'; *īśāś ca kṛṣṇāś ca = īśa-kṛṣṇaś* 'I. and K.'

2.2.34 álpa=aC-taram

[In a dvamdvá 32 compound 1.3 a nominal padá 1.2] containing the fewer number of vowels (álpa=aC-taram) occurs [as a prior member 30].

plakṣāś ca nyagrodhāś ca = plakṣa-nyagrodhaś 'the trees P. and Ny.'

2.2.35 ¹saptamī-²viséṣaṇe bahuvrīhaś

In a bahuvrīhī [compound 1.3 a nominal stem 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) or one denoting a qualifier (viséṣaṇa) occurs [as a prior member 30].

Since the constituent members of such compounds are all upasárjanas, this rule provides for the regulation of their order: *kaṇṭhē kālō yāsya sá-h = kaṇṭhē-kāla-h* '(Śiva) on whose throat there is a black mark' (cf. *nīla-kaṇṭha-h*). *úrasi lómāni ásya = úrasi-lomā* 'on whose chest there is hair' *citrā gāv-aḥ=asyá = citra-gu-h* 'owner of brindled cows'.

2.2.36 niṣṭhá

[In a bahuvrīhī 35 compound 1.3 nominal padás 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] affixes designated by the t.t. niṣṭhá [Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26] occur [as prior members 30]

kṛtāḥ káto yéna sáḥ = kṛtā-kaṭa-h 'who has made a mat'.

2.2.37 vā=āhita=agni=ādīṣu

[In the class of bahuvrīhī 35 compounds 1.3] beginning with āhita = agni- [a nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 niṣṭhá affixes 36] optionally (vā) occurs [as a prior member 30].

āhita agnāyo yéna = āhitāgni-h/agny-āhita-h 'who has consecrated the (sacrificial) fires'.

2.2.38 kádārāḥ karmadharāyē

[The class of nominal padās 1.2] beginning with kádāra- 'tawny' [optionally 37 occurs as a prior member 30] in a karmadhārayā (1.2.42) [compound 1.3].

kádāraś ca asaú jaiminīś ca = kadāra-jaiminī-ḥ/jaiminī-kadāra-ḥ 'tawny Jaimini'. But *kádāraḥ pūruṣāḥ ydemin grāme saḥ = kádāra-puruṣ-o grāmah* (35 above) 'a village of tawny persons'.

2.3.1 á nabhihite

The expression án-abhi-hite 'when unexpressed or unspecified' (is a governing rule up to 70 below and recurs in every subsequent element in this section).

[án-abhi-hite] 'when unexpressed or unspecified' by tiñ 'personal l-substitutes', [kft] 'primary affixes', [taddhitá] 'secondary nominal affixes' and [samāsá] 'compound forms'.

2.3.2 kármanī dvitīyā

The second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) is introduced [when not specified otherwise 1] to denote the object (kárman) [kāraka 1.4.23].

By 1.4.49 [kárman] is defined as what the agent [kartf] most desires to reach and corresponds to 'direct object'.

kāṭa-am kar-ō-ti = *kāṭam* (6.1.97) *kar-ō-ti* 'makes a mat'. *grāmam gacch-a-ti* 'goes to the village'.

2.3.3 tṛtīyā ca hoś chāndasi

In the domain of Chāndas (chāndasi) the third sUP triplet, as well as [the second 2] are introduced [to denote the kárman 2 kāraka 1.4.23] of the verbal stem hu- 'sacrifice' (111 1).

yavāgā+Tā/am = *yavāgu-ā/yavāg-ū-m agnihotrām ju-ho-ti* 'offers barley meal as an oblation to Agni'.

2.3.4 ¹antarā=²ántareṇa yukté

[The second sUP triplet 2] is introduced (after an item) [to denote the kárman 2 kāraka 1.4.23] when it is combined with the indeclinables antarā 'between' or ántareṇa 'without or between'.

1. *antarā/ántareṇa tvāñ ca mām ca kamandakūḥ* 'the water jug is between you and me'.
2. *ántareṇa puruṣakāram ná kīñcit=labh-yá-te* 'without personal exertion nothing is gained'.

2.3.5 'kālā=²ādhvanor atyanta-saṃyogé

[The second sUP triplet 2 is introduced after] words denoting time (kālā) or distance (ādhvan) to express total connection (atyanta-saṃyogé).

1. *māsam adhi-tē* 'studies during (the entire) month'.
2. *krōśam kuṭilā nadī* 'the river is (entirely) crooked for the distance of a krośa'.
3. but *māśasya dvīr adhi-tē* 'studies twice during the month'.

2.3.6 apavargé tṛtīyā

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) is introduced [after items denoting time or distance when there is total connection 5] and the action is completed within that (time or distance) (apavargé).

1. *māśena=anuvākhā=adhi-tah* 'studied (and learnt) the chapter within a month'.
2. *krōśena=anuvākhā=ādhi-tah* 'studied (and learnt) the chapter within the distance of a krośa'.

2.3.7 'saptamī-²pañcamyaú kāraka-madhyé

The seventh (saptamī) or the fifth (pañcamī) sUP triplet is introduced [after items denoting time or distance 5] when these expressions occur between two kārakas (kāraka-madhyé).

1. *adyā bhuk-tvā dvy-ahā/dvy-ahāt bhok-tā* 'having dined today, will dine after two days'.
2. *ihaśthadh=ayām iṣu-āśd-h krōśe/krōśāt lakṣyaṃ vādī-ya-ti* 'the archer, standing here, strikes the target at a distance of a krośa'.

2.3.8 karmapravacanīya-yukte dvitīyā

The second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) is introduced [after an item] co-occurring with a karmapravacanīya (1.4.83ff).

- śākalyasya sāmhitām ānu prā-varṣ-a-t devd-h* 'immediately following upon (ānu 1.4.84) (the recitation of) the Sāmhitā of Śākalya it rained'. Here (ānu), the karmapravacanīya signifies [lākṣaṇa] or characteristic of the rain.

2.3.9 yásmād ádhikam yásya ca=īśvara-vācanam tātṛa saptamī

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) is introduced [after a nominal stem when it co-occurs with a karmapravacanīya 8] if it denotes something relative to which (yásmāt) there is an excess (ádhikam) or about which (yásya) rulership (īśvara-vācanam) is stated.

1. *úpa khāryām dróṇa-h* 'a droṇa measure is greater than a khārī measure'; *úpa niṣké kārṣāpaṇam* 'a kārṣāpaṇa is more than a niṣká'.
2. *ádhi pañcālēṣu brahmadattā-h* 'Br. is the ruler of P.'

2.3.10 pañcamī=¹ápa-²āñ-³pári-bhiḥ

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) is introduced [after a nominal stem co-occurring with karmapravacanīyas 8] ápa, āñ and pári.

1. *ápa trígarte-bhyaḥ=upatō deva-h* 'it rained up to (but excluding Trígarta)' (1.4.88).
2. *ā pāṭaliputrāt* 'up to (but excluding) P.'
3. *pári pāṭaliputrāt* 'around Pāṭaliputra'.

2.3.11 ¹pratinidhī-²pratidāne ca yásmāt

[The fifth sUP triplet 10 is introduced after a nominal stem cooccurring with a karmapravacanīya 8] when signifying a proxy (pratinidhī) or barter (pratidāna).

1. *abhimanyú-r árjuna-laḥ práti* 'Abh. is Arj.'s proxy'.
2. *māsān tilē-bhyaḥ práti yācch-a-ti* 'exchanges or barter beans for sesame'.

2.3.12 gaty-artha-karmaṇī ¹dvitīyā-²caturthyaú ceṣṭāyām ān-adhvani

The second (dvitīyā) or the fourth (caturthī) sUP triplet is introduced after the object of an action denoted by a verb of movement (gaty-artha-karmaṇī) when an actual movement is involved (ceṣṭāyām) and is not itself a path (ān-adhvani).

- grāmam/grāmā-ya gacch-a-ti* 'is going to the village'; but *mānasā pāṭaliputram gacch-a-ti* 'mentally goes to P.' and *mārgam/pānthān-am gacch-a-ti* 'goes on the street'.

2.3.13 caturthī sampradāne

The fourth sUP triplet (caturthī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote sampradāna (kāraṇa 1.4.23).

The t.t. [sampradāna] has already been defined by 1.4.32 as one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient through the object of the action of giving. It is the indirect object.

upādhyāyā-ya gām dādā-ti 'gives a cow to the teacher'; 1.4.33; *phāle-bhyaḥ sph-āy-a-ti* 'yearns for fruit'.

2.3.14 kriyā=arthā=upapadasya ca kārmaṇi sthāninaḥ

[The fourth sUP triplet 13 is introduced after a nominal stem] to signify the object (kārmaṇi) of a verbal stem which is not actually used (sthāninaḥ) but serves as an upapadā to the verbal stem actually used.

By rule 3.3.10 affixes [°-tumN and °-NvuL] are introduced in connection with verbal stems whose actions refer to the future, for realization of which another action is actually performed. The stem which operates with [°-tumN or °-NvuL] is referred to in this rule as [kriyā=arthā=upapada] and is not actually used: *édhe-bhyaḥ=vrāj-a-ti* = *édhān ā-har-tum vrāj-a-ti* 'goes to fetch firewood'; *édhe-* is the object of *ā-har-tum*. Thus *édha+Śas+ā-hṛ+tumN+vrāj+ŚaP+tiP* = *édha+bhyaḥ+vrāj-a-ti* = *édhe-bhyaḥ vrāj-a-ti* (7.3.103).

2.3.15 tūm-arthāt=ca bhāva-vācanāt

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is also (ca) [introduced after a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 an affix] denoting bhāva (3.3.11 : abstract noun, notion of the verb) and used to indicate the meaning of the affix °-tum (3.3.10).

pāc+tumN vrāj+ŚaP+tiP = *pākā+Ne vrāj-a-ti* = *pākā-ya vrāj-a-ti* 'goes to cook'.

2.3.16 ¹nāmas-²svastī-³svāhā-⁴svadhā=⁵ālam=⁶vāsaṭ=⁷yogāt=ca

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is also (ca) introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with *nāmas* 'obeisance', *svastī* 'well-being' (a term of salutation), *svāhā*, *svadhā* 'ritual interjections', *ālam* 'equal to, a match for' and *vāsaṭ* 'ritual interjection'.

1. *nāmo devē-bhyaḥ* 'salutation to the divinities'.

2. *svastī prajā-bhyaḥ* 'well-being to the subjects'.
3. *svāhā agnāy-e* 'a sacrificial offering to Agni'.
4. *svadhā pitṛ-bhyaḥ* 'a sacrificial offering to the Manes'.
5. *ālam mallo mallā-ya* 'a wrestler is a match for (another) wrestler'. [ālam] here is also indicative of its synonyms: *prabhūr mallo mallā-ya* 'a wrestler lords over (another) wrestler'.
6. *vśaṣṭ=īndrā-ya* 'a sacrificial offering to Indra'.

2.3.17 manya-karmaṇī=án-ādare vibhāṣā=á-prāṇiṣu

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced (after a nominal stem) which functions as the object of the co-occurring verbal stem *mán(ya-)* 'know, perceive' (IV 67) when conveying the sense of scorn (án-ādare) provided that object is not animate (á-prāṇiṣu).

The option is with regard to the normal use of the accusative to denote the direct object *ná tvám tñ-am/tñā-ya man-y-e* 'I do not consider thee as worth (even) a straw', but with animate objects only the accusative occurs: *ná tvám śṛgālá-m many-e* 'I do not consider thee as a jackal'.

2.3.18 ¹kartṛ-²kāraṇayos tṛtīyā

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) (is introduced after a nominal stem) to denote the agent [*kartṛ-* ° 1.4.54] and the instrument (°-kāraṇa 1.4.42) [*kāraṇas* 1.4.23].

1. *devadatt-ēna kṛtām* 'made by Devadatta'.
2. *dātṛ-ēna lu-nā-ti* 'cuts with a sickle'.

2.3.19 sahā-yukte=á-pradhāne

[The third sUP triplet 18] is introduced (after a nominal stem co-occurring with) the indeclinable *sahā* 'with, accompanied by', provided the nominal stem does not denote the principal (agent) [ápradhāne].

sahā putréṇa pitā ā-ga-tā-ḥ 'the father has come with the son'.

2.3.20 yéna=aṅga-vikārah

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18] after a nominal stem denoting a part of the body (aṅga) with respect to which the body has been deformed (vikārah)

akṣṇ-ā kāṇḍ-ḥ 'blind of one eye'; *pād-ēna khañjā-ḥ* 'lame in one foot'.

2.3.21 ittham-bhūta-lakṣaṇé

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] denoting the characteristic of a state realized (ittham-bhūta-lakṣaṇé).

jāṭā-bhis tāpasā-h 'an ascetic, by virtue of having matted hair';
śikhay-ā parivrājaka-h 'Ibid.'

2.3.22 sām-jñāḥ=anyatarāśyām kārmaṇi

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] when it is the direct object (kārmaṇi) of the compound verbal stem sām+jñā 'recognize, acknowledge' optionally (anyatarāśyām).

pitṛ-ā/pitṛ-am sām-jā-nī-te 'recognizes the father'.

2.3.23 hetaú

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes a cause (hetaú).

dhān-ena kūlam 'a family, on account of wealth'; *vidyāy-ā ydśāḥ* 'fame (results from) learning'.

2.3.24 á-kartári=ṛṇé pañcamí

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamí) is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting a debt (ṛṇé) [considered as a cause 23] but not as the agent (kartári) of a causative verb (hetaú 1.4.55).

śat-āt=baddhā-h 'imprisoned on account of a debt of a hundred pieces', but *śatēna bandh-i-tāḥ* 'caused to be imprisoned on account of a debt of a hundred pieces'.

2.3.25 vibhāṣā guṇé=á-striyām

[The fifth sUP triplet is introduced 24] optionally (vibhāṣā) (after a nominal stem) which is not feminine (á-striyām), denoting a quality (guṇé) [serving as a cause 23].

jādy-āt/jādey-ena baddhā-h 'arrested on account of his stupidity', but *prajādy-ā muk-ād-h* 'released on account of (one's) intelligence'.

2.3.26 ṣaṣṭhī hetu-prayogé

The sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with the nominal stem hetú [when it indicates a cause 23].

anndasya hetór vás-a-ti 'remains for the purpose of food'.

2.3.27 sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā ca

The third sUP triplet as well as (ca) [the sixth 6] are introduced (after 1.1.68) a pronominal stem (sarvanāmnas) [co-occurring with the nominal stem hetú 26 when it denotes a cause 23].

kéna hetú-nā/ká-sya hetóḥ=vás-a-ti 'for what reason is (one) staying?'.

2.3.28 apādāne pañcamī

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote the apādāna (1.4.24) [kāraka 1.4.23].

grām-āt ā-gacch-a-ti 'comes from the village'; *vṛke-bhya bīḥe-ti* 'fears wolves' (1.4.25); *adhyāyan-āt pārā-jay-a-te* 'overcome by study' (1.4.26).

2.3.29 ¹anyā=²ārāt=³ítara=⁴ṛté=⁵dik-śabdā=⁶ancÚ=uttarapada=⁷āC=⁸āhi-yukte

[The fifth sUP triplet 28 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem] co-occurring with anyā- 'other than', ārāt 'near to, remote from', ítara- 'different from', ṛté 'without', direction words (dik-śabdā-°), a compound with °-anc- as final member (ancÚ-uttara-pada-°) and words ending in °-āC or °-āhi.

1. *anyo devadatt-āt* 'other than Devadatta'.
2. *ārāt-devadatt-āt* 'near to/far from D.'
3. *ítaro devadatt-āt* 'different from D.'
4. *ṛté devadatt-āt* 'without D.'
5. *páruo grām-āt-párvataḥ* 'the hill east of the village'.
6. *prág grām-āt* 'east of the village'.
7. *úttara grām-āt* 'north of the village'.
8. *dakṣiṇāhi grām-āt* 'south of the village'.

2.3.30 *ṣaṣṭhī=atas-arthā-pratyayéna*

The sixth sUP triplet (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [co-occurring with 29] (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) an affix synonymous with *°-atás* (yC 5.3.28).

dakṣiṇ-atás=grāma-sya 'south of the village'; *pur-ás/pur-atás= grāma-sya* 'east of the village' (5.3.39); *upāri/upāri-ṣṭhāt=nāgara-sya* 'above the city'.

2.3.31 *enaPā dvitīyā*

The second sUP triplet (*dvitīyā*) is introduced [after a nominal stem co-occurring with 29] (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) the affix *°-enaP* (5.3.35).

uttar-ena grām-am 'north of the village'.

2.3.32 *¹pṛthak-²vīnā-³nānā-bhis tṛtīyā=anyatarāśyām*

The third sUP triplet (*tṛtīyā*) is optionally (*anyatarāśyām*) introduced [after (nominal stems) as well as the fifth 28, co-occurring with 29] *pṛthak* 'separately', *vīnā* 'without', *nānā* 'without, different from'.

Through the anuvṛtti from the preceding sūtra, the second sUP triplet also is optionally introduced.

1. *pṛthak rām-ena/rām-āt/rām-am* 'separate from Rāma'.
2. *vīnā vāt-ena/vāt-āt/vāt-am* 'without wind'.
3. *nānā devadatt-ena/devadatt-āt/devadatt-am* 'different from D.'

2.3.33 *kāraṇa ca ¹stoká=²ālpa-³kṛcchrá-katipayásya á-sattva-vacanasya*

When denoting the *kāraṇa* (1.4.42) [*kāraka* 1.4.23 the third sUP triplet is optionally 32 introduced] as well as (*ca*) [the fifth 28] after (the nominal stems) *stoká-* 'a little', *ālpa-* 'a little', *kṛcchrá-* 'difficult', and *katipayá-* 'a few' when these do not denote a substance (*á-sattva- vacanasya*).

1. *stók-ena/stók-āt=muktá-h* 'got off easily'.
2. *álp-ena/álp-āt=muktá-h* 'got off easily', but *stók-ena/dlp-ena viṣ-ena hatá-h* 'killed by a little poison'.
- (c) *kṛcchr-ena/kṛcchr-āt=muktá-h* 'released with difficulty'.
- (d) *katipay-ena/katipay-āt=muktá-h* 'released with a few'.

2.3.34 ¹dūrā=²antikā=arthaiḥ saṣṭhī=anyatarāsyām

The sixth sUP triplet [as well as the fifth 28] are introduced after (nominal stems) co-occurring with synonyms of dūrā- 'distant, far', and antikā- 'proximate, near'.

The repetition of the word [anyatarāsyām] when it is already recurring from 32 above is to include the fifth sUP triplet and exclude the third (32).

1. *dār-am grāma-sya/grām-āt* 'far from the village'.
2. *antik-am grāma-sya/grām-āt* 'near the village. The form *dār-am* is by 35 below.

2.3.35 ¹dūra=²antikā=arthebhyo dvitīyā ca

The second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) and (ca) [the fifth 28 as well as the third 32] are introduced (after nominal stems) synonymous with dūrā- 'distant' and antikā- 'proximate' [when they do not imply a substance 33].

1. *dār-am/dār-āt/dār-ēna grāmasya* 'far from the village'.
2. *antik-am/antik-āt/antik-ēna nāgarasya* 'near the city'.

2.3.36 saptamī=adhikāraṇe

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote the adhikāraṇa (1.4.48) [kāraṇa 1.4.23] and (ca) [also after synonyms of dūrā- and antikā- 35].

1. *kāt-e ās-te* 'sits on the mat'; *sthāly-am pāc-a-ti* 'cooks in a pot'.
2. *dār-ē nāgarasya* 'far from the city'; *antik-ē grāma-sya* 'near the village'. With synonyms of these two words four sets of sUP triplets are thus introduced: second, third, fifth and seventh.

2.3.37 yāsya ca bhāvēna bhāva-lakṣaṇām

[The seventh sUP triplet 36 is introduced after a nominal stem] denoting an action (bhāvēna) which serves to characterize another action (bhāva-lakṣaṇām).

This is the locative absolute construction. *gō-su duḥ-yā-m-ānā-su gald-ḥ, dugdhā-su ā-ga-ta-ḥ* 'went away while the cows were being milked (but) returned after they were milked'.

2.3.38 *ṣaṣṭhī ca=án-ādare*

The sixth sUP triplet (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and (*ca*) [the seventh 37] are introduced (after a nominal stem) [denoting an action which serves to characterize another action 37] to denote the sense of 'not-withstanding, in spite of' (*án-ādare*).

ruddt-ah/ruddt-i prā-vraj-t 'in spite of (her) weeping renounced the world'. This is the genitive absolute construction.

2.3.39 ¹*svāmī(n)=²īśvarā=³ādhipatī-⁴dāyādā-⁵sākṣī(n)-⁶pratibhū-⁷prāsūtaś ca*

[The seventh sUP triplet 36 and the sixth 38 are introduced after a nominal stem co-occurring with 29] [the nominal stems] *svāmīn-* 'master', *īśvarā-* 'lord', *ādhipatī-* 'ruler', *dāyādā-* 'heir', *sākṣīn-* 'witness', *pratibhū-* 'surety' and *prāsūta-* 'engendered, born'.

1. *gāv-ām/go-ṣu svāmī* 'master (=owner) of cattle'.
2. *nāre-ṣu/nārā-ṇām īśvarāḥ* 'lord of men'.
3. *nāra-ṇām/nāre-ṣu ādhipatīḥ* 'ruler of men'.
4. *hāre-r/hār-au dāyādāḥ* 'heir of Hari'.
5. *gāv-ām/gō-ṣu sākṣī* 'witness regarding cattle'.
6. *gāv-ām/gō-ṣu prati-bhūḥ* 'surety for cattle'.
7. *gāv-ām/gō-ṣu prāsūta-ḥ* 'born to enjoy cattle'.

2.3.40 ¹*āyukta-²kūsālābhyām ca=āsevāyām*

[The seventh 36 as well as the sixth 38 sUP triplets are introduced after (nominal stems) co-occurring with 29 nominal stems] *āyukta-* 'employed' and *kūsāla-* 'adroit, skilful' to denote assiduous performance (*āsevāyām*).

1. *ā-yukta-ḥ kaṭa-karaṇ-ē/kaṭa-karaṇā-sya* 'completely absorbed in the making of mats'.
2. *kūsāla-ḥ kaṭa-karaṇ-ē/kaṭa-karaṇā-sya* 'skilful in the making of mats'.

2.3.41 *yātaś ca nīrdhāraṇam*

[The seventh 36 as well as the sixth 38 sUP triplets are introduced after (a nominal stem)] denoting something from which (*yātaḥ*) something else is set apart (*nīrdhāraṇam*).

nāre-ṣu/nārā-ṇām kṣātrīya-ḥ śūra-tama-ḥ 'among men the warrior is the bravest'.

2.3.42 pañcamī vibhakte

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [denoting a thing from which something else is set apart 41] which is completely separate (from itself) (vibhakte).

māthurāḥ pāṭalīputrake-bhyaḥ sūkumāratarāḥ 'the inhabitants of M. are more delicate than those of P.'

2.3.43 ¹sādhū-²nipuṇābhyām arcāyām saptamī ā-prateḥ

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [co-occurring with 29 nominal stems] sādhū- 'good for' and nipuṇā- 'skilful' when they denote respect (arcāyām) provided (the karmapravacanīya) prāti is not employed.

mātṛ-i sādhū-ḥ 'well-behaved towards the mother', but *mātṛ-am prāti sādhūḥ*.
pitṛ-i nipuṇā-ḥ / *pitṛ-am prāti nipuṇā-ḥ* 'friendly towards the father'.

2.3.44 ¹prāsita=²utsukābhyām tṛtīyā ca

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) as well as (ca) [the seventh 43 are introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with 29 the nominal stems] prāsita- 'occupied with' and utsukā- 'avid, eager for'.

1. *keś-aiḥ/keśe-su prā-sita-ḥ* 'occupied with one's hair'.
2. *sā=utsukā suta-janmān-ā/suta-janmān-i* 'she is eagerly expecting the birth of (her) son'.

2.3.45 nākṣatre ca luPī

[The third 44 and the seventh 43] sUP triplets are introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting the name of an asterism (nākṣatre) (ending in 1.1.72) the affix lUP (4.2.4).

puṣy-ēṇa/puṣy-ē pāyasm ad-nī-yā-t 'one should drink a milkshake when the asterism puṣyā is in conjunction with the moon'. Here the affix [āN] introduced after the name of the asterism (4.2.3) is replaced by [luP 4.2.4] when there is no specification of this time as day or night.

2.3.46 ¹prātipadika=²arthá-³līngá-⁴parimāṇa-⁵vācana-mātre prathamā

The first sUP triplet (prathamā) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to designate only (°-mātré) (a) the meaning of the nominal stem (prātipadika=arthá-°) (b) its gender (līngá-°), (c) measure (parimāṇa-°) and (d) its number (vācana-°).

1. *uccaśe+sU* = *uccaśe+Ø* (6.1.68) = *uccaśh* (B.3.15) 'high', *nīcaśh* 'low'. Both are indeclinables (derived with the inst. plur.) sUP affix from qualifying words *uccā-*, *nīcā-*.
2. Three genders are associated with a nominal stem: masculine (m.), feminine (f.) and neuter (n.), and only the first sUP triplets enable one to distinguish these, since in other cases there is convergence of forms. Thus *vykṣā+sU* = *vykṣā-h* m., *kumarī+sU* = *kumarī+Ø* (6.1.68) = *kumarī* f., (= *kumārā+ñtP* 4.1.10); *vāna+sU* = *vāna+am* (7.1.13) *vān-am* (6.1.107) n. Nominal stems which are indeclinable or with invariable gender are examples of (1) while those with no specific gender are examples of (2) as in: *taṭa+sU* m., *taṭa+(f. °-ī)+sU* (→ Ø 6.1.68) = *taṭī* f.; *taṭa+sU* (→ *am* 7.1.23) = *taṭ-am* n.
3. *drōṇa+sU* = *drōṇa-h* m.; *khārī+sU* = *khārī+Ø* = *khārī* f.; *ādhaka+sU* = *ādhaka+am* = *ādhak-am* n. 'names of measures'.
4. *eka+sU* = *ekah* 'one', *dvī+au* = *dvā+au* (7.2.102) = *dv-au* 'two', *trī+Jas* = *trē+Jas* (7.3.109) = *trīy-ah* (6.1.68) 'three' respectively representing the singular, dual and plural.

2.3.47 sambódhane ca

[The first sUP triplet 46] is also introduced after a nominal stem for denoting the vocative (sambódhane).

- devadattā+sU* = *devadattā+Ø* (6.1.69) = *he devadattā*; *hāri+sU* = *hāre+sU* (7.3.108) = *hāre+Ø* (6.1.69) = *hāre*.
devadattā+au = *dēvadattau*; *devadattā+Jas* = *dēvadattāh*.

2.3.48 sã=ãmantritām

(The t.t.) *ãmantrita* denotes (a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) [the first sUP triplet 46] used in addressing (= vocative [sambódhane]).

As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.2; 6.1.198; 8.1.8,19,55,72,73.

2.3.49 ekavacanám sambúddhiḥ

(The t.t.) sambúddhi denotes the singular (ekavacanám) [of the āmantrita 48 = first sUP triplet].

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.16; 8.1.69; 4.9; 7.1.92,99; 8.2.8; 3.1.

2.3.50 ṣaṣṭhī śéṣe

The sixth sUP triplet is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote residual relationships (śéṣe = those not specified such as kárman [2ff. above]).

In general, the relationship is between nominal stems without the intervention of verbal stems representing kárakas and covers such instances as that between a master and servant (sva-svāmi-bhāvá) or between the possessor and the thing possessed: *rājñi-aḥ púruṣa-ḥ* 'king's servant', or *pit-ūḥ putrá-ḥ* 'father's son'.

2.3.51 jñāḥ=ā-vid-arthasya káraṇe

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting the instrument (káraṇe) of the verbal stem jñā- (IX 36) when it is not used in the meaning of 'knowing' (ā-vid-arthasya).

[jñā-], when not denoting the sense of 'know' conveys the sense of (a) 'engages in' or (b) 'misunderstands':

sárpiṣ-o jñ-ni-té = *sárpiṣ-ā káraṇena jñ-ni-té* 'engages in sacrifice with clarified butter'/'mistakenly recognizes as butter (what is not butter)'.

2.3.52 'ádhi=iK=artha-²dáyA=³fśām kármaṇi

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it serves as the direct object (kármaṇi) of the verbal stems ádhi+iK (III 8) 'remember' and its synonyms (ádhi=iK=artha-) and dáy- (I 510) 'allot' and íś- (II 10) 'rule'.

1. *māt-úr ádhy-eti/amār-a-ti* 'remembers the mother'.

2. *sárpiṣ-o dáy-a-te* 'allots clarified butter'.

3. *mádhu-n-aḥ=fś-ṣe* 'possesses honey'.

2.3.53 kṛñāḥ pratiyatné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem] kṛñ- (VIII 10) denoting the sense of 'transform existing quality' (prati-yatné 1.3.32).

édho dakd-sya-úpas-kur-u-te 'The wood transforms the quality of the water', but
kdṭ-am kar-ó-ti 'makes a pot'.

2.3.54 *rujā=arthānām bhāva-vācanānām á-jvareḥ*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems signifying affliction (*rujā=arthānām*) and denoting a condition or state (*bhāva-vācanānam*) [i.e., when the agent is an abstract agent noun] except of the causative verbal stem *jvar-f-* (= *jvar+NíC*) (*á-jvareḥ* I 813).

caurá-sya ruj-á-ti rógaḥ 'the malady afflicts the thief'; here the word *róga-* is derived from the underlying string *ruj-yd-te anéna* = *ruj+GHaÑ* = *rógā-h* and is an abstract noun, but *nadī kúlāni ruj-á-ti* 'river breaks the banks' and *caur-dm jvar-dy-a-ti jváraḥ* 'fever burns the thief'.

2.3.55 *āsīṣi nāthaḥ*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stem *nāth-* (I 7) signifying 'bless' (*āsīṣi*).

śárpiṣ-as=nāth-a-te = *śárpiṣ-o nāth-a-te* 'blesses the curd', but *mānavakām úpa-nāth-a-ti* 'aṅgá pútraka=adhí-śva' 'he solicits his son: "O son, study!"'.

2.3.56 *¹jāsí-²ní-pra-haṇ-³nāṭa-⁴krātha-⁵piṣām himśáyām*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems *jās-í* (= *jas+NíC* X 130), *ní+prá+han-* (II 2) 'strike, injure', *nāṭa-* (= *nát+NíC* I 332) 'injure', *krātha* (*kráth+NíC* I 838) and *piṣ-* (VII 15) 'crush, bruise, pound' when denoting the sense of 'injure' (*himśáyām*).

caurá-sya *dj-jās-ay-a-ti/ní-pra-han-ti/ní-hanti/prá-han-ti/prá-ní-han-ti/*
ún-nát-ay-a-ti/krāth-dy-a-ti/pí-ná-ṣ-ti 'injures the thief'.

2.3.57 *¹vy-avá-hṛ-²pánoḥ sám-arthayoḥ*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems *vi+avá+hṛ* (I 947) and *páṇ-* (I 466) when they have identical meanings (i.e., 'gamble' or 'buy and sell').

śatā-śya vy-avā-har-a-ti/pāṇ-a-te 'bets a hundred pieces' or 'buys and sells for a hundred pieces', but *śatāḥ-ām vy-avā- har-a-ti* 'throws the dice', and *brāhmaṇān paṇ-āy-a-te* 'praises the brahmins'.

2.3.58 dīvas tād-arthasya

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stem *dīv-* (IV 1) [having the same meaning as that of the verbal stems *vy-avā-hṛ-* and *pāṇ-* 57].

sahāśa-śya dīv-ya-ti 'stakes or deals with a thousand pieces' but *brāhmaṇām dīv-ya-ti* 'praises a brahmin'.

2.3.59 vibhāṣā=upasārge

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem *dīv-* 58 having the same meaning as that of the verbal stems *vy-avā-hṛ-* and *pāṇ-* 57] when co-occurring with a preverb (*upasārge*).

śatā-śya/śat-ām prāti-dīv-ya-ti 'he deals in or stakes a hundred pieces', but *śatā-śya dīv-yā-ti* 58.

2.3.60 dvitīyā brāhmaṇé

In the domain of the *Brāhmaṇā* the second sUP triplet (*dvitīyā*) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem *dīv-* 58 having the same meaning as that of *vy-avā-hṛ-* and *pāṇ-* 57].

gām asyā tād āhah sabhāyām dīv-yey-uḥ (M.S.) 'they should stake a cow for him that day in the assembly'.

2.3.61 ¹préśya-²bruvor háviṣo devatā-sampradāné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal *préśya* (2nd. pers. sing. Imperative of *pra-*+*is* IV 19) and *brū-hí* (of *brū-* II 35), denoting a sacrificial offering (*háviṣaḥ*) when it is offered to a divinity (*devatā-sampradāne*).

agnāy-e chāga-śya háviṣ-o vapā-yā médas-aḥ préś-śya/ānu-brūḥ-hi 'offer to Agni the goat, fat and marrow' but *agnāy-e chāg-ām hávir vapām médo ju-hu-dhí*.

2.3.62 caturthy-arthé bahulám chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [the sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced diversely (bahulám) in the sense of the fourth sUP triplet (caturthy=arthé).

puruṣa-mṛgá-ś candrámas-ah/candrá-mas-e 'a male deer for the Moon divinity',
but *kṛṣṇo rátry-ai* 'a black deer for Rátri' or *hímaudī-e hasīf* 'an elephant to H.'

2.3.63 yajé ca káraṇe

[In the domain of Chándas 62 the sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) diversely 62] when it serves as a káraṇa [kāraka 1.4.23] of the verbal stem yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051).

sóm-ena yáj-a-te/sóma-sya yáj-a-te 'sacrifice with soma juice'.

2.3.64 kṛtvas=artha-prayogé kālé=adhikáraṇe

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting time (kālé) co-occurring with (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) an affix synonymous with °-kṛtvás (uC 5.4.17) to denote a locus or substratum (adhikáraṇe 2.3.36).

panca-kṛtvás=dhn-o bhuk-té 'eats five times a day'; *duṣṭ dhn-ah=ádhi-te* 'studies twice a day', where *duṣṭ* = *duṣ+eṭ* (5.4.18), but *dhan-i śe-té* 'sleeps during day' and *duṣṭ kāmasya-pātry-ām bhuk-té* 'eats twice in a bronze plate', where time is not indicated.

2.3.65 ¹kartṣ-²kármanoh kṛt-i

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes the agent (kartṣ- °) or the direct object (°-kármanoh) of the action signified by a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛt affix.

1. [kartṣ] : *bhāvat-ah śāyikā* [= *śi+NvuL+TāP] 'your turn to lie down'.
2. [kárman] : *ap-ām sraṣṭā* 'creator of waters', but *śastr-ena bhettā* 'destroying with a weapon', against *pur-ām bhettā* 'destroyer of city-forts', since *śastr-ena* is káraṇa kāraka.

2.3.66 ubhaya-prāptaú kármaṇi

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes the direct object (kármaṇi) [of an action signified by a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛt affix 65] which involves both [= an agent and an object 65] (ubhaya-prāptaú).

dścāryo gav-ām dōh-oṃd-gopālakena 'the milking of cattle by one who is not a cow-herd is a wonder'; *rōc-a-te me odand-sya bhōjan-am devadatt-ēna* 'it pleases me (to see) D. eating (some) rice'. The word *dōha* = (**duh+GHaṆ*), and *bhōj-ana* = (**bhuj+Lyut*) both affixes being kṛt; cows and rice are respectively direct objects of milking and eating while the cowherd and Devadattā are respectively the agents of the actions.

2.3.67 Ktāśya ca vartamāné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it denotes the agent or the direct object 65] of a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the (kṛt) affix Ktā and the action is referred to the present time (vartamāné 3.2.187-8).

rājñ-ām matā-h/buddhā-h/pūjītā-h 'honored by the king', but *odan-ām pāca-m-āna-h* 'cooking rice'; *grām-am gatā-h* 'has gone to the village' (past tense). This is a prior exception to 69 below.

2.3.68 adhikarāṇa-vācīnaś ca

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 (kṛt) affix Ktā 65] as a locus indicator (adhikarāṇa-vācīnaś 3.4.76).

This is also an exception to 69 below. *idām e-śām ās-i-tām* 'this is where they sit'; *idām e-śām śay-i-tām* 'this is where they sleep'; *idām e-śām bhakṣ-i-tām* 'this is where they eat.

2.3.69 ná ¹la=²ú=³uka-⁴āvya-⁵niṣṭhā-⁶KHāL-⁷artha-⁸tṛNām

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is not (ná) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it denotes the agent or direct object of a verbal stem ending 1.1.72 in the (kṛt) affix 65] if it is (a) an l-substitute (=ŚātṚ, ŚānāC 3.2.124, KānāC 3.2.106, KvāsU 3.2.107, Kī, KiN 3.2.171), (b) ú (3.2.168), (c) úka (3.2.154), (d) indeclinable (āvya : Ktvā, tosyN, KasuN 1.1.40), (e) niṣṭhā (Ktā, KtāvatU 1.1.26), (f) synonyms of KHāL (3.3.126) and (g) tṛN.

1. l-substitutes: *odan-ām pācan* 'who is cooking rice' and similarly *odan-ām pāc-a-mānah/pec-ānd-h/pec-i-vān/*; *pap-i-h sōm-am* 'has drunk Soma juice'; *dad-fr gāh* 'donated cattle'.
2. [ū] : *kāt-am oikṛṣ-ū-h* 'wishing to make a mat'.
3. [uka] : *daityān ghāt-uka-h* 'habitually destroying demons'; *pāṭaliputram ā-gām-uka-h* 'habitually coming to Pāṭaliputra'.
4. [āvaya] : *kāt-am kṛ-tvā* 'having made a mat'.
5. [nisthā] : *odan-ām bhuk-tāvan* 'has eaten rice'. *devadatt-ēna kṛtām* 'made by Devadatta'.
6. [KHaL-artha] : *su-kār-ah kṛto bhūvat-ā* 'the mat can be made easily by your honor'.
7. [tRN] : This is to be understood to be a siglum formed with the tR of ŚatR (3.2.124) and ending with the IT marker N of tN (3.2.135), comprising the following affixes: ŚātR, ŚānāC (3.2.124), ŚānaN (3.2.128), Cānāś (3.2.129) and tN. Examples are: *sōm-am pāv-a-m-āna-h* 'straining Soma juice'; *nat-ām ā-dhm-ānd-h* 'calling an actor'; *adhī-y-ān pārāyaṇ-am* 'practicing a recitation'; *kārta kāṭan* 'maker of mats'.

2.3.70 ¹aka=²inór ¹bhaviṣyád=²ādhamarṇáyoh

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is not introduced (after a nominal stem) 69 when it denotes the agent or direct object of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 a kṛt affix 65] if it is °-aka- (NvuL 3.3.10) denoting an action taking place in the future (bhaviṣyád-°) or °-in- (= Nini 3.3.170) denoting an action taking place in the future or pertaining to the state of being a debtor (¹bhaviṣyát=²ādhamarṇáyoh).

1. *odan-ām bhōj-ak-o vrāj-a-ti* 'goes for the purpose of eating rice'.
2. *grām-am gamf/gāmf* 'he has to go to the village'.
3. *śat-ām dāyf* 'obliged to repay a debt of 100 pieces'.

2.3.71 kṛtyānām kartāri vā

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is optionally (vā) introduced (after a nominal stem) when it denotes an agent of a verbal stem [ending in 1.1.72 a kṛt affix 65] when it belongs to the kṛtya sub-class (3.1.95ff.)

- bhūvat-ah/bhūvat-ā kṛta-h kartāvya-h* 'you have to make a mat', but if the affix is an object signifier, by 65 the sixth sUP triplet alone is introduced: *gā-yo māṇavaka-h sām-n-ām* 'the lad has to chant the sāmans'.

2.3.72 túlya=arthair a-¹tulā=²upamābhyām
ṭṛtīyā=anyatarāsyām

The third sUP triplet (ṭṛtīyā) is optionally (anyatarāsyām) introduced [as an alternate to the sixth 50] when co-occurring with synonyms of túlya- 'similar, comparable', except the nominal stems tulā and upamā 'comparison'.

túlya-h/sadśā-h devadatt-ēna/devadattā-sya 'equal to D.' but *tulā/upamā devadattā-sya na vid-ya-te* 'there is no comparison with Devadattā'.

The use of [anyatarāsyām] when [vā] already recurs from the preceding sūtra is to block the recurrence of [ṭṛtīyā] from this rule to the next on account of the particle [ca] there.

2.3.73 caturthī ca=āśīṣi=¹āyusya-²madrā-³bhadrā-⁴kūsala-⁵sukhā=⁶ārtha-⁷hitāḥ

The fourth sUP triplet (caturthī) [is optionally 72 introduced (after a nominal stem) as an alternate to the sixth 50] when co-occurring with (nominal stems) -āyusya- 'longevity', madrá-, bhadrā- 'good fortune', kūśala- 'welfare', sukhā- 'happiness', ārtha- 'prosperity, wealth' and hitā- 'benefit' do denote benediction (āśīṣi).

1. *āyusyām tú-bhyam/táva bhū-yāt* 'may you (sing.) enjoy long life'.
2. *madrā/bhadrā tā-smai/tā-sya bhūyāt* 'may good fortune befall him'.
3. *kūśalam devadattā-ya/devadattā-sya* 'may D's welfare be assured'.
4. *sukhām tūbhyam/táva bhūyāt* 'may you be happy'.
5. *ārtho yajñadattā-ya/yajñadattā-sya* 'may Y. be prosperous'.
6. *hitām devadattā-ya/devadattā-sya* 'may it be beneficial to D.'

2.4.1 dvigúr ekavacanám

A divgú [compound 1.3] is treated as though it signified a single thing (ekavacanám = ékasya vācanam).

Since it is treated as though signifying a single thing, the singular of sUP triplets is introduced after a divgú. The present rule is applicable only to collective or [samāhāra] divgú-s.

2.4.2 dvaṁdvá ca 'prāṇí(n)-²túrya-³sénā=āṅgānām

A dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3] is also (ca) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] if the constituent members denote parts (āṅgānām) of (a) a living being (prāṇín-), (b) a musical group (túrya-) and (c) an army (sénā).

1. *pāṇi-pād-ām* 'hands and feet'; *śiro-grīvām* 'head and neck'; neuter by 17 below.
2. *māṛdaṅgika-pāṇāvīkām* 'a group of mṛdanga and paṇava players'.
3. *rathika-aśvāroham* 'an army unit consisting of charioteers and cavaliers'.

2.4.3 anuvādé cáraṇānām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of persons belonging to different Vedic schools (cāraṇānām) to denote the repetition of a given text (anuvādé).

úd-a-gā-t kaṭha-kālāpām 'transmitters of Kaṭha and Kālāpa branches (of Vedic schools) arose', but *úd-a-g-uḥ kaṭha-kālāpāḥ* 'when the texts are recited for the first time'.

2.4.4 adhvaryu-kratúr á-napuṁsakam

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote the names of sacrifices prescribed in the Yajurveda (adhvaryu-kratúḥ) which are not neuter (á-napuṁsakam).

arkāś ca déva-medhāś ca = *arkāśvamedhām* 'the Ārka and Áśvamedha sacrifices', but *iṣu-vajraś* 'Íṣu and Vāja sacrifices prescribed in the Sāmaveda' or *rājasūyaś ca vājapeyam ca* = *rājasūya-vājapeyē* 'since the second member is neuter, though both sacrifices belong to the Yajur Veda'.

2.4.5 adhyayanatāḥ=ś-vi-pra-kṛṣṭa=ākhyānām

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote the names of persons (ākhyānām) derived from the subjects studied (adhyayanatāḥ) by them which are not far from each other (ś-vi-pra-kṛṣṭa-°).

pada-kramakām 'an adept in the Padapāṭha and an adept in the Kramapāṭha (of Vedic recitation)', but *pitā-putrāu* 'father and son' (names not so derived) and *yājñika-vaiyākaraṇau* 'a performer of sacrifices and a grammarian', experts in unrelated subjects.

2.4.6 jātir ś-prāṇinām

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing] when the constituent members denote names of species (jātiḥ) of inanimate beings (ś-prāṇinām).

śrā ca śastrī ca = śrā-śastrī 'the probe and the knife'; similarly *dhānā-saṅkulā* = *dhānāś ca saṅkulay-aś ca* 'fried rice and barley cakes', but *brāhmaṇa-ksatriy-au* 'brahmins and warriors'.

This rule applies only to words denoting substances and not quality or action: (a) quality: *rūpa-ras-au* 'form and taste'; (b) action: *gamana-a-kuñcan-ē* 'going and bending'.

2.4.7 vīśiṣṭa-liṅgo nadī deśāḥ=ś-grāmāḥ

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote river-names (nadī) and place-names (deśāḥ) excluding village-names (a-grāmāḥ), of different genders (vīśiṣṭa-liṅgaḥ).

1. river-names: *uddhyaś ca frāvati ca = uddhyerāvati*; *gāṅgā ca śónaś ca = gaṅgā-śonām*.
2. *kūrav-aś ca kurukṣetrām ca = kuru-kurukṣetrām*.
3. But *gāṅgā ca yamunā ca = gaṅgā-yamun-ē*; *jāmbavāś ca (nāg-aram) śālākinī ca (grāmāḥ) = jāmbava-śālākiny-au*.

2.4.8 kṣudra-jantávaḥ

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though denoting a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of small animals (kṣudra-jantávaḥ).

By interpretation small animals include up to the mongoose. *daṁḍa-maśakām* 'bug and mosquito'; *yāka-līkām* 'the louse and nits', but *brāhmaṇa-kṣatriy-av*.

2.4.9 yēśāṁ ca viródhah śāśvatikah

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote items between which there is perennial (śāśvatikah) conflict (viródhah).

māṛjāra-māṣikām 'cats and mice'; *ahi-nakulām* 'the snake and mongoose'; *kākolūkām* 'crows and owls'; *aśva-mahiṣām* 'horses and buffalos', despite the option introduced by 12 below.

2.4.10 sūdrāṇām ānirvasitānām

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of sūdrās who are not excluded from (social) contact with higher caste members (ā-nir-ava-sitānām).

takṣāś ca ayaskārś ca = *takṣāyaskārām* 'carpenter and blacksmith'; *rajaka-tantuūdyām* 'washermen and weavers', but *cāṇḍāla-mṛtāp-aū* 'outcastes and morticians'.

2.4.11 gavāśvā-prabhṛtīni ca

[The class of dvandvā 2 compounds 1.3] beginning with gavāśvā- 'cows and horses is also treated (as though denoting a single thing 1).

gavāṇvikām 'cows and sheep'; *ajaiḍakām* 'goats and rams'.

2.4.12 vibhāṣā¹vrkṣā-²mṛgā-³tṛṇa-⁴dhānyā-⁵vyāñjana-⁶paśú-⁷śakúni-⁸aśva-vaḍavā-⁹pūrvāparā=¹⁰adharottarāṇām

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members are names of (1) trees (vrkṣā) (2) animals (mṛgā) (3) grasses (tṛṇa), (4) cereals (dhānyā), (5) condiments (vyāñjana), (6) domestic animals (paśú), (7) birds (śakúni), (8) and the irregular (compounds 1.3) aśva-vaḍavā- 'horses and mares', pūrvāparā- 'first and last' and adharottarā- 'lower and upper'.

1. trees: *plakṣa-nyagrodhām/plakṣa-nyagrodhāḥ* 'P and N trees'.

2. animals: *ruru-prṣat-ām/ruru-prṣatāḥ* 'ruru and spotted antelopes'.
3. grass: *kuśa-kāś-ām/*kāśāḥ* 'kuśa and kāśa grasses'.
4. cereals: *vr̥thi-yav-ām/*yavāḥ* 'rice and barley grains'.
5. condiments: *dadhi-ghṛt-ām/*ghṛt-ā* 'curds and ghee'.
6. domestic animals: *go-mahiṣ-ām/*mahiṣ-ā* 'cows and buffalos'.
7. birds: *tittiri-kapiñjal-ām/*kapiñjal-āḥ* 'partridges and heathcocks'.
8. *aśva-vaḍav-ām/*vaḍav-āḥ*; *purvāpar-ām/*par-ā*; *adharottar-ām/*uttar-ā*.

A vārttika restricts the application of this rule, in the case of fruit (phāla), army units (sēnā), herbs (vānaspāti), animals (mṛgā), birds (śakūni), small animals (ksudra-jantū), cereals (dhānya) and grass (tṛṇa) to the plural forms of the constituent members only: thus when these members are in the singular the resulting compounds will be in the dual: *badara=āmalakē*, *rathika=aśvārohaū*, *plakṣa-nyagrodhaū*, *ruru-prṣataū*, *haṁsa-cakravakāū*, *yūkā-likae*, *vr̥thi-yavaū*, *kuśa-kāśau*.

2.4.13 vipratīṣiddham ca=ān-adhi-karāṇa-vāci

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3] is also (ca) [optionally 12 treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote opposites (vi-prāti-ṣiddham) which are not substances (ān=adhi-karāṇa-vācin-).

śītoṣṇ-ām/-uṣṇ-ā* 'cold and hot', *sukha-duḥkh-ām/*-duḥkh-ā* 'happiness and misery', *jīvitā-maraṇ-ām/*-maraṇ-ā* 'life and death, but *kāma-krodh-au* 'desire and anger' (as they are not opposites) and *śītoṣṇ-ā udake* 'cold and hot water' (as denoting a substance: water).

2.4.14 nā dadhi-payā=ādīni

[The class of dvandvā 1 compounds 1.3] beginning with dadhi-payāsi 'curd and milk (or water)' is not (nā) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1].

sarpīr-madhū-n-I 'clarified butter and honey' = *madhu-sarpīṣī*; *brahma-prajāpatī* 'B. and Pr.'

2.4.15 adhikarāṇa=etāvattvé ca

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is not 14] also (ca) [treated as though it represented a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote the quantity of concrete things (adhikarāṇa=etāvattvé).

dāśa dāntāś ca ṣṭhāś ca = *dāśa dantaṣuṣṭhāḥ* 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; *dāśa mārdaṅgika-pānavikāḥ* (cf. 2 above).

2.4.16 vibhāṣā samīpé

[A dvamdvā 2 compound 1.3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote a proximate (samīpé) [quantity of concrete objects 15].

upadaś-ām dantaṣṭh-ām/úpadaśá dantaṣṭháḥ 'approximately nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'.

2.4.17 sá nápuṁsakam

That (sáḥ) [= dvigú 1 and dvamdvā 2-18 compounds 1.3] [which is treated as though denoting a single thing 1] is neuter in gender (ná-puṁsakam).

1. *dvigú*: *pañca-gavám/daśa-gavám* 'a collection of 5/10 cows'.
2. *dvamdvá*: *pāṇi-pādám, śiro-grīvám* etc., (cf. 2 above).
3. By a *vārtika* the *lamimine* affix is introduced after a *dvigú* compound ending in short -a: cf. *aṣṭan+adhyāya+NIP* = *aṣṭaḥ+adhyāya+I* = *aṣṭadhyāyḥ+ī* = *aṣṭadhyāyī* 'title of this corpus, consisting of 8 *adhyāyās* "chapters"'.
[Note: The original text has a typo 'aṣṭadhyāyī' which has been corrected to 'aṣṭadhyāyī' based on the context and the provided HTML.]

2.4.18 avyayībhāváś ca

[An] *avyayībhāvá* [compound 1.3] is also (ca) [neuter in gender 17].

adhi-śrī, adhi-kumārī, úpakumbham, súmadram etc., cf. 1.6 above.

2.4.19 ¹tatpuruśáḥ=^ána^ñ-²karmadhārayaḥ

A *tatpuruśá* [compound 1.3] not co-occurring with the negative particle *nañ* or a *karmadhārayá* (1.2.42) [compound 1.3] [is neuter in gender 17].

This is a governing rule operating up to 25 below.

2.4.20 samjñāyām kanthā=usīnareṣu

[A *tatpuruśá* 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with *nañ* and a *karma-dharāyá* 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when it [ends in 1.1.72] the word *kanthā* 'town' denoting a proper name (*samjñāyām*) of a place in the *Uśīnara* country.

śauśamī-kāntham, dhvara-kānth-am 'placenames in *Uś.* country', but *vīraṇa-kanthá* 'a patched garment made of *vīraṇa*' and *dakṣi-kanthá* 'a placename outside *Uś.* country'. Cf. 6.2.124.

2.4.21 ¹upajñā=²upakrámañ tad-ādi=ācikyāsāyām

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when (ending in 1.1.72) the words upajñā 'original propagation' and upakráma 'initiative' and signifying the desire to express (ācikyāsāyām) its beginning or starting point (tad-ādī-°).

pāṇiniy-upajñā-dm vyākaraṇam 'grammar first taught by Pāṇini'; *nandopakramāñi mānāni* 'measures first standardized by (king Nanda)'.

2.4.22 chāyā bāhulye

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when it (ends in 7.1.72) the word chāyā 'shadow' to express profusion (bāhulye) of the preceding member.

śalabha-cchāyām 'shadow (cast by a huge cloud) of locusts'; *ikṣūñām chāyā* -- *ikṣu-cchāyām* 'shadow (cast by a thick grove) of sugar-cane', but *kuḍya-cchāyā* f. 'shadow of a wall'.

2.4.23 sabhā ¹rāja(n)=²a-manuṣyā-pūrvā

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3. not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3. is neuter in gender 17] provided it (ends in 1.1.72) the word sabhā 'assembly' and co-occurs after (synonyms of) the word rājan 'king, ruler' or a word denoting a non-human being (a-manuṣyā-pūrvā).

In this rule the word [rājan], contra metarule 1.1.68 does not represent itself, but only includes its synonyms: *indā-sabham* 'royal court or assembly', but *rāja-sabhā*. Similarly *piśā-ca-sabhām* 'assembly of piśācas', but *devadatta-sabhā*. Cf. 6.2.98.

2.4.24 ā-śālā ca

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3, not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17 when it ends 1.1.72 in the word sabhā 23] provided it does not denote a hall or mansion (ā-śālā).

Here the word [sabhā] denotes 'a concourse': *strī-sabham* 'a concourse of women';

dāsī-sabham 'a group or crowd of maid-servants', but *ś-nātha-sabhā* 'a poor house'. Cf. 6.2.98.

2.4.25 vibhāṣā ¹sēnā-²sūrā-³chāyā-⁴sālā-⁵nīśānām

[A tatpuruṣā 19 compound 1.3. not co-occurring with *nāñ-* or a karmadhārayā 19 compound 1.3] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [neuter in gender 17 when it ends 1.1.72 in the words] *sēnā* 'army', *sūrā* 'liquor', *chāyā* 'shadow', *sālā* 'hall, mansion' and *nīśā* 'night'.

1. *rāja-sēnām* / **-sēnā* 'royal army'.
2. *yava-sūrām* / **-sūrā* 'barley liquor'.
3. *kudya-ccchāyām* / **-chāyā* 'shadow thrown by a wall'.
4. *go-sālām* / **-sālā* 'cow-stall, cow-pen'. Cf. 6.2.123.
5. *śva-nīśām* / **-nīśā* 'dog-night (when dogs howl)'.

2.4.26 paravāt=liṅgām ¹dvaṁdvā-²tatpuruṣāyoh

The gender of a *dvaṁdvā* or *tatpuruṣā* compound 1.3 is that of the final member (*paravāt=liṅgām*).

1. *dvaṁdvā* : *kukkutās ca mayūrī ca* = *kukkuta-mayūry-aū* f. 'cock and peahen' = *mayūrī-kukkutaū* m. 'peahen and cock'.
2. *tatpuruṣā* *ardhām pippalyāḥ* = *ardha-pippalī* f. 'half a berry'.
3. By a *vārttika* this rule is blocked in the case of *dvigū* compounds and those occurring with *prāpta-*, *āpanna-* and *alam* as prior members, as also *gātū* compounds: *pañcāsu kapāleṣu sāmekṛtāḥ* = *pañca-kapāld-ḥ puroḍāśā-ḥ*; *prāto jīvikām* = *prāpta-jīvikā-ḥ*; *āpanno jīvikām* = *āpanna-jīvikā-ḥ*; *alam jīvikāyai* = *alam-jīvikā-ḥ*; *nīṣ-krānta-ḥ kauśāmbiyāḥ* = *nīṣ-kauśāmbi-ḥ*.

2.3.27 pūrvavāt=śśva-vaḍavau

[The gender of the *dvaṁdvā* 26 compound 1.3] *śśva-vaḍavau* is that of the prior member (*pūrvavāt*).

This is an exception to 26 by which the string *śśvaś ca vaḍavaś ca* would have been realized as **śśva-vaḍav-e* (f.) 'stallion and mare'.

2.4.28 ¹hemanta-śīsīraū=²aho-rātré ca=chāndasi

In the domain of *Chāndas* [in the *dvaṁdvā* 29 compounds 1.3] *hemanta-śīsīraū* and *aho-rātré* [the gender is that of the prior member 27].

The word [śīśīra-] is both m. and n. and when it is n. the string *hemantāś ca śīśīram ca* = *hemanta-śīśīrāṁ* m. 'autumn and winter seasons', and the string *dhas ca rātris ca* = *aho-rātrām* n. 'day and night', contra *hemanta-śīśīre* n., and *aho-rātrāṁ* m. in the spoken language.

2.4.29 ¹rātrā=²ahnā=³ahāḥ pūṁsi

[The gender of a dvandva 26 compound 1.3] (ending in 1.1.72) the (samāsānta 5.4.87,88,89) words °-rātrā-, °-ahnā- or °-ahā- is masculine (pūṁsi).

This blocks the rule 26 above.

1. *dvi-rātrā-h*, *tri-rātrā-h* 'a period of two/three days'.
2. *pūrvahnā-h/aprāhṇā-h/madhyaḥnā-h* 'forenoon/afternoon/noon'.
3. *dvya-ahā-h*, *try-ahā-h* 'two or three days'.

2.4.30 āpatham nāpuṁsakam

[The tatpuruṣā 26 compound 1.3] ā-patham is neuter (napuṁsakam).

na pānthāḥ = *nāN+pathin+a* (5.4.76) = *ā-pathin+a* (6.3.73) = *ā-path00+a* (6.4.144) = *ā-path+a+sU* = *ā-path-a+am* (7.1.73) = *ā-path-am* (8.1.107) = *āpatham idām* 'this is a wrong/bad road or path'; but in a bahuvrīhi compound: *ā-path-o dēśa-h* 'a pathless tract'.

2.4.31 ardharcāḥ pūṁsi ca

The class of [compounds 1.3] beginning with *ardharcā-* 'half a strophe of ṛk', is masculine in gender (pūṁsi) and also (ca) [neuter 30].

ardharcā-h/ardharc-ām; *gomayā-h/gomay-ām* 'cow-dung'; *kaśāya-h/kaśāy-am* 'decoction'.

2.4.32 idāmaḥ=anvādeśé=aś=ānudāttas tṛtīyā=ādau

The low-pitched (ānudātta) substitute aś replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) *idām-* 'this' before all sUP triplets beginning with the third (tṛtīyā=ādau) when it is used anaphorically (anvādeśé).

ābhyām chātrābhyām rātrīr ādhātā, atho ābhyām āhar dpy ādhātām 'These two pupils studied the whole night, and then they studied the whole day'. When [idām-] is used the first time, by 8.1.168 and 171 the udātta accent falls on the sUP triplets from the instrumental singular onwards, but not when it occurs anaphorically with aś replacement. The proper purpose of this rule, however, is

in connection with forms ending in °ákṣC- (5.3.71): *imāḥkābhyām chātrābhyām rātrīr ādhātā, atho abhyām dhar āpy adhātām*

2.4.33 *etādas* °tra-°tasós °tra-°tasaú ca=ánudāttau

[The low-pitched (ánudātta) substitute aŚ 32 replaces the whole of 1.1.55] *etād-* 'this' before the affixes °tra- (5.3.10) and °-tas- = (tas]L 5.3.7) and both affixes °tra- and °tas- become low-pitched (ánudāttau) [when *etād* is used anaphorically 32].

1. *etāsmīn grāme sukhām vās-ā-mah, atho atra yuktā adhī-make* 'we are living happily in this village, therefore let us study here diligently', where [a-tra] is a substitute for *etā-smīn*.
2. *etāsmāt=chātrāt=chāndaḥ=adhī-ṣva, atho a-to vyākaraṇam āpy adhī-ṣva* 'study Veda (or metrics) from this pupil, and also study grammar (vyākaraṇa) from him', where a-tas is the anaphoric substitute for *etā-smāt*.

2.4.34 °dvitīyā-°Tā=°ós-su=enah

[The low-pitched substitute 32] *ena-* replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [iḍām- 32 and *etād-* 33 when used anaphorically 32] before sUP triplets of the second (dvitīyā vibhakti 1.4.104) as well as before Tā (= 3rd sing.) and os (= 6th and 7th dual).

1. *imām chātrām chāndaḥ=ādhyāp-ay-a, atho enam vyākaraṇam āpy ādhyāp-ay-a* 'teach this pupil chāndaḥ, and teach him grammar also'; similarly *etām chātrām chāndaḥ=ādhyāp-ay-a, atho enam vyākaraṇam āpy ādhyāp-ay-a*.
2. *anēna/eīēna rātrīr adhātā, atho en-ena dhar āpy adhātām*.
3. *anāy-oḥ/eīāy-oḥ chātrāy-oḥ śobhanam śīlam, atho enayoḥ prabhātām svām* 'the disposition of these two pupils is brilliant and hence they have great wealth'.

2.4.35 ārdha-dhātuke

Before an ārdhadhatuka verbal affix (3.4.114).

This is a governing rule (adhikāra) heading this section beginning here and ending with 58 below, and the expression [ārdhadhātuke] will recur in every subsequent statement of this section.

2.4.36 *ado jagdhir LyaP ti K-IT-i*

The substitute *jagdh-* replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem *ad-* 'eat' (II 1) [before the *ārdhadhātuka* affix 35] *LyaP* (7.1.37) and those beginning with °*ta-* with marker *K* as *IT*.

1. *pra+ad+ktvā* = *pra+ād+LyaP* (7.1.37) = *pra-jāgdh-ya*, but *ad+yaK+te* = *ad-yā-te* 'is eaten'.
2. *ad+Ktā* = *jagdh+tā* = *jagdh+dhd* (8.2.40) = *jagd-dhd-* (8.2.53).

2.4.37 ¹IUN⁻²saNor ghasḷ

The substitute *ghasḷ* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem *ad-* 36 before *ārdhadhātuka* l-substitutes 25] of *IUN* (Aorist) and the desiderative marker *saN*.

The markers of the Aorist tense are all *ārdhadhātuka*, introduced before the l-substitutes (3.1.43ff).

1. *ad+IUN* = *ad+t* (3.4.100) = *ad+Cl_i+t* (3.1.43) = *ghasḷ+aN+t* (3.1.55) = *āṭ+ghas-a-t* (8.4.71) = *ā-ghas-a-t* 'has eaten'.
2. *ad+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.68; 4.78) = *ghas+saN+a+ti* = *ghā-ghas+sa+a+t* (6.1.9; 7.4.60) = *jā-ghas-sa-a-ti* (7.4.62) = *jā-ghas-sa-a-ti* (8.4.54) *jī-ghas-sa-a-ti* (7.4.79) = *jī-ghat-sa-a-ti* (7.4.49) = *jīghat-sa-ti* (6.1.97) 'wishes to eat'.

2.4.38 ¹GHaÑ⁻²āPoś ca

[The substitute *ghasḷ* 37 replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem *ad-* 36 before *ārdhadhātuka* 35] affixes *GHaÑ* (3.3.18) and *aP* (3.3.59).

1. *ad+GHaÑ* = *ghasḷ+GHaÑ* = *ghās-d-* (7.3.115; 6.1.159) 'grass, nourishment'.
2. *pra+ad+aP* = *pra+ghasḷ+aP* = *pra-ghas-d-* (6.1.144) 'voracious'.

2.4.39 *bahulām Chāndasi*

In the domain of *Chāndas* [the substitute *ghasḷ* replaces the whole of 1.1.55] the verbal stem *ad-* 36 diversely (*bahulām*).

1. *ghāstām nānam* 'they two have just eaten' derived from *(d)-ghas-tām* with Ø replacement of the initial augment by 6.4.75, being the 3rd pers. dual of the Imperfect or *(a)+ghas+Cl_i+tām* = *(Ø)+ghas+Ø+tām* (80) being similarly the alternate Aorist form.
2. *sa+ad+KtiN* = *sa+ghāḍaḷ+KtiN* = *sā-ghṇs+ti* (6.4.100) = *sā-ghṇṇ+ti* (B.2.26) = *sāgh+dhi* (8.2.40) = *sāg+dhi* (8.4.53) 'common meal'.
3. no replacement: *ad+IUN* = *ad+Cl_i+tām* = *ā+ad+siC+tām* (3.1.43, 44 6.4.76; 8.2.26) = *ā+ad+Ø+tām* (8.2.26) = *ātām* 'they two have eaten'.

2.4.40 Iṭṭy anyatarāsyām

[The substitute ghasḷ 36] optionally (anyatarāsyām) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem ad- 36 before ārdhadhātuka l-substitutes of] Iṭṭ (Perfect Tense).

$$\begin{aligned} ad+Iṭṭ &= ad-ad+NaL \text{ (6.1.8; 3.4.82)} = a-dd+NaL \text{ (7.4.80)} = a-ḍd+NaL \text{ (7.2.115)} = \\ &ḍd-a/ghas+Iṭṭ = ghas+NaL = ghas-ghás+NaL \text{ (8.1.8)} = ga-ghás+NaL \text{ (8.4.54)} = \\ &ja-ghás+NaL \text{ (7.4.62)} = ja-ghás-a \text{ (7.1.115)}. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.41 veÑo vayiḥ

[Before ārdhadhātuka 35 l-substitutes of Iṭṭ 40] the substitute vay- [optionally 40 replaces the whole of 1.1.55] the verbal stem veÑ- 'weave' (I 1055).

1. $veÑ+Iṭṭ = veÑ+NaL = vay+NaL = vay-vay+NaL \text{ (6.1.8)} = va-vay+NaL \text{ (7.4.80)}$
 $= u-vay+NaL \text{ (6.1.17)} = u-váy-a \text{ (7.2.115)}.$
2. $veÑ+Iṭṭ = veÑ+NaL = vā+Iṭṭ+NaL \text{ (6.1.45)} = vā-vā+NaL = va-vā+NaL \text{ (7.4.59)}$
 $= va-vā+au \text{ (7.1.34)} = vav-au.$

2.4.42 hano vadhá IṆ-i

The substitute vadhá- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [before ārdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IṆ (Precative 3.4.116).

$$\begin{aligned} han+IṆ &= vadhá+IṆ = vadha+yás(uṭ)+s(uṭ)+t \text{ (3.4.103,107)} = vadh\emptyset+yá\emptyset+\emptyset+t \\ &\text{(8.2.29) but } vadh-yás-s-tām = vadh-yá-s-tām, vadh-yá-s-uh. \text{ 8.2.29 stipulates} \\ &\text{that [s] occurring as initial of a conjunct is replaced by } \emptyset \text{ at the end of a padá or} \\ &\text{before } jhāL. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.43 IUN-i ca

[The substitute vadhá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 of the verbal stem han- 42] also (ca) before [the ārdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IUN (Aorist).

$$\begin{aligned} han+IUN &= á-vadha+Ch+i+t \text{ (3.1.43; 8.4.71)} = á-vadh\emptyset+s_iC+t \text{ (3.1.44; 6.4.8)} = \\ &á-vadh+iṭ+s+i \text{ (7.2.35)} = á-vadh-i-s+iṭ+i \text{ (7.3.96)} = á-vadh+i+\emptyset+i \text{ (8.2.28)} = \\ &á-vadh-i-t. \text{ The rule 7.2.3 whereby the stem vowel of [vadh-] should have been} \\ &\text{replaced by } vṛddhi \text{ is blocked by the fact that the substitute of verbal stem} \\ &\text{[han-] ends in a vowel and is not a } hāL\text{-anta as required by that rule, though} \\ &\text{that vowel is replaced by } \emptyset \text{ through the operation of the metarule 1.1 82.} \end{aligned}$$

2.4.44 ātmanepadéṣu=anyataráśyām

[The substitute vadhá- 43] optionally (anyataráśyām) replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [the verbal stem han- 42 before ārdhahātuka 35] l-substitutes of IUN 43] when they are ātmanepadā (middle voice) (1.4.100).

$$\begin{aligned} \acute{a}+han+lu\dot{N} &= \acute{a}-han+ta = \acute{a}-han+Cl_i+ta \text{ (3.1.43)} = \acute{a}-han+seC+ta \text{ (3.1.44)} = \\ &\acute{a}-ha\emptyset+s-ta \text{ (1.2.14; 8.4.37)} = \acute{a}-ha-\emptyset-ta \text{ (8.2.27)} = \acute{a}-ha-ta / \acute{a}+vadh+seC+ta = \\ &\acute{a}-vadh+iT-seC+ta = \acute{a}-vadh-i-\text{ṣ}-ta \text{ (8.3.59; 4.41)}. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.45 iNō gā IUN-ī

The substitute gā replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem iN- 'go' (II 36) [before ārdhahātuka 35] l-substitutes of IUN (Aorist).

$$\begin{aligned} iN+IUN &= iN+Cl_i+tiP \text{ (3.1.43)} = gā+Cl_i+ti \text{ (3.4.100)} = gā+seC+ti \text{ (3.1.44)} = \\ &gā+\emptyset+ti \text{ (77)} = dT+gā-t \text{ (8.4.71)} = d-gā-t. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.46 Naú gamīr á-bodhane

[Before the ārdhahātuka 35] affix Ní(C) the substitute gam- replaces [the verbal stem iN- 45] when it does not signify 'understanding' (á-bodhane).

$$\begin{aligned} iN+NíC+ŚaP+tiP &= gam+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = gam-f-a-ti = gam-é-a-ti \text{ (7.3.84)} = \\ &gam-āy-a-ti \text{ 'makes one go'}. \text{ Here the vṛddhi replacement of penultimate [aT of} \\ &\text{gam-]} \text{ (7.2.116) is blocked by 8.4.92 as Dhp. I 366 includes verbal stems ending} \\ &\text{in [am] as M-ITs. When 'understanding' is to be denoted we have:} \\ &prati+iN+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = prati+ai-i+a+ti \text{ (7.2.115)} = prāti+āy-i+a=ti \\ &\text{(6.1.78)} = prāty-āy+e+a+ti = prāty-āyay-a-ti \text{ 'communicates'}. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.47 saN-ī ca

Also (ca) [before the ārdhahātuka 35 affix] saN [the substitute gam-replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem iN- when it does not signify 'understanding' 46].

$$\begin{aligned} iN+saN+ŚaP+tiP &= gam+saN+Śap+tiP = gām-gam+sa+ti \text{ (6.1.8)} = \\ &gā\emptyset-gam+iT+sa-ti \text{ (7.2.35; 4.60)} = gā-gam-i-ṣa-a-ti \text{ (7.4.79; 8.3.59)} = \\ &jā-gam-i-ṣa-ti \text{ (6.1.97; 7.4.82) 'wishes to go'; but } prāti+iN+saN+ŚaP+tiP = \\ &prāti+ts+iT-saN+ŚaP+tiP \text{ (6.1.2)} prātiṣ-i-ṣa-ti \text{ (6.1.97; 8.3.59) 'desires to} \\ &\text{communicate'}. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.48 iÑ-aś ca

[The substitute gam-46] also (ca) replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem iÑ (with ádhi-°) 'study' (II 37) [before the árdha-dhātuka 35 affix saN 47].

$$\begin{aligned} \text{ádhi} + \text{iÑ} + \text{saN} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{te} \text{ (7.4.79)} &= \text{ádhi} + \text{gam} + \text{saN} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{te} = \text{ádhi-jñ-gam} + \text{sa-te} = \\ &\text{ádhi-jñ-gāñ-sa-te} \text{ (6.4.16) 'wishes to study'}. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.49 gāÑ IIT-i

The substitute gāÑ- [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem iÑ (with ádhi-°) 48 before the árdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IIT (Perfect).

$$\begin{aligned} \text{ádhi} + \text{iÑ} + \text{IIT} &= \text{ádhi} + \text{i} + \text{eŚ} \text{ (3.4.81)} = \text{ádhi-gā-gā} + \text{eŚ} \text{ (6.1.8)} = \text{ádhi-ga-gā} + \text{e} \text{ (7.4.59)} \\ &= \text{ádhi-ja-gā} + \text{e} \text{ (7.4.62)} = \text{ádhi-ja-gñ} + \text{e} \text{ (6.4.64)} = \text{ádhi-ja-ge} \text{ 'has studied' and} \\ &\text{similarly the dual and plural forms are } \text{ádhi-ja-g-āte} / \text{ádhi-ja-g-ire}. \end{aligned}$$

2.4.50 vibhāṣā ¹IUN-²IRÑ-oh

[The substitute gāÑ- 49] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem iÑ- 49 before the árdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IUN (Aorist) and IRÑ (Conditional).

1. *IUN*: $\text{ádhi} + \text{iÑ} + \text{IUN} = \text{ádhi} + \text{gāÑ} + \text{IUN} = \text{ádhi-gā-siC} + \text{ta} \text{ (3.1.44)} = \text{ádhi-gñ} + \text{s} + \text{ta} \text{ (6.4.66)} = \text{adhi} + \text{āT} + \text{gñ-s} + \text{ta} \text{ (6.4.71)} = \text{adhy-ā-gñ-s} + \text{ta} \text{ (8.3.59)} / \text{adhi} + \text{āT} + \text{i} + \text{s} + \text{ta} = \text{adhy-ai-s} + \text{ta} \text{ (6.4.90; 8.3.59; 4.41)}.$
2. *IRÑ*: $\text{ádhi} + \text{iÑ} + \text{IRÑ} + \text{ta} = \text{adhi-gāÑ} + \text{IRÑ} + \text{ta} = \text{adhi-gā-sya} + \text{ta} \text{ (3.1.33)} = \text{adhi} + \text{āT} + \text{gñ-sya} + \text{ta} \text{ (6.4.86; 8.3.59)}; \text{adhi} + \text{āT} + \text{i} + \text{syā} + \text{ta} = \text{adhy-ai-syā} + \text{ta} \text{ (6.1.90 4.72; 8.3.59)}.$

2.4.51 Naú ca ¹saN=²CaÑ-oh

[The substitute gāÑ- 49 optionally 50 replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem iÑ- 49] co-occurring with the causative marker Ní(C) (3.1.26) [before árdhadhātuka 35 markers] saN and CaÑ.

1. $\text{ádhi} + \text{iÑ} + \text{NíC} + \text{saN} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{tiP} = \text{ádhi} + \text{gā} + \text{NíC} + \text{saN} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{tiP} = \text{ádhi} + \text{gā} + \text{p(uK)} + \text{i} + \text{sa} + \text{a} + \text{ti} \text{ (7.3.36)} = \text{ádhi-jñ-gāp} + \text{i} + \text{sa} + \text{a} + \text{ti} \text{ (7.2.35)} = \text{ádhi-jñ-gāp-e} + \text{i-sa-ti} \text{ (7.3.84)} = \text{ádhi-jñ-gāp-ay-i-sa-ti} \text{ (6.1.78; 8.3.59)} / \text{ádhi} + \text{ai} + \text{NíC} + \text{saN} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{ti} \text{ (7.2.115)} = \text{adhi} + \text{ā} + \text{p(uk)} + \text{NíC} + \text{saN} + \text{ÁaP} + \text{ti}$

(6.1.48; 7.3.36) = *adhy-āpi-pi+iT+sa+a+ti* (6.1.2; 7.2.35) = *adhy-āpi-pe-i-sa-a-ti* (7.3.86) *adhy-āpi-pay-i-sa-ti* (6.1.78, 97; 8.3.59).

2. *ādhi+iñ+Ni+Cañ+t* = *ādhi+gā+p(uk)+ñi+Cañ+t* = *ādhi+gāp-i+Cañ+t* = *ādhi-jī-gāpi+Cañ+t* (6.1.11; 7.4.79,91) = *adhy+āT+jī-gapθ-a-t* (6.4.51,71; 7.4.1,94) = *adhy-ā-jī-gap-a-t* / *adhy-āT+iñ+NiC+Cañ+t* = *adhy-ā+ai+i+Cañ+t* = *adhy-ā+ā+p(uK)+i+Cañ+t* = *adhy-ā- api-p+θ-a-t* = *adhy-āpi-p-a-t*.

2.4.52 aster bhūh

The substitute bhū- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 58) [before ārdhahātuka affixes 35].

1. non-sigmatic future *lUT*. *as+tās* (3.1.33)+*Dā* (2.4.85) = *bhā+iT+tās+Dā* (7.2.35) = *bho-i-tθ+ā* (6.4.143; 7.3.84) = *bhav-i-tā* (6.1.78), *bhav-i-tā-rau* (7.4.51), *bhav-i-tā-rah*.
2. *as+tumuN* = *bhū+tum* = *bhū+iT+tum* = *bhāv-i-tum*.
3. *as+tavya-* = *bhū+iT+tavya-* = *bhav-i-tavya-*.

2.4.53 bruvo vaci-h

The substitute vac- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem brū- 'speak' (II 35) [before ārdhahātuka affixes 35].

brū+tumuN = *vāc+tum* = *vāk-tum* (8.2.30); *brū+tās+Dā* = *vac+tās+Dā* = *vāk-tθθ-ā* = *vāk-tā*; *brū+tavya-* = *vac+tavya-* = *vāk-tavya-*.

2.4.54 cakṣiñāḥ khyāñ

The substitute khyāñ- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem cakṣiñ- 'tell, inform' (II 7) [before an ārdhahātuka affix 35].

ā+cakṣ+tās+miP = *ā-khyā+tās+mi* 'I am about to proclaim'; similarly *ā-khyā-tum*, *ā-khyā-tavya-*.

2.4.55 vā lIT-i

[The substitute khyāñ- 54] optionally (vā) replaces [(the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem cakṣiñ 54 before the ārdhahātuka] l-substitutes of lIT (Perfect).

ā-cakṣ+lIT = (a) *ā-khyā+lIT* = *ā-ca-khyā+au* (6.1.8; 7.4.59,60,62; 7.1.34) = *ā-ca-khyau*, *ā-cakhyθ-atuh* (6.4.84) = *ā-cakhy-atuh*. (b) *ā-ca-cakṣ-e*, *ā-ca-cakṣ-āte*, *ā-ca-cakṣ-ire*.

2.4.56 ájer vī=á⁻¹GHaÑ⁻²aP-oḥ

The substitute vī- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem áj- 'drive, lead' (I 248) [before an árdhahātuka affix 35] other than GHaÑ (3.3.18) and aP (3.3.57).

prá+aj+NvuL = *pra+vī+NvuL* = *prá+vaś-aka* (7.1.1; 2.115) = *pra-váś-aka-* (6.1.78) 'driver, conductor', and similarly *pra-vī+anśyaR* = *pra-vay-anśya-* 'fit for driving', but *sam+aj+GHaÑ* = *sam-āj-d-* (7.2.116) 'congregation, concourse', *sam+aj+aP* = *sam-āj-d-* 'a herd, flock or multitude of animals'.

2.4.57 vā yau

[The substitute vī- 56] optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem áj- 56 before the árdhahātuka affix 35] yu (LyuṬ).

Though [yu] is a cover term for KhyuN (3.2.56), Tyu(L) (4.3.23), NyuṬ (3.1.14), yuC (3.2.148; 3.107-8), Lyu (3.1.134) and LyuṬ (3.3.113, 115ff), LyuṬ is intended here. *prá+aj+LyuṬ* = *práj-ana-/pra-váś-ana-* (8.4.2) 'whip, goad'.

2.4.58 ¹Nyá-²kṣatriya-³ārsá-⁴Ñ-IT-o yūni luK=¹áN-²iÑ-oḥ

luK (1.1.61 0¹) replaces the affixes áN and iÑ introduced after a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the patronymic affix Nyá (4.1.151) or in an affix denoting the gotrá descendant (4.1.162) of a kṣatriya 'warrior' class or of fśi 'sage' (4.1.114) or one co-occurring with marker Ñ as IT, all denoting a yūvan (4.1.163) descendant.

1. *Nyá: kuru+Nyá* (4.1.151) = *kauru+yá* (7.2.115) = *kauro+yá* (6.4.146) = *kaurav-yá* (6.1.79) 'a gotra descendant of Kuru (a brahmin)' = *kaurav-ya+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *kaurav-yá+0¹* = *kaurav-yá-* when denoting a yūvan-descendant, whence *kaurav-yá-h pitā* (father living) : *kaurav-yáḥ putráḥ* 'son' (= *yūvan* 'while father is living').
2. *kṣatriya: vasudeva+dN* (4.1.114) = *vāsudev-d* (7.1.117) 'descendant of Vasudeva'; *vāsudev+d+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *vāsudev+0¹* 'yūvan-descendant of Vāsudeva (still living)'.
3. *fśi: vasiṣṭha+dN* (4.1.114) = *vāsiṣṭh-d-* 'descendant of sage Vāsiṣṭha'; *vāsiṣṭh+d+iÑ* = *vāsiṣṭh+d+0¹* = *vāsiṣṭh-d-* 'living descendant of Vāsiṣṭha or his yūvan-descendant'.
4. *Ñ-IT : bida+aN* (4.1.104) = *bāid-a-* 'descendant of Bida': *baida+iÑ* = *bāida+0¹* = *bāid-a-* 'living descendant of Bida or his yūvan-descendant'.
5. *tika+phiÑ* = *taśka+āyani-* (7.1.2; 2.117); *taśkāyani+dN* (4.1.83) = *taśkāyani+0¹* = *taśkāyani-* 'living descendant of Tika or his yūvan-descendant'.

2.4.59 pailā=ādibhyas=ca

[luK (θ¹) replaces the yúvan affix 58 introduced after the word-class] beginning with pailā- (= gotra descendant of Pīlā).

pāḍa+dN (4.1.118)+*phiN̄* (4.1.156) = *pailā+θ¹* 'living descendant of Pīlā or her yúvan descendant'.

2.4.60 iÑ-aḥ prāc-ām

[luk (θ¹) replaces the yúvan affix 58] introduced after a patronymic (ending in 1.1.72) the affix iÑ to denote a [yúvan-descendant 58] of an eastern gotra (prācām).

pañnāgāra-sya gotrāpatyaḥ = *pañnāgāra+iN̄* (4.1.95) - *pāñnāgārθ+i* = (6.1.197; 4.1.148; 7.2.117); *pāñnāgārer āpatyam yūva* = *pāñnāgāri+phaK* (4.1.101) = *pāñnāgāri+θ¹* 'gotra descendant of Pañnāgāra (living) or his son (yúvan-descendant)'.

2.4.61 nā taúlvali-bhyaḥ

[luK (θ¹) 58] does not (ná) replace [the yúvan affix 58 introduced after the word-class] beginning with taúlvali- [of the eastern gotra 60].

tulvalāśya prācyāśya gotrāpatyaḥ = *tulvalā+iN̄* (4.1.95) = *taúlval-i-ḥ*; *taúlvaler āpatyam yūva* = *taúlvali+phak* (4.1.101) = *taulvalθ+āyand-* = *taulvalāyanā-* (6.4.148; 7.1.2).

2.4.62 tad-rājāsya bahúṣu téna=evá=āstriyām

[luK (θ¹) 58] replaces a tad-rājā affix (4.1.168-74; 5.2.112-119) introduced after a nominal stem when it denotes a plurality (bahúṣu) if that plurality is expressed by the stem ending in that affix (téna=evá) except when followed by a feminine affix (ā-stryām).

āṅga+dN = *āṅg-d-* 'a prince of Āṅga'; *āṅga+Jas* = *āṅga+dN+Jas* = *āṅga+θ¹+Jas* = *āṅgāḥ* 'princes of Āṅga'; note that the operation of marker N̄ of āN̄ (7.1.117) is blocked by the metarule 1.1.83; but *āṅga+N̄IP+Jas* = *āṅgy-dḥ* 'princesses of Āṅga', and *priyā vāṅgō yésām tē* = *priyā-vāṅga+Jas* = *priyā-vāṅgāḥ* 'those to whom the prince of Vāṅga is dear'.

2.4.63 yaska=ādibhyo gotré

[luK (θ¹) 58] replaces 58] a gotrá affix (4.1.182) introduced after the word-class beginning with yaska- [when the noun stem ending in it indicates plurality and is not followed by a feminine affix 62].

yaskasya gotrāpatyām = *yaska+āN* (4.1.112) = *yāsk-d-h*; *yaska+Jas* = *yaska+āN+Jas* = *yaska+θ¹+Jas* = *yaskāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Yaska', but *yaskā+NiP+Jas* = *yāsky-dh* f., *priyō yāskō yēsām* etc = *priyā-yaskāḥ*.

2.4.64 ¹yaN-²aN-oś ca

[luK (θ¹) 58] also (ca) replaces [the gotrá affixes 63] *yañ* (—*ya*) (4.1.105) and *aN* (—*a* 4.1.104) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when that nominal stem ending in these affixes itself denotes plurality and is not followed by a feminine affix 62].

1. *yaN*: *gārga+yaN* (4.1.105) = *gārg-ya-h* (7.2.117) 'a gotra descendant of Gārga', but *gārga+yaN+Jas* = *gārga+θ¹+Jas* = *gārgāḥ* 'gotrá descendants of Gārga' contra *gārgyā+NiP+Jas* = *gārgθθ+I+Jas* (6.4.150) = *gārgy-aḥ* 'female descendants of Gārga' and *priyō gārgyo yēsām* etc = *priyā-gārgyāḥ*.
2. *aN*: *bidd+aN* (4.1.104) = *baid-a-h*; *bidd+aN+Jas* = *bidd+θ¹+Jas* = *biddāḥ* 'gotrá descendants of Bidá'; but *baidā+NiN+Jas* = *baidθ¹+NiN+Jas* (6.4.148) = *baidy-aḥ* f., *priyā-baidāḥ*.

2.4.65 ¹ātri-²bhṛgu-³kútsa-⁴vásiṣṭha-⁵gótama-⁶āṅgirobhyaś

[luK (θ¹) 58] replaces the gotrá affixes 63 introduced after the nominal stems] *ātri*-, *bhṛgu*-, *kútsa*-, *vásiṣṭha*-, *gótama*- and *āṅgiras* [when these stems ending in those affixes by themselves indicate plurality and are not followed by feminine affixes 62].

1. *ātri+dhāk* (4.1.122)+*Jas* = *ātri+θ¹+Jas* = *ātray-aḥ* 'descendants of Átri', but *ātri+dhak+NiP+Jas* = *ātreyy-dh* 'female descendants of Átri', and *priyā+ātreya+Jas* = *priyātreyaḥ*.
2. *bhṛgu+āN* (4.1.114)+*Jas* = *bhṛgu+θ¹+Jas* = *bhṛgav-aḥ* 'gotrá descendants of Bhṛgu', but *bhārgavy-dh*, *priyā-bhārgavāḥ*.
3. Similarly from the remaining nominal stems: ³*kútsāḥ* m. / *kāṭsy-aḥ* f. / *priyā-kautsāḥ*; ⁴*vásiṣṭhāḥ* m. / *vāsiṣṭhy-dh* f. / *priyā-vāsiṣṭhāḥ*; ⁵*gótamāḥ* m. / *gautamy-dh* f. / *priyā-gautamāḥ*; ⁶*āṅgirasāḥ* m. / *āṅgiras-y-dh* f. / *priyāṅgirasāḥ*.

2.4.66 bahu=áCah=iÑ-ah prācyā-bharatēṣu

[luK (θ¹) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63] iÑ introduced after a polysyllabic (bahu=áCah) (nominal stem) denoting the Prācyā (eastern) and Bharatā gotrás [when the stem ending in that affix by itself indicates plurality 62].

1. Prācyā: *pannāgāra+iÑ+Jas* = *pannāgāra+θ¹+Jas* = *pannāgārāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Pannāgāra'.
2. Bharatā: *yúdhīṣṭhira+iÑ+Jas* = *yúdhīṣṭhira+θ¹+Jas* = *yúdhīṣṭhiráḥ*.
3. But when not polysyllabic: *bika+iÑ+Jas* = *bakṭi+Jas* = *bakṭay-ah*; *puṣpa+iÑ+Jas* = *puṣpi+Jas* = *puṣpay-ah*.
4. When not belonging to Prācyā or Bharatā gotras: *balāka+iÑ+Jas* = *bālākay-ah*; *hastidāsa+iÑ+Jas* = *hástidāsay-ah*.

Note. Though Bharatā gotra is also a sub-class of Prācyā, its specific mention here is to indicate that Bharatā gotra is excluded when Prācyā alone is mentioned elsewhere (60 above),

2.4.67 ná gopāv-ana=ādibhyah

[luK (θ¹) 58] does not replace [the gotrá affix 63 introduced after] the word-class beginning with gopāvana- [when these nominal stems by themselves indicate plurality 62].

This class is a sub-set of the word-class beginning with bida- (4.1.104): *gopāvanasya gotrāpatyāni pūmāṁsah* = *gopāvana+aÑ+Jas* = *gopāvanāḥ* (contrary to 64 above); similarly *śigrā+aÑ+Jas* = *śaśgrāv-āḥ*.

2.4.68 ¹tikā-²kitavá=ādibhyo dvamdvé

[luK (θ¹) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63 introduced after] a dvamdvá [compound 1.3] constituted by members of the word-classes beginning with (a) tikā- and (b) kitavá- [when the compound stems denote plurality 62].

By 4.1.154 the gotra affix [phiÑ] is introduced after these word-classes: *tika+phiÑ* = *tika+āyaniÑ* = *taikāyani-*; *kitava+phiÑ* = *kaṣṭavāyani-*; *taikāyani+Jas+kaṣṭavāyani+Jas* = *tika+θ¹+kitava+θ¹+Jas* = *tika-kitavāḥ* 'gotra-descendants of Tikā and Kitavá'.

2.4.69 úpaka=ādibhyaḥ=anyataráśyām á-dvaṁdve

[luK (θ¹) 58] optionally (anyataráśyām) [replaces the gotrá affix 63 introduced after the word-class] beginning with úpaka- [when the stem denotes plurality 62 in a dvaṁdvá compound constituted by members of its class 68] or not so constituted (á-dvaṁdve).

Three compounds belonging to this class: *upaka-lamakāḥ*, *bhṛṣṭaka-kapiñjalāḥ*, *kṛṇḍjina-kṛṇasundarāḥ* have already been included in the [tika-kitavá-] class (68 above) where luK replacement is obligatory; by this rule it becomes optional when the constituent members are used individually: *úpaka+phak* (4.1.89)+*Jas* = *upaka+θ¹+Jas* = *úpakaḥ* / *aupakāyand+Jas* = *aupakāyanāḥ*.

2.4.70 ¹āgastyá-²kaúṇḍinya-or ¹agásti-²kuṇḍináC

[luK (θ¹) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63 introduced in generating the words] *āgastyá* and *kaúṇḍinya*- [when they indicate plurality 62] and the substitute nominal stems *agási*- and *kuṇḍináC* (respectively 1.3.10) replace (the whole of the pre-affixed stems *āgastyá*-and *kaúṇḍinya*-).

1. *agástya+áN* (4.1.114)+*Jas* = *agásti+θ¹+Jas* = *agaste+Jas* (7.3.109) = *agástay-aḥ* (6.1.78).

2. *kuṇḍinI+yaN* (4.1.105)+*Jas* = *kaúṇḍinya+Jas* = *kuṇḍiná+Jas* = *kuṇḍináḥ*.

2.4.71 suPo ¹dhātu-²prātipadikáy-oḥ

[luK (θ¹) 58 replaces] a nominal [vibhakti 1.4.104] ending (sUP triplet) [of a padá 1.4.14] constituting a (derived) verbal stem (dhātu-^{*} 3.1.32) or a (derived) nominal stem (^{*}-prātipadiká- 1.2.46 = ending in kṛt or taddhitá affixes or constituting samāsás).

1. *dhātu: ātmánah putráṁ icchāti* = *putrá+am icch-á-ti* = *putrá+θ¹+kyáC* (3.1.8) = *putrI-yá-ti* (7.4.33) 'wishes for a son'.

2. *prātipadiká:* (a) ending in a kṛt affix: *kumbhá+am kar-á-ti* = *kumbhá+θ¹+kr+áN* (3.2.1) = *kumbha-kārā-ḥ* 'potter'; (b) ending in a taddhitá affix: *gárgasya gotrāpatyám* = *gárga+Nas+yaN* = *garga+θ¹+yaN* = *gārg-ya-ḥ* (4.1.105) 'gotra descendant of Garga'; (c) samāsá: *kaṣṭá+am śri-tá-ḥ* (1.24) = *kaṣṭá+θ¹+śri-tá-ḥ* = *kaṣṭá-śri-ta-ḥ* 'fallen on misfortune'.

2.4.72 adi-prabhṛtibhyaḥ ŚaP-aḥ

[luK (θ¹) 58 replaces the active marker] ŚaP (3.1.68) introduced after the class of verbal stems whose first member is ad- 'eat, consume' (II 1).

$ad+ŚaP+tiP = ad+θ^1+tiP = ád+ti = dt-ti$ (8.4.55) 'eats'; similarly $han+θ^1+ti = hán-ti$ 'kills, strikes'.

2.4.73 bahulám chándasi

[In the domain of Chándas (θ¹) 58] variously (bahulám) replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72 introduced after verbal stems].

1. does not replace it after the verb-class ad- (72): $vrtrám han+Śap+ti = vrtrám hán-a-ti$ 'kills V.' for regular $han-ti$. $ahiḥ śáy-a-te (= ái+ŚaP+te)$ contra regular $śe+θ^1+te = śé-te$ 'the snake is lying down'.
2. occurs after other verbal stems not forming the ad-class: $trā-dhvám no dévāḥ$ 'protect us, O gods', from $trai+ŚaP+dhvam = trā+θ^1+dhvam$ (6.1.45) contra regular $trāy-a-dhvam$ (1.1.63).

2.4.74 yáÑ-aḥ=áCi ca

[luK (θ¹) 58] also (ca) replaces the affix yáÑ (3.1.22) [diversely 73] before the affix áC (3.1.134).

$la+yáÑ = lo-la-yá-$ (6.1.9; 7.4.89)+ $áC$ (3.1.134) = $lola+θ^1+áC = loluv-d-$ 'cutting frequently or intensively'. diversely: $bhā+yáÑ = bo-bhā+yáÑ-$ = $bo-bhā+θ^1+tip$ = $bó-bho-ti$, $bó=bho+IT+tiP$ (7.3.94) = $bó-bhav-ī-ti$. 3.1.32 which introduced marker Śap after derived verbal stems is blocked by including this formation in the ad-class (II 71) whence $bhā+yáÑ+ŚaP+tiP = bo-bhā+θ^1+tiP$ (72).

2.4.75 ju-hó-ti=āḍibhyaḥ Śluḥ

The substitute marker Ślu replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72] introduced after the class of verbal stems beginning with hu- (ju-hó-ti) 'offer an oblation' (III 1).

$hu+ŚaP+tiP = hu+Ślu+tiP = hu-hu+ti$ (6.1.10) = $ju-hu+ti$ (7.4.62; 8.4.54) = $ju-hó-ti$ (7.3.84), $ju-hu-tāḥ$, $ju-hu-dīti$ (7.1.4).

2.4.76 bahulām chāndasi

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute marker Ślu 75] diversely (bahulām) replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72 introduced after verbal stems].

1. does not replace after the hu-class (III): $dā+ŚaP+tiP = dā-ti priyāṇi$ gives 'desirable things' for $dā+Ślu+tiP = dā-dā-ti$.
2. replaces ŚaP after other verbal stems: $vaś-(II\ 70)+Ślu+tip = vā-vaś+ti = vi-vaś-ti$ (3.2.36; 4.41) 'desires' for $vaś+θ^1+ti = vaś-ti$.

2.4.77 ¹gāti-²sthā-³GHU-⁴pā-⁵bhū-byah si C-aḥ parasmaipadēṣu

[luK (θ¹) 58] replaces the Aorist substitute marker siC (3.1.44) [introduced after the verbal stems] gā- (substitute for iN 45 above) 'go', sthā- 'remain' (I 975), those belonging to the GHU sub-class (1.1.20), pā- 'drink' (I 972) and bhū- 'become' (I 1) before Parasmaipadā l-substitutes.

1. $gā+siC+t = dā+gā+θ^1+t$ (3.4.71) = $d-gā-t$ 'has gone'.
2. $sthā+siC+t = d+sthā+θ^1+t = d-sthā-t$ 'has remained'.
3. $dā+siC+t = d+dā+θ^1+t = d-dā-t$ 'has given'.
4. $pā+siC+t = pā+θ^1+t = d-pā-t$ 'has drunk'.
5. $bhū+siC+t = bhū+θ^1+t = d-bhū-t$ 'has become'.

2.4.78 vibhāṣā ¹ghrā-²dheṭ-³śā=⁴chā-⁵saḥ

[luK (θ¹) 58] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the substitute Aorist marker siC 77 introduced after the verbal stems] ghrā- 'smell' (I 973), dheṭ- 'drink' (I 951), śo- 'pare' (IV 37), cho- 'cut' (IV 38) and so- 'destroy' (IV 39) [before Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 77].

1. $ghrā+siC+t = d-ghrā+θ^1+t = d-ghrā-t / d-ghrā-s+īT+t$ (7.3.96) = $d-ghrā-s-ī-t$ 'has smelled'.
2. $dheṭ+siC+t = dhā+siC+t$ (6.1.45) = $dhā+θ^1+t = d=dhā-t / d-dhā-s-ī-t$ 'has drunk'.
3. $d-śā-t / d-śā-s-ī-t$ 'has pared'.
4. $d-cchā-t / d-cchā-s-ī-t$ 'has cut'.
5. $d-sā-t / d-sā-s-ī-t$ 'has destroyed'.

2.4.79 tán=ādibhyaḥ=¹ta-²thās-oh

[luK (Ø¹) 58 optionally 78 replaces the substitute Aorist marker siC 77 introduced after the class of verbal stems] beginning with tan- 'extend, stretch' (VIII 1) [before the Ātmanepadā l-substitutes] °tá and °thās.

tan+siC+ta/thās/tan-Ø¹+ta/thās = d-ta-ta/thās (6.4.37); alternately d-tan-siC-ta/thās (7.3.59; 8.4.41).

2.4.80 mántre ¹ghás-²hvar-³naś-⁴vr̥-⁵dah-⁶ā-⁷vr̥c-⁸kr̥-⁹gam-¹⁰jan-¹¹bhyo IEh

In the domain of the Mántra (section of the Veda) [luK (Ø¹) 58 replaces l-members] II (= Cl_i 3.1.43 or II_T) introduced after the verbal stems ghás- 'eat' (I 747), hv̥r- 'be crooked' (I 978), naś- 'disappear' (IV 85), vr̥ñ- 'cover' (IX 38) or vr̥ñ- 'choose' (V 8), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), stems ending in long °ā, vr̥j- 'avoid' (II 19, VII 24) or vr̥c- (VII 24) or vr̥k- 'take' (I 92), kr̥- 'do' (VIII 10), gam- 'go' (I 1031) and jan- 'be born' (IV 41).

1. *ghas+Cl_i+an(t) (3.1.43) = d-ghās+Ø¹+an (6.4.98) = d-kṣ-an (8.3.60; 4.55) 'they have eaten'.*
2. *hv̥r+Cl_i+t = d-hvar+Ø¹+t = d-hvar+Ø (6.1.68) = dhvaḥ (8.3.15) 'has acted crookedly'.*
3. *naś+Cl_i+t = d-naś+siC+t = d-naś+siC+t (8.2.36) = d-nak+Ø¹+t (8.2.41) = d-nak+Ø (6.1.68) = d-nak 'has disappeared'.*
4. *ā+vr̥ñ+Cl_i+t = ā+dT̄+vr̥+siC+t = ā-var+Ø¹+t = ā-var+Ø (6.1.68) = ā-vaḥ (8.3.15) 'has covered'.*
5. *ā+dah+Cl_i+t = ā+dT̄+dagh+Ø¹+t (8.2.32) = ā-dhagh+t (8.2.37) = ā-dhak+Ø (6.1.68; 8.4.55) 'has burnt'.*
6. *ā+prā+Cl_i+t = ā-prā+Cl_i+siP = ā+dT̄-prā+Ø¹+s = ā-prā-h 'thou hast filled up'.*
7. *parā-vr̥k/vr̥c/vr̥j+Cl_i+t = parā+dT̄+vr̥k/vr̥c/vr̥j+Ø¹+t = parā-var+k+t (8.2.30) = parā-var+k+Ø (6.1.68) = parā-var-k.*
8. *kr̥+Cl_i+an(t) = d-kr̥+Ø¹+an = d-kr-an 'they have done'.*
9. *gam+Cl_i+an(t) = d-gam+Ø¹+an = d-gḥm-an (6.4.98) = d-gm-an 'they have gone'.*
10. *jan+Cl_i+ata = d-jan+Ø¹+ata = d-jñn+ata = d-jñ-ata 'they were born'.*

2.4.81 āmah

[luK (Ø¹) 58 replaces l-members of II 80 introduced after the affix] °ām (marker of the Periphrastic Perfect 3.1.55).

ih+lIT̄ = ih+ām+lIT̄ = ih+ām+kr̥+lIT̄ (3.1.40) = ih-ām-ca-kr̥-e 'has longed for'.

2.4.82 ávyayāt=¹āP-²sUP-ah

[luK (θ¹) 58 replaces] the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, TāP, DāP) and sUP triplets introduced after an indeclinable (ávyaya) (nominal stems).

1. [āP]: *tad+āP+traL* = *taa+θ¹+traL* (7.1.102) = *tā-tra* (8.1.97) *sāśyām* 'in that hall'.
2. [sUP]: *kṛ+Ktvā+sUP* = *kṛ+tvā+θ¹* = *kṛ-tvā* 'having done'.

2.4.83 ná=avyayībhāvēt=aTaḥ=am tu=á-pañcamyāḥ

[luK (θ¹) 58] does not (ná) replace [sUP triplets introduced after] an avyayībhāvē (1.5) [compound 1.3] (ending in 1.1.72) short °-a-, but (tu) affix °-am replaces them with the exception of the fifth (á-pañcamyāḥ).

kubhāśya sāmīpam = *upa+kumbha+ām* = *upa-kumbhām*; *hāri+ñi* = *adhi+hari+ñi* = *adhi-harī+θ¹* = *adhi-harī*; but *upa-kumbhāt ā-naya* 'bring from the vicinity of the pot'.

2.4.84 ¹tṛtīyā-²saptamyór bahulám

[Substitute affix °-am 83] replaces diversely (bahulám) the third and seventh sUP triplets (tṛtīyā-saptam-óḥ) introduced after an avyayībhāvē 83 compound 1.3 ending in short °-a 83.

1. third sUP triplet: *upa-kumbh-éna/upakumbham kṛtam* 'made near the pot'.
2. seventh sUP triplet: *upakumbh-é/upa-kumbh-ám ní-dhe-hi* 'set (it) down near the pot'.

2.4.85 IUT-ah prathamá-sya ¹Pā-²rau-³ras-ah

The substitute elements Dā, rau and ras (respectively 1.3.10) replace (the whole of 1.1.55) the third person (prathamá-sya) of IUT [Periphrastic or non-sigmatic Future Tense].

kṛ+IUT+tiP = *kṛ+tās+tiP* (3.1.33) = *kṛ+tās+Dā* = *kar+tīθθ+á* (6.4.143) = *kar-t-ā*;
kar+tās+tas = *kar-tās+rau* (1.1.55) = *kar+tāθ+rau* (7.4.51) = *kar-tā-rau*;
kar+tās+jhi = *kar-tās+ras* = *kar-tāθ+ras* = *kar-tā-rah*.

3.1.1 pratyayāḥ

(The t.t.) pratyayá- 'affix'.

This is a governing rule covering the whole of the largest section of Ast. up to the end of the fifth chapter, and items introduced hereafter are designated by this t.t. The word [pratyayāḥ] will thus recur in every subsequent rule up to the end of the fifth chapter.

3.1.2 páraś ca

And (ca) [the affix 1] is introduced after (páraḥ 'what follows') an element [= verbal 91 or nominal 4.1.1 stem].

This is also a governing rule having the same range of operation as the preceding rule and recurs in all subsequent statements. In consequence of this, metarule 1.1.87 is not relevant with reference to 91 or 4.1.1 below.

3.1.3 ādy=ūdāttas ca

And (ca) [the affix 1] which follows 2 [the verbal or nominal stem 91 and 4.1.1 respectively] has the high-pitched (ūdātta) accent on its first syllable (ādf=ūdāttah).

This is the third governing rule having the same range of operation as the previous two. However, this is an utsargá or general rule and exceptions are stated at appropriate places. In general, accents associated with affixes other than on the first syllabic are indicated by particular IT markers such as C (6.1.163-4), K (6.1.185), T (6.1.185), L (6.1.193), Ñ and N (6.1.197) and R (6.1.213).

kṛ+tdvya- (96) = *kar-tdvya-*, *kṛ+tavýāT* = *kar-tavýā-*, *kṛ+anfyāR* = *kar-anfyā-* 'should or ought to be done'.

3.1.4 ānudattau ¹sUP-²P-IT-au

[The affixes 1] sUP triplets and those with marker P as IT have low-pitched (ānudatta) vowels (1.2.30).

(a) sUP: *dṛṣdd+au* = *dṛṣdd-au*; *pdṭh+ŚaP+tiP* = *pdṭh-a-ti* 'recites'.

3.1.5 ¹gup-²tij-³kit=bhyaḥ saN

[The affix 1] saN is introduced [after 2] the verbal stems gup- 'hide, conceal' (X 231), tij- 'whet, sharpen' (I 1020) and kit- 'know, perceive' (I 1042).

By 32 below these derived forms constitute verbal stems (dhātu) after which the active marker ŚaP is introduced before l-substitutes (68).

1. *gup+saN+ŚaP+te* = *gúp-gup+sa+a+te* (8.1.9) = *gá-gup-sa-te* (7.4.80) = *já-gup-sa-te* (7.4.82) 'censures'.
2. *tij+saN+ŚaP+te* = *ti-tij-sa-te* = *ti-tik-sa-te* (7.4.60) = *ti-tik-ṣa-te* (8.2.30; 3.59) 'endures, forbears'.
3. *kit+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cf-kit-sa-ti* (8.1.9; 7.4.60) 'treats medically'.

Note: affix *saN* is introduced after these stems in these particular meanings; elsewhere the expected forms are respectively *gop-áya-ti* 'conceals', *tej-áya-ti* 'whets, sharpens', and *sam-keṭ-áya-ti* 'gives a cue' since they are listed in the tenth or cur-class also.

3.1.6 ¹mān-²badhA-³dān-⁴śān-bhyo dīrgháś ca=abhyāsáya

[The affix 1 *saN* 5] is introduced [after 2] the verbal stems *mān-* 'honor' (I 1021), *badh-* 'bind' (I 1022), *dān-* 'cut' (I 1043) and *śān-* 'sharpen, whet' (I 1044) and (ca) a long vowel (dīrgháḥ 1.2.28) replaces (that of) the reduplicated syllable (abhyāsá-sya 6.1.4).

1. *mān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *má-mān-sa-te* (7.4.60,82) = *mf-mān-sa-te* (7.4.79) = *mf-mān-sa-te* (8.3.24) 'investigates'.
2. *badh+saN+ŚaP+te* = *bí-bhat-sa-te* (7.4.60,82,79; 8.2.37) 'loathes'.
3. *dān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *dí-dān-sa-te* (7.4.60,82 79; 8.3.24) 'rectifies, straightens out'.
4. *śān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *śí-śān-sa-te* 'whets, sharpens'.

Note: except in these specific meanings given above, normal forms of these four stems would be: *mān-áya-ti*, *badh-áya-ti*, *dān-áya-ti*, *ní-śān-aya-ti* since they are also listed in the tenth or cur-class.

3.1.7 dhātoḥ kármaṇ-aḥ samāná-kartṛk-āt icchāyām vā

[The affix 1 *saN* 5] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 2] a verbal stem, the action denoted by which is the object (kármaṇ-aḥ) of a (verbal stem) expressing desire (icchāyām) and both actions have the same agent (samāná-kartṛkāt)

- kár-tum icch-á-ti* = *kṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cf-kṛ+sa+a+ti* (7.4.60,62,66,79) = *cf-kṛ-sa-a-ti* (6.4.16) = *cf-kir-sa-a-ti* (7.1.100) = *cf-kṛ-sa-a-ti* (8.2.76) = *cf-kṛ-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 8.3.59) 'desires to perform'. Similarly *hár-tum icch-á-ti* = *hṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *ji-hṛ-ṣa-ti* 'wishes to remove or take away'.

3.1.8 sUPaḥ=ātmán-aḥ KyáC

[The affix 1] KyáC is [optionally 7] introduced [after 2] a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet [when it is the object of a verbal stem expressing desire 7 and which the agent] desires for himself (ātmán-aḥ).

ātmán-aḥ putrá-m icch-d-ti = *putrá+θ¹+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (2.4.71) = *putrI-yá-ti* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'wishes for a son'; *ātmán-aḥ rājān-am icch-d-ti* = *rājan+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP*; by 1.4.15 nominal stems ending in '-n are denoted by the t.t. [padá] before affix Kyá (a cover term or KyáN, KyáC and KyáS), whence = *rājāθ+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *rājI-yá-ti* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'desires a king for one's self'.

3.1.9 kāmyáC ca

[The affix 1] kāmyaC also (ca) is [optionally 7] introduced [after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 8 when it is the object of a verbal stem expressing desire 7 and which the agent desires for himself 8].

Note: for the affix kāmyáC: 1.3.8 is not applicable to kāmyáC by interpretation, and k is not an IT marker here.

ātmán-aḥ putr-ám icch-d-ti = *putra+θ¹+kāmyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *putra-kāmyá-ti* (6.1.97) 'wishes for a son' / *putrI-yá-ti*.

3.1.10 upamānāt=ācāré


[The affix 1 KyáC is optionally 7 introduced after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet which is an object 7] with which a comparison (upamānāt) is made and (the derived form) denotes behavior (ācāré).

chātr-ám putr-ám iva ā-car-a-ti = *putra+θ¹+KyáC+Śap+tiP* = *putrI-yá-ti* *chātr-ám* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'treats one's pupil like a son'.

3.1.11 kárt-úḥ KyáN lopás=ca

[The affix 1] KyáN is [optionally 7 introduced after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 7] when it is the agent (kárt-úḥ) [with which a comparison is made 10] and lopa (θ) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] 's [and the derived form denotes behavior 10].

śyena-h=iva ā-car-a-ti káka-h = *śyena+θ¹+KyáN+ŚaP+te* = *śyena-yá-te* (6.1.97;

 7.4.15) *káka-h* 'the crow is acting like a falcon'. Similarly *ójas+sU* = *ójas+θ¹* *iva ā-car-a-ti* = *ójas-KyáN+ŚaP+te* = *ójaθ-yá-te* = *ója-yá-te* 'acts vigorously'.

3.1.12 $bhṛśá=ādibhyaḥ=bhuví=á-Cveḥ$ lópaś ca $hāL-aḥ$

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2] the word-class beginning with $bhṛśá-$ 'powerful', provided the stem is not followed by (affix 1) $Cvī$ and (the derived form) denotes becoming ($bhuv-i$) and the substitute lopa (\emptyset) replaces the (stem-final 1.1.52) consonant ($hāL-aḥ$).

"Becoming" here is defined as becoming something which it was not before ($a-bhūta-tad-bhāve$) whence: $d-bhṛśá-ḥ$ $bhṛśá-ḥ=bhāv-a-ti$ = $bhṛśá+\emptyset^1+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$ = $bhṛśá-yá-te$ (7.4.25) 'becomes powerful'; similarly $d-nṛ-śad$ $nṛ-śad$ $bhāv-a-ti$ = $nṛ-śad+\emptyset^1+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$ = $nṛ-śa\emptyset+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$ = $nṛ-śá-yá-te$ 'starts dwelling with men'. But $bhṛśá+Cvī+bhā+ŚaP+ti$ = $bhṛśí+bhāv-a-ti$.

3.1.13 $lóhita=ādi-^2DāC=bhyaḥ$ KyáŚ

[The affix 1] KyáŚ is [optionally 7 introduced after 2] the nominal stem-class beginning with $lóhita-$ 'red' and also stems (ending in 1.1.72) [the affix 1] $DāC$ (5.4.57) [provided the stems are not followed by the affix 1 $Cvī$ and the derived forms denote becoming 12].

1. $d-lohita-ḥ$ $lohita-ḥ$ $bhāv-a-ti$ = $lohita+\emptyset^1+KyáŚ+ŚaP+ti/te$ = $lohítā-yá-ti/te$ (7.4.25) 'becomes or turns red'.
2. $paṭa-paṭat+DāC$ = $paṭa-paṭā$ $bhāv-a-ti$ (5.4.57) = $paṭapaṭā+KyáŚ+ŚaP+ti/te$ = $paṭapaṭā-yá-ti/te$ 'makes a noise like $paṭa-paṭat$ '.

3.1.14 $kaṣṭá-ya$ $krámaṇe$

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stem] $kaṣṭá-$ 'wrong, evil' (ending in 1.1.72) the fourth sUP triplet as the indirect object of the verbal stem $krám-$ 'strive' (I 502).

$kaṣṭá-ya$ $kármaṇ-e$ $krám-a-te$ = $kaṣṭa+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$ = $kaṣṭá-yá-te$ (7.4.25) 'is bent upon wrongdoing'.

3.1.15 $kármaṇ-aḥ=^1romantha-^2tápá-bhyañ$ $^1vartí-^2cár-oḥ$

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] $romantha-$ 'ruminating' and $tápá-$ 'austerity' serving respectively (1.3.10) as the objects of the verbal stems $vart-i$ (= $vrt+NíC$ I 795) 'execute (repeatedly)' and $car-$ 'practice' (I 591).

1. $romantha+am$ $vart-áy-a-ti$ = $romantha+\emptyset^1+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$ = $romanthā-yá-te$ 'the cow (or bull) is ruminating'.

2. *tāpas+am* = *tapas+θ¹* (7.1.23) *cār-a-ti* = *tapas+KyáÑ+ŚaP+ti* = *tapas-yá-ti* (6.1.97) 'practices austerity'.
(Parasmaipada l-substitute by a vārttika, contra 1.3.12.)

3.1.16 ¹bāṣpá=²ūṣmā-bhyām ud-vámane

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] *bāṣpá-* 'vapor' and *ūṣman* 'heat' [serving as objects 15 of the verbal stem] *úd-vam-* 'shed, emit' (I 902).

1. *bāṣpá+am úd-vam-a-ti* = *bāṣpa+θ¹+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *bāṣpá-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) 'sheds tears/emits vapor'.
2. *ūṣmā+am úd-vam-a-ti* = *ūṣman+θ¹+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ūṣmaθ+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *ūṣmā-yá-te* (7.4.25) 'emits steam or heat'.

3.1.17 ¹śābda-²vairá-³kalahá=⁴abhrá-⁵kāṇva-⁶meghā-bhyaḥ káraṇe

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally introduced after 2 the nominal stems] *śābda-* 'sound', *vairá-* 'hostility', *kalahá-* 'quarrel', *abhrá-* 'cloud', *kāṇva-* 'evil' and *meghā-* 'cloud' to form derivatives denoting 'doing' (*káraṇe*).

1. *śābda+am kar-ó-ti* = *śābdā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) 'makes noise'.
2. *vairá+am kar-ó-ti* = *vairā-yá-te* 'shows hostility towards or against'.
3. *kalah-ām kar-ó-ti* = *kalahā-yá-te* 'quarrels'.
4. *abhr+am kar-o-ti* = *abhrā-yá-te* 'makes clouds'.
5. *kāṇv+am kar-o-ti* = *kāṇvā-yá-te* 'commits sin'.
6. *megh-ām kar-ó-ti* = *meghā-yá-te* 'makes a cloud'.

3.1.18 ¹sukhá=ādibhyaḥ kartṛ-védanāyām

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the class of nominal stems] beginning with *sukhá-* 'happiness, pleasure' when the derivative denotes the experience of the agent (*kartṛ-vedanāyām*).

- sukha+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *sukhā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) = *sukhām ātmāno ved-āy-a-ti* 'feels happy', but *prasādhaka-ḥ devadattāya sukhām ved-āy-a-ti* 'the attendant makes known the happiness of Devadattā'.

3.1.19 ¹námas=²váriveras=³citráÑ-aḥ KyáC

[The affix 1] KyáC [is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] námas- 'obeisance', váriveras- 'honor' and citráÑ 'wonder' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing' 17 (i.e., the nominal stems serve as objects of the verbal stem kṛ- 'perform, do')].

1. *námas+θ¹+kar-ó-ti* = *namas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *namas-yá-ti* 'bows down in obeisance, salutes respectfully'.
2. *varivas+θ¹+kar-ó-ti* = *varivas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *varivas-yá-ti* 'honors, respects, reveres'.
3. *citrá+am kar-o-ti* = *citra+θ¹+KyáC+ŚaP+te* = *citrI-ya-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'causes wonder'.

3.1.20 ¹púccha-²bhāṇḍa-³cīvarát=ÑiÑ

[The affix 1] ÑiÑ is [optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] púccha- 'tail', bhāṇḍa- 'pot, vessel' and cīvará- 'rag' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing, performing' 17].

1. *púccha+am úd-as-ya-te/páry-as-ya-te* = *ud/pari+púccha-θ¹+ÑiÑ+ŚaP+te* (1.3.12) = *úd/pari-pucchθ+e+a+te* = *úd/pári-pucch-ay-a-te* 'raises/moves (in circles) the tail'.
2. *bhāṇḍa+am sam-ā-ci-no-ti* = *sam-bhāṇḍ-ay-a-te* 'collects pots'.
3. *cīvará+am arj-áy-a-ti/páris-dadhā-ti* = *sám-cīvar-ay-a-ti bhikṣú-h* 'the mendicant collects/wears rags'.

3.1.21 ¹muṇḍa-²miśrá-³ślakṣṇá-⁴lavaṇá-⁵vratá-⁶vāstra-⁷hala-⁸kala-⁹kṛtá-¹⁰tūstebhyaḥ=ÑiC

[The affix 1] ÑiC [is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] muṇḍa- 'bald', miśrá- 'mixed', ślakṣṇá- 'smooth', lavaṇá- 'salt', vratá- 'vow', vāstra- 'costume, cloth', hala- 'plough', kala- and kṛtá- 'names of dice', and tūsta- 'matted hair' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing, performing' 17].

1. *muṇḍa+am kar-ó-ti* = *muṇḍa+θ¹+ÑiC+ŚaP+tiP* (6.4.48) = *muṇḍ-áy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 8.1.78) 'shaves the head'.
2. *miśr-áy-a-ti* 'mixes'.
3. *ślakṣṇ-áy-a-ti* 'smoothenes'.
4. *lavaṇ-áy-a-ti* 'adds salt'.
5. *vrat-áy-a-ti* 'observes a vow'.
6. *vāstr-áy-a-ti* 'wears a cloth or costume'.

7. *hal-áy-a-ti* 'holds the plough-share'.
8. *kal-áy-a-ti* 'holds the losing die called kali'.
9. *kṛt-áy-a-ti* 'holds the winning die called kṛta'.
10. *tūst-ay-a-ti* 'makes the hair matted'.

3.1.22 dhātor éka=aCaḥ=háL-ādeḥ kriyā-sam-abhi-hāré yáÑ

[The affix 1] yáÑ [is optionally 7 introduced after 2] a monosyllabic (éka=aCa-ah) verbal stem (dhātoḥ), beginning with a consonant (háL-ādeḥ) when that action is performed repeatedly or intensively (kriyā-sam-abhi-hāré).

pūnah punah/bhṛśám vā pác-a-ti = *pac+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *paṭ-pac+yáÑ+a+te* (6.1.9; 7.4.80) = *pā-pac-yá-te* (7.4.83) 'cooks repeatedly or frequently'; similarly *bhṛśám jval-a-ti* = *jā-jval-yá-te* 'burns intensely'.

3.1.23 nītyam kauṭīlye gātau

[The affix 1 yáÑ 22] is necessarily (nītyam) introduced [after 2 a monosyllabic verbal stem 22] denoting movement (gātau) to signify 'crookedness' (kauṭīlye).

kuṭilām krām-a-ti = *kram+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ca-kram+yá+a+te* (6.1.9; 7.4.80,82) = *ca+nuK+kram-ya-a-te* (7.4.85) = *can-kram-yá-te* (6.1.97) 'moves crookedly'.

3.1.24 ¹lupa-²sada-³cārÁ-⁴jápÁ-⁵jábhA-⁶dahÁ-⁷daśÁ-⁸gṛ- bhyo bhāva-garhāyām

[The affix 1 yáÑ is necessarily 22 introduced after 2 monosyllabic verbal stems 22] lup- 'cut' (VI 137), sad- 'sit' (I 907), cār- 'walk, graze', jáp- (I 424) 'mutter', jábh- 'yawn' (I 415), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), daś- 'bite' (I 1038), gṛ- 'swallow' (VI 11) to convey censure relative to the action (bhāva-garhāyām).

This is an obligatory formation; for [kriyā-sam-abhi-hārá] this derivative form is not used.

1. *lup+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *lo-lup-yá-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.82) = *garhitām lump-á-ti* 'destroys or cuts uselessly'.
2. *sā-sad-yá-te* = *garhitām sād-a-ti*.
3. *cañ-cār-yá-te* (7.4.25, 87-8) = *garhitām cār-a-ti*.
4. *jañ-jap-yá-te* (7.4.86) = *garhitām jáp-a-ti*.

5. *jañ-jābh-yāte* (7.4.86) = *garhitām jābh-a-te*.
6. *dan-dah-yā-te* = *garhitām dāh-a-ti*.
7. *dan-daś-ya-te* = *garhitām dāś-a-ti*.
8. *nī-jē-gil-ya-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.82,82; 7.1.100; 8.2.20) = *garhitām nī-gil-a-ti*.

3.1.25 ¹satyāpa-²pāśa-³rūpā-⁴vīṇā-⁵tūla-⁶śloka-⁷sēnā-⁸lōma(n)=⁹tvāca=¹⁰vārma(n)=¹¹vārṇa-¹²cūrṇa-¹³cur=ādibhyo NíC

[The affix 1] NíC is introduced [after 2 the nominal stems] satyāpa- 'truth', pāśa- 'fetter', rūpā- 'form', vīṇā 'lute', tūla- 'cotton', śloka- 'verse', sēnā 'army', lōman- 'hair (on the body)', tvāca- 'skin', vārman- 'coat of mail', vārṇa- 'color, dye', cūrṇa- 'flour' and the class of verbal stems beginning with cur- 'steal' (X 1).

1. *satya+āpuK+NIC+ŚaP+tiP* = *satyap-āy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 8.1.78) 'speaks truly'.
2. *vi-pāś-ay-a-ti* 'releases from fetters, sets free'.
3. *rūp-āy-a-ti* 'shows the form'.
4. *ūpa-vīṇ-ay-a-ti* 'sings to the accompaniment of the lute'.
5. *ānu-tūl-ay-a-ti* 'rubs the cotton lengthwise'.
6. *ūpa-ślok-ay-a-ti* 'praises in verse'.
7. *abhi-sēṇ-ay-a-ti* (6.4.64) 'assails with an army'.
8. *ānu-lom-ay-a-ti* 'rubs hair in the right direction'.
9. *tvac-āy-a-ti* 'skins'.
10. *sām-varm-ay-a-ti* 'provides with a coat of mail'.
11. *varṇ-āy-a-ti* 'dyes, colors'.
12. *āva-cūrṇ-ay-a-ti* 'sprinkles or covers with flour'.
13. *cur+NIC+ŚaP+tiP* = *cor-āy-a-ti* 'steals'.

3.1.26 hetumāt-i ca

[The affix 1 NíC 25] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 22] to denote the causal agent (hetumāt-i 1.4.55).

- (*kāṭam*) *kṛ+NIC+ŚaP+tiP* = *kār-āy-a-ti* (7.2.115; 3.84; 8.1.78) 'causes (someone) to make (a mat)'.

3.1.27 kaṇḍū=ādibhyo yāK

[The affix 1] yāK is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with kaṇḍū- 'itch'.

- kandū+yāK+ŚaP+tiP* = *kandū-yā-ti* (6.1.97) 'itches'.

3.1.28 ¹gup²Ū³dhūp⁴Á-⁵vicchī-⁶pāñi-⁷pāñi-bhya āyaḥ

[The affix 1] āya is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] gúp- 'protect' (I 422), dhūp- 'burn incense or perfume' (I 423), vich- 'go' (VI 129), pañ- and pañ- (I 466-7) 'praise'.

1. *gup+āya+ŚaP+tiP* = *gop-āya-ti* (6.1.97) 'protects'.
2. *dhūp-āya-ti* 'fumigates, burns incense'.
3. *vicch-āya-ti* 'goes, moves'.
4. *pañ-āya-ti/pañ-āya-ti* 'praises, lauds'.

3.1.29 ṛter fyaÑ

[The affix 1] fyaÑ is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] ṛt- 'abhor'.

$$\text{ṛt} + \text{fyaÑ} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{te} = \text{ṛt-fya-te} \text{ (6.1.97) 'abhors'}$$

3.1.30 kámer NíÑ

[The affix 1] NíÑ is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] kām- 'love' (I 470).

$$\text{kām} + \text{NíÑ} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{te} = \text{kām-i+a+te} \text{ (7.2.116)} = \text{kām-é+a+te} \text{ (7.3.84)} = \text{kām-dy-a-te} \text{ 'loves'}$$

3.1.31 āya=ādayaḥ=ārdhadhātuke vā

[The affixes 1] beginning with āya (28) are optionally (vā) introduced [after respective verbal stems 28-30] before ārdhadhātuka (2.4.35) [affixes 1].

$$\text{gup} + \text{āya} + \text{iT} + \text{tum} = \text{góp-āyō-i-tum} \text{ (7.3.88; 6.4.48)} = \text{góp-āy-i-tum/góp-tum;} \\ \text{árt-i-tum/ṛt-ṛy-i-tum; kām-i-tum/kām-ay-i-tum}$$

3.1.32 saN=ādi=antāḥ=dhātav-aḥ

[The t.t.] dhātu denotes all items which [end in 1.1.72 the affixes 1] beginning with saN (5-30).

The verbal-stem forming affixes in this group are: saN (5-7), KyáC (8,10,19), kāmýáC (9), KyáÑ (11,12,14-18), KyaṢ (13), NíN (20,30), NíC (21,25,26), yáÑ (22-24), yáK (27), āya- (28), fyaÑ (29). By grouping these derivative stems un-

der this t.t. the active marker ŚaP (68 below) is introduced after them before l-substitutes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka).

3.1.33 ¹syá-²tāsī ¹IR-²IŪṬ-oh

[The affixes 1] syá and tāsī are respectively (1.3.10) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] before l-substitutes of IR (= cover term for IRṬ and IRŪ, respectively the Sigmatic Future and Conditional Tenses) and of IŪṬ (Periphrastic or Non-sigmatic Future Tense).

These affixes are replacements of ŚaP (68 below), and the present rule is a prior exception to that.

1. IRṬ : $kṛ+IRṬ = kṛ+syá+ti = kar+iṭ+syá+ti$ (7.2.70) = $kar-i-syá-ti$ 'will do'
2. IRŪ : $kṛ+IRŪ = dṭ+ḥṛ+syá+t$ (8.4.71) = $d-kar-i-syá-t$ 'would have done'
3. IŪṬ : $kṛ+IŪṬ = kṛ+tās+miP = kar-tās-mi, kar-tās-vaḥ, kar-tās-maḥ$ 'will do'.

3.1.34 siP=bahulām IEṬ-i

[The affix 1] siP is introduced variously (bahulām) [after 2 a verbal stem before l-substitutes] of IEṬ (Subjunctive Mood).

This is also a prior exception to 68 below and is a replacement for the general active marker ŚaP. $jus+IEṬ+tiP = jos+iṭ+siP+aṭ+t$ (7.2.35; 3.84; 3.4.94,97) = $jós-i-ḡ-a-t$ (8.3.59) 'may it please'; but siP does not occur in: $pat+ŚaP+aṭ+tiP$ (3.4.94) = $pát-a-ti$ 'may it fall'.

3.1.35 ¹kās-²pratyayāt=ām=á-mantre IIṬ-i

[The affix 1] ⁰ām is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] kās- 'cough' (I 645) and (derived stems ending in 1.1.72) stem-forming affixes (pratyayāt) before l-substitutes of IIṬ (Perfect) except in the domain of Mántra (section of the Veda).

1. $kās+IIṬ = kās+ām+IIṬ = kās+ām+θ^1+kṛ+IIṬ$ (2.4.81; 3.1.40) = $kās-ām+ca=kr+eś/āte/ireC$ (3.4.81) = $kās-ām-ca-kré/'ca-kr-āte/'ca-kr-ire$ 'has/have coughed'.
2. $lā+yañ+IIṬ = lo-lā-yá+IIṬ = lo-lā-ya+ām+kṛ+IIṬ = lo-lāy-ām ca-kr-é$ (8.1.9; 7.4.82) 'has frequently cut'.

3.1.36 iC=ādeś ca gurumátah=án-ꞥech-aḥ

[The affix 1 [°]ām 25] is also introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] whose initial is a vowel phoneme comprised by the siglum iC (= all vowels other than the phoneme class a) with the exception of ꞥech- 'go' (VI 15), provided iC is metrically heavy (guru-mát-aḥ) [before IIṬ 35].

1. $ih+IIṬ = ih+ām+θ^1+kꞥ+IIṬ = ih-ām-ca-kṛé/ca-kṛ-āte/ca-kṛ-iré$ 'has/have exerted'.
2. But: $ꞥech+IIṬ = ꞥ-ꞥech+NaL/ātus/ús$ (8.1.8) = $a+ꞥech+NaL/ātus/ús$ (7.4.66) = $a+ꞥech+NaL/ātus/ús$ (7.4.70) = $a+nꞥṬ+ꞥech+NaL/ātus/ús$ (7.4.71) = $a-n-dꞥech-a/'ātus/'úḥ$ (7.4.11) 'has/have gone'.

3.1.37 ¹dáyĀ=²áyĀ=³ās-aś ca

[The affix 1 [°]ām 35] is also (ca) introduced [after the verbal stems] dáy- 'give, donate' (I 510), áy- 'go' (I 563) and ās- 'sit down' (II 11) [before l-substitutes of IIṬ 35].

1. $day+IIṬ = day+ām+θ^1+kꞥ+IIṬ = day-ām-ca-kṛ-é/āte/iré$ 'has/have donated'.
2. $parā+ay-ām+ca-kṛ-e/āte/iré = palā+ay-ām-ca-kṛ-é/āte/iré$ (8.2.19) 'has/have run away'.
3. $ās-ām-ca-kṛ-é/āte/iré$ 'has/have sat down'.

3.1.38 ¹úsĀ-²vidĀ-³jāgr-bhyaḥ=anyatarásyām

[The affix 1 [°]ām 35] is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] úś- 'burn' (I 727) víd- 'know' (II 55) and jāgr- 'wake up' (II 63) [before l-substitutes of IIṬ 35].

1. $us+IIṬ = us+ām+θ^1+kꞥ+NaL = oṣ-ām-ca-kār-a/u-us+NaL = u-óṣ+a = uv-óṣ-a$ (6.4.77) 'has burnt'.
2. $vid-ām-ca-kār-a/vi-ved-a$ 'has known'.
3. $jāgar-ām-ca-kār-a/ja-jāgār-a$ 'has woken up'.

3.1.39 ¹bhī-²hrī-³bhṛ-⁴huv-ām Ślu-vát=ca

[The affix 1 [°]ām 35 is optionally 38 introduced after 2 the verbal stems] bhī- 'fear' (III 2), hrī- 'feel shame' (III 3). bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5) and huv- 'offer an oblation' (III 1) [before l-substitutes of IIṬ 35] and it functions like the marker Ślu (6.1.10).

1. $bhI+II\ddot{T} = bhI+\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1+k\ddot{T}+NaL = bi-bhI+\acute{a}m\ ca-k\acute{a}r-a = bi-bhay-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\acute{a}r-a$ (7.3.84; 6.1.78)/ $bi-bh\acute{a}y-a$ (7.2.115) 'has become afraid'.
2. $\ddot{y}\acute{i}-hr-ay-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\acute{a}r-a/\ddot{y}\acute{i}-hr\acute{a}y-a$ 'has become ashamed'.
3. $bi-bhar-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\acute{a}r-a/bi-bh\acute{a}r-a$ 'has borne'.
4. $\ddot{y}u-hav-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\acute{a}r-a/\ddot{y}u-h\acute{a}v-a$ 'has offered an oblation'.

3.1.40 $k\ddot{T}\ddot{N}$ $ca=\acute{a}nu$ - pra - yuj - ya - te $II\ddot{T}$ - i

Before l-substitutes of $II\ddot{T}$ the verbal stem $k\ddot{T}\ddot{N}$ (VIII 10) is also (ca) introduced as an auxiliary ($\acute{a}nu$ - pra - yuj - ya - te) [after 2 the affix 1 ° $\acute{a}m$ 35].

By interpretation (v[tti]) the expression [$k\ddot{T}\ddot{N}$] is regarded as a siglum [praty- \acute{a} -hār- \acute{a}] derived with [$k\ddot{T}$ -] of 5.4.50 and it-marker \ddot{N} of [$k\ddot{T}\ddot{N}$ -a \ddot{h}] of 5.4.58 so as to include the other two auxiliary verbal stems [bhū-] and [as-] as well. Thus from the causative stem derived from $pac+NIC+II\ddot{T} = p\acute{a}c-i+\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1+k\ddot{T}/bh\acute{u}/as+NaL = p\acute{a}c-ay-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\acute{a}r-a/ba-bh\acute{u}v-a/\acute{a}s-a$ 'caused (someone) to cook'. The verbal stem [as-] is not replaced by [bhū-] as required by 2.4.52 when it serves as an auxiliary before l-substitutes of $II\ddot{T}$.

3.1.41 vid - $\acute{a}m$ = kur - v - $\acute{a}ntu$ = iti = $anyatar\acute{a}sy\acute{a}m$

[The exceptional form] vid - $\acute{a}m$ = kur - v - $\acute{a}ntu$ optionally ($anyatar\acute{a}sy\acute{a}m$) occurs (as an irregular construction).

This is the Imperative third person plural of the verbal stem [vid -], with the irregular affix [° $\acute{a}m$ 35] introduced after it before l-substitutes of $IO\ddot{T}$, with \emptyset^1 replacement of these substitutes, followed by the auxiliary [$k\ddot{T}\ddot{N}$ 40] followed by l-substitutes of $IO\ddot{T}$, corresponding to the regular form vid - $\acute{a}ntu$.

3.1.42 1abhy - ut - $s\acute{a}d$ - ay - $\acute{a}m$ = 2pra - jan - ay - $\acute{a}m$ - 3ci - kay - $\acute{a}m$ - 4ram - ay - $\acute{a}m$ + $\acute{a}ka\ddot{h}$ $^5p\acute{a}v$ - ay - $\acute{a}m$ + kri - $y\acute{a}t$ - 6vid - $\acute{a}m$ + $akrann$ iti = $ch\acute{a}ndssi$

In the domain of Chāndas the following irregular forms occur: (a) $abhy$ - $\acute{u}t$ - $s\acute{a}d$ - ay - $\acute{a}m$ ($\acute{a}ka\ddot{h}$) 'has gone'; (b) $pr\acute{a}$ - jan - ay - $\acute{a}m$ ($\acute{a}ka\ddot{h}$) 'has borne'; (c) ci - kay - $\acute{a}m$ ($\acute{a}ka\ddot{h}$) 'has piled up'; (d) ram - ay - $\acute{a}m$ + $\acute{a}ka\ddot{h}$ 'has sported'; (e) $p\acute{a}v$ - ay - $\acute{a}m$ + kri - $y\acute{a}t$ 'may (one) purify' and (f) vid - $\acute{a}m$ \acute{a} - kr - an 'they have known'.

1. $abhi+\acute{u}d+s\acute{a}d+NIC+IUN = abhy-\acute{u}t-s\acute{a}d-i+\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1$ (2.4.81) $+k\ddot{T}+IUN = abhy-ut-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m+a+kar+\emptyset^1+i$ (2.4.80) $= abhy-ut-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m+a-kar-\emptyset$ (6.1.68) $= abhy-\acute{u}t-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-\ddot{h}$ (8.3.15).
2. $pr\acute{a}+jan+NIC+IUN = pr\acute{a}-jan-ay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-\ddot{h}$.

3. $ci+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = ci-ki+I\dot{U}\dot{N}$ (7.3.58) = $ci-ki+\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1+ky+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = ci-kay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-h$.
4. $ram+NI\dot{C}+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = ram-ay-\acute{a}m+ky+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = ram-ay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-h$
5. $pa+NI\dot{C}+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = p\acute{a}v-ay-\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1+ky+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = p\acute{a}v-ay-\acute{a}m+kri-y\acute{a}t$ (7.4.28).
6. $vid+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = vid-\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1+ky+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = vid-\acute{a}m+a-kr-an$.

These irregularities may be understood from the regular forms occurring in the current (classical) speech (bhāṣāyām): (a) *abhy-ud-ā-sīṣad-a-t*; (b) *prā-jī-jan-a-t*; (c) *ā-cai-ṣ-ī-t*; (d) *ā-ṛī-ram-a-t*; (e) *pāv-yāt*; (f) *ā-ved-i-ṣ-uḥ*.

3.1.43 Cl̥ IŪN-1

[The affix 1] Cl̥ (marker of Aorist) is introduced [after 1 a verbal stem] before the l-substitutes of IŪN (Aorist).

Cl̥ is the cover term for all markers of the Aorist, as will be seen from the subsequent rules where it is replaced by other substitute markers. This is the most diverse tense in the language: (1) Root Aorist (Cl̥ replaced by \emptyset^1 2.4.77); (2) aŅ Aorist (52 below); (3) Reduplicated or CaŅ Aorist (48 below); (4-7) Sigmatic Aorists: (4) s̥iC Aorist (44 below); (5) Ksa Aorist (45 below); (6) iŤ+s̥iC Aorist (7.2.35) and (7) s+iŤ+s̥iC Aorist (7.2.73).

3.1.44 Cl̥h s̥iC

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] s̥iC replaces Cl̥ [before l-substitutes of IŪN 43].

$ky+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = ky+Cl̥_i+t = \acute{a}T+ky+s̥iC+t$ (6.4.71) = $\acute{a}-k\bar{a}r+s+i\acute{T}+t$ (7.2.1; 3.96) = $\acute{a}-k\bar{a}r-ṣ-ī-t$ (8.3.59) 'has done'.

3.1.45 śaL-aḥ=(K=upadh-āt=ān-iŤ-aḥ Ksa-h

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] Ksa replaces [Cl̥ 44 after 2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes comprised by the siglum śaL (= sibilants and h) and containing the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) as penultimate (iK=upadh-āt), provided the verbal stem does not operate the initial increment i[Ť] before the affix marker (ān-iŤ-aḥ).

The operation of 7.2.35 affecting ārdhahṣṭuka affixes beginning with vaL (= all consonants other than y) is circumscribed by specific rules (7.2.8ff.) and by 7.2.10 where verbal stems which are monosyllabic and have a low pitch (ānudātta) accent block out this increment and are thus defined as ān-iŤ stems. $spr\acute{s}+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = spr\acute{s}+Cl̥_i+t = spr\acute{s}+Ksa+t = \acute{a}T+spr\acute{s}+Ksa+t = \acute{a}-spr\acute{s}+sa+t$ (8.2.36) = $\acute{a}-spr\acute{k}+ṣa-t$ (8.2.41; 3.59) 'has touched'. Similarly: *tviṣÁ* (I 1050) : *ā-tvik-ṣa-t* 'has shone'; *lihÁ* (II 6) : *ā-lik-ṣa-t* 'has licked'; *duhÁ* : *ā-dhuḥ-ṣa-t* 'has milked'.

3.1.46 śliṣ-ah=ā-līngane

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ksa 45 replaces Clī 44 after the verbal stem] śliṣÁ- (IV 77) when it denotes embracing (ā-līngane).

$\bar{a}+śliṣ+IUN = \bar{a}-śliṣ+Clī+t$ (43) = $\bar{a}-śliṣ+Ksa+t = \bar{a}+d\bar{I}+slik-ṣa-t = \bar{ā}-slik-ṣa-t$
kanyāṁ devadattā-h 'Devadatta embraced the maiden', but *sam-ā-śliṣ-a-t jātu*
kāṣṭhām (55 below) 'the lac adhered to the wood'.

3.1.47 nā dṛś-ah

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ksa 45] does not (nā) replace [Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stem] dṛś(IR I 1037) 'see, perceive' [before l- substitutes of IUN 43].

$dṛś+IUN = dṛś+Clī+t$ (43) = $dṛś+siC+t$ (44)/ $dṛś+a\bar{N}+t$ (57) = $\bar{a}-drāk-ṣ-ṛ-t$
 (6.1.58; 7.2.1; 8.2.41; 3.59)/ $\bar{a}-darś-a-t$ (7.4.16) 'has seen or perceived'.

3.1.48 ¹Nī-²śri-³dru-⁴sru-bhyaḥ kartāri CaṆ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CaṆ replaces [Clī 44 after 2 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] Nī(C) and the verbal stems śri- 'serve, honor' (I 945), dru- 'run' (I 992) and sru- 'flow' (I 987) [when the l-substitutes of IUN 43] denote the agent (kartāri).

1. $kṛ+NIC+IUN = kār-i+Ca\bar{N}+t = kār-θ+Ca\bar{N}+t$ (6.4.51) = $kar-θ+Ca\bar{N}+t$ (7.4.1) = $kṛ-kar-a-t$ (6.1.11; 1.1.59) = $ka-kar-a-t$ (7.4.66) = $ca-kar-a-t$ (7.4.62) = $cī-kar-a-t$ (7.4.93,94) = $\bar{a}-cī-kar-a-t$ (6.4.71) 'has made (someone) do, caused to do'.
2. $\bar{a}ri+IUN = \bar{a}ri+Clī+t = \bar{a}ri+Ca\bar{N}+t = d\bar{I}+\bar{a}i-\bar{a}ri+a+t$ (6.1.11; 4.71) = $\bar{a}-\bar{a}i-\bar{a}riy-a-t$ (6.4.77) 'has served or honored'.
3. $dru+IUN = \bar{a}-du-druv-a-t$ 'has run'.
4. $sru+IUN = \bar{a}-su-sruv-a-t$ 'has streamed or flowed'.

3.1.49 vibhāṣā ¹dheṬ-²śvy-oḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CaṆ 48] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stems] dheṬ 'drink' (I 951) and śvi- 'swell, grow' (I 1059) [before l-substitutes of IUN 43 when they denote the agent 48].

1. $dheṬ+IUN = dhā+Clī+t$ (6.1.45) = $dhā+Ca\bar{N}/siC+t = \bar{a}-da-dhā-a+t$ (7.4.59,60) = $\bar{a}-da-dhθ-a-t$ (6.4.44) = $\bar{a}-da-dha-t$ / $\bar{a}-dhā+saK+i\bar{I}+siC+i\bar{I}+t$ (7.2.35,73,96) =

$d-dhā-s-i-θ+I+t$ (8.2.28) = $d-dhā-s-I-t$ (6.1.101)/ $d-dhā+(siC→θ^1)+t$ (2.4.78) = $d-dhā-t$ 'has drunk'.

2. $śvi+IUN = śvi+Cl_i+t = śvi+CaN/siC$ (44)+ $t = d-śi-śvi+a+t = d-śi-śvi+ā-t/d-śvi+iT+siC+IT+t = d-śve-i-siC-I+t$ (7.3.84) - $d-śvay-i-θ+I+t = d-śvay-I-t$ 'has grown or swollen'.

3.1.50 gúpeś chāndasi

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CaN 48 optionally 49 replaces Cl_i 44 after 2 the verbal stem] gúp- 'protect' (I 422) [before l-substitutes of IUN 43 when they denote the agent 48].

$gup+IUN = gup+Cl_i+tam = gup+CaN/siC$ (44)+ tam : (a) $d-gup+CaN+tam = d-jā-gup-a-tam$ (6.1.11; 7.4.62,94); (b) $gup+siC+tam = d-gaup+siC+tam$ (7.2.3) = $d-gaup-θ+tam$ (8.2.26) = $d-gaup-tam$; (c) $gup+iT+siC+tam = d-gop-i-θ-tam$ (7.2.44; 8.3.59; 4.41); (d) $gup+āya+iT+siC+tam$ (28) - $d-gop-āy-i-θ-tam$ (6.4.148) = $d-gop-āy-i-θ-tam$.

3.1.51 ná=¹ūn-áy-a-ti-²dhvan-áy-a-ti=³el-áy-a-ti=⁴ard-áy-a-ti-bhyaḥ

[In the domain of Chāndas 50 the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CaN 48] does not (ná) replace [Cl_i 44 after 2 the verbal stems] ūn-(+NíC) 'lessen, diminish' (X 342), dhvan- 'sound' (X 343), il- 'send' (X 119) and ard- 'hurt' (X 285) [before l-substitutes of IUN 41 when they denote the agent 48].

The three verbal stems also occur in their primary form as ūn- 'lessen' (IV 100), dhvan- 'sound' (I 858,881) and ard- 'demand' (I 58); here the derived forms with stem-forming affix NíC are involved, as exceptions to 48 above.

1. $ān+NíC+IUN = ān+I+siC+s = dT+ān-e+iT+siC+IT+s$ (6.4.72) = $aān-ay-i-θ-I-s = aān-ay-I-s = aān-ay-I-ḥ$ (8.3.15) 'has lessened'.
2. $dhvan+Ní+IUN = d-dhvan-ay-I-t$ 'has sounded', corresponding to the regular form $d-di-dhvan-a-t$.
3. $il+NíC+IUN = aīl-ay-I-ḥ$ for $aīl-i-a-ḥ$ 'has deputed'.
4. $ard+NíC+IUN = ārd-ay-I-t$ for $ārdi-d-a-t$ 'has demanded'.

3.1.52 ¹āsyati-²vākti-³khyāti-bhyaḥ=aN

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] aN [replaces Cl_i 44 after 2 the verbal stems] as- 'throw, fling, toss' (IV 100), vac- 'utter, speak' (II 54) and khyā- 'proclaim' (II 51) [before l-substitutes of IUN 43 when they denote the agent 48].

1. $as+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = as+Cl_i+ta = p\acute{a}ri+as+a\ddot{N}+ta = pari+\acute{a}T+as+a+ta = pary-\acute{a}+as+th\ddot{u}K+a+ta$ (7.4.17) = *pary-\acute{a}s-th-a-ta* 'has thrown or cast around'. This verbal stem is included in the class of verbal stems headed by *puṣ-* (55 below) and accordingly has marker *a\ddot{N}* replacing *Cl_i*; its inclusion here is for the purpose of introducing this substitute before *Ātmanepada* l-substitutes.
2. $vac+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}T+vac+Cl_i+t = \acute{d}-va-uM-c+a\ddot{N}+t$ (7.4.20) = *\acute{d}-voc-a-t*.
3. $\acute{a}-khy\acute{a}+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}+\acute{a}T+khy\acute{a}+Cl_i+t = \acute{a}-khy\acute{a}+a\ddot{N}+t = \acute{a}=khy\acute{a}+a+t$ (6.4.64) = *\acute{a}-khy-a-t* 'has proclaimed'.

3.1.53 ¹lipi-²sicī-³hve-aś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 *a\ddot{N}* 52 replaces *Cl_i* 44 after 2 the verbal stems] *lip-* 'smear, paint' (VI 139), *sic-* 'sprinkle' (VI 140) and *hve(Ṇ)-* 'challenge' (I 1057) [before l-substitutes of *I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}* 43 when they denote the agent 48].

1. $lip+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}T+lip+Cl_i+t = \acute{d}-lip+a\ddot{N}+t = \acute{d}-lip-a-t$ 'has painted, daubed or smeared'.
2. $sic+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{d}-sic-a-t$ 'has sprinkled'.
3. $\acute{a}-hve+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}-hv\acute{a}+Cl_i+t$ (6.1.45) = $\acute{a}+\acute{a}T+hv\acute{a}+a-t$ (6.4.64) = *\acute{d}-hv-a-t* 'has challenged'.

3.1.54 *ātmanepadéṣu=anyataráśyām*

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 *a\ddot{N}* 52] optionally (*anyatará-* *śyām*) replaces [*Cl_i* 44 after 2 the verbal stems *lip-*, *sic* and *hve-* 53] before *Ātmanepadā* [l-substitutes of *I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}* 43 when they denote the agent 48].

The two verbal stems [*lip-* and [*sic-*] have svarita markers while [*hve-*] has *Ṇ* as an IT marker, and by 1.3.72 both sets of *Parasmaipadā* and *Ātmanepadā* l-substitutes can be introduced after them. The option here applies only to *Atm.* l-substitutes:

1. $lip+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}T+lip+Cl_i+ta = \acute{d}-lip+s_iC/a\ddot{N}+ta$: (1) $\acute{d}-lip+s+ta = \acute{d}-lip-\theta+ta$ (8.2.26) = $\acute{a}-lip-ta/\acute{d}-lip+a\ddot{N}+ta = \acute{d}-lip-a-ta$.
2. $sic+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}+ta = \acute{d}-sik-ta/\acute{d}-sic-a-ta$
3. $hve+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{d}-hv\acute{a}-a-ta/\acute{d}-hv-a-ta$

3.1.55 ¹puṣ=ādi-²dyut-ādi=³]T=IT-aḥ parasmaipadéṣu

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 *a\ddot{N}* 52 replaces *Cl_i* 44 after 2 verbal stems belonging to the classes] beginning with *puṣ-* (IV 73-137), *dyút-* (I 777-799) and those with marker *Ṭ*, before *Parasmaipadā* [l-substitutes of *I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}* 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. $pus+IUN+t = \acute{a}pus+Cl_i+t = \acute{a}pus+a\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}pus-a-t$ 'has nourished or fed'.
2. $dyut+IUN+t = \acute{a}dyut-a-t$ 'has shone', but $\acute{a}dyot-i-s-ta$.
3. $gam+IUN = \acute{a}+gam+a\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}gam-a-t$ 'has gone'.

3.1.56 ¹sár-ti-²sās-ti-³ár-ti-bhyaś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 a^ñ 52 replaces Cl_i 44] also (ca) [after 2 the verbal stems] sṛ- 'flow' (I 982), sās- 'rule, order' (II 66) and ṛ- 'go' (III 16) [before Parasmaipadā 55 l-substitutes of IUN 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. $sṛ+IUN = \acute{a}sṛ+Cl_i+t = \acute{a}sar-a\acute{N}+t$ (7.4.16) = $\acute{a}sar-a-t$ 'has streamed or flowed'.
2. $sās+IUN = \acute{a}sās+a\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}sās-a-t$ 'has ruled'.
3. $\dot{r}+IUN = \acute{a}+\dot{r}+a\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}+ar-a-t = \acute{a}r-a-t$ 'has gone'.

By not including these stems in the preceding sūtra, the present rule applies also before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes: $sam-\acute{a}r-a\acute{N}+anta = sam-\acute{a}r-anta$. The word [parasmaipadésu 55] recurs here for the purpose of the following sūtra only.

3.1.57 IR=IT-o vā

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 a^ñ 52] optionally (vā) [replaces Cl_i 44 after 2 verbal stems] with marker IR as IT (in the Dhātu-pāṭha or upadeśa) [before Parasmaipadā 55 l-substitutes of IUN 43 denoting the agent 48].

- $$\begin{aligned} bhid-IR+IUN &= \acute{a}T+bhid+Cl_i+t = \acute{a}bhid+s_iC/a\acute{N}+t = (1) \acute{a}bhaid+s+IT+t \text{ (7.2.3)} \\ &= \acute{a}bhait-s-t \text{ (8.4.55); (2) } \acute{a}bhid+a\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}bhid-a-t \text{ 'has broken', but} \\ &\acute{a}bhid+s_iC+ta = \acute{a}bhit-ḥ+ta \text{ (8.2.26; 4.55) = } \acute{a}bhit-ta. \end{aligned}$$

3.1.58 ¹jḡ-²stanbhU-³mrúcŪ-⁴mlúcŪ-⁵grúcŪ-⁶glúcŪ-⁷glúncŪ-⁸śvi-bhyaś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 a^ñ 52 optionally 57 replaces Cl_i 44 after 2 verbal stems] jḡ- 'grow old, age' (I 863, IV 22), stambh- 'stop, arrest' (IX 7), mrúc-, mlúc- 'go' (I 210-11), grúc-, glúc- 'steal' (I 212-13), glúnc- 'go' (I 216) and śvi- 'swell, increase, grow' (I 1059) [before Parasmaipadā 55 l-substitutes of IUN 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. $jḡ+IUN = \acute{a}T+jḡ+Cl_i+t = \acute{a}jḡ+s_iC/a\acute{N}+t = (1) \acute{a}jār-i-ḡ-t+t = \acute{a}jār-i-ḡ+T+t = \acute{a}jār-T-t$; (2) $\acute{a}+jḡ+a\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}jar-a-t$ 'has aged or grown old'.
2. $stambh+IUN = \acute{a}stambh-T-t/\acute{a}staḥbh-a-t$ (6.4.24) 'has stopped or arrested'.

3. *mrúc/mlúc*+IUN = *á-mruc-I-t/á-mloc-I-t; á-mruc-a-t/á-mluc-a-t*
4. *grúc/glúc*+IUN = *á-groc-I-t/á-gloc-I-t; á-gruc-a-t/á-gluc-a-t* 'has stolen'.
5. *glúñc*+IUN = *á-glúñc-I-t/á-gluc-a-t* 'has gone'.
6. *ávi*+IUN = *á-ávay-I-t/á-áv-a-t* 'has swollen'.

3.1.59 ¹kr-²mr-³dr-⁴ruh-⁵bhyaś chándasi

In the domain of Chándas (chándas-i) [the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aÑ 52 replaces Cl̥ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] kr- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), mr- 'die' (VI 110), dr- 'tear, injure' (V 34) and ruh- 'grow, germinate' (I 912) [before l-substitutes of IUN 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. *kr*+IUN+*i* = *á-kr+aÑ+i* (7.4.16) = *á-kr-a-t* 'has done', the l-substitutes in all these examples are Paraemaipadá (55).
2. *mr*+IUN = *á-mar-a-t* 'has died'.
3. *dr*+IUN = *á-dar-a-t* 'has hurt'.
4. *ruh*+IUN = *á-ruh-a-t* 'has ascended or mounted'.

The corresponding non-Chandas forms are: *á-kār-ṣ-I-t, á-mṛ-ta á-dār-I-t, á-ruk-ṣa-t*.

3.1.60 CiN té pad-aḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CiN [replaces Cl̥ 44 after 2 the verbal stem] pad- 'go' (IV 60) [before the IUN substitute 43] tá.

- pad*+IUN = *pad+Cl̥+ta* = *pad+CiN+ta* = *dT+pād+i+ta* (7.2.118) = *á-pād-i+θ¹* (6.4.104) = *á-pād-i* 'has gone', *ud-á-pād-i* 'has come up'.

3.1.61 ¹dīpā-²jānā-³budhA-⁴pūri-⁵tāyī-⁶pyāyī-bhyaḥ= anyataráśyām

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60] optionally (anyataráśyām) [replaces Cl̥ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] dīp- 'shine' (IV 42), jān- 'be born' (IV 41), budh- 'know' (IV 63), pūr 'fill' (IV 43), tāy- 'extend' (I 518) and pyāy- 'increase, grow' (I 517) [before the IUN substitute 43 tá 60].

1. *dīp*+IUN+*ta* = *dīp+CiN+ta* = *á-dīp+i+θ¹* = *á-dīp-i/á-dīp+iT-siC+ta* = *á-dīp-i-ṣ-ta* (8.3.59; 4.41) 'has shone'
2. *á-jan-i/á-jan-i-ṣ-ta* 'was born'.
3. *á-bodh-i/á-budh-s+ta* = *á-budh+θ+ta* (8.2.28) = *á-bud-dha* (1.2.11; 8.2.37; 4.53) 'has known'.
4. *á-pūr-i/á-pūr-i-ṣ-ta* 'has filled'.

5. *á-lāy-i/á-lāy-i-ə-ta* 'has extended'.

6. *á-pyāy-i/á-pyāy-i-ə-ta* 'has grown'.

3.1.62 aC-ah karma-kartār-i

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60 optionally 61 replaces Clī 44 after 2 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme (aC-ah) [before the IUN substitute 43 tá 60] when the agent is at the same time also the object (karma-kartār-i).

kṛ+IUN+ta = á+kṛ+CiN/siC+ta = (1) á-kār-i / á-kṛ+θ+ta = á-kṛ-ta kṛtaḥ svayám evá 'the mat was made by itself (i.e., automatically)', but when the stem ends in a consonant: *bhid+IUN+ta = á-bhed-i kaṣṭhāḥ svayám evá* 'the piece of wood broke by itself' and *á-kār-i kṛtaḥ devadatténa* 'the mat was made by Devadattá'.

3.1.63 duh-aś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60 optionally 61 replaces Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stem] duh- 'milk' (II 4) also (ca) [before the IUN substitute 43 ta 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62].

duh+Clī+ta = duh+CiN/siC+ta = á-doh-i/á-duh+siC+ta = á-dugh+θ+ta (8.2.36,32) = *á-dug-dha* (8.2.40; 4.53) *gauḥ svayám evá* but *á-doh-i gauḥ devadatténa* 'the cow yielded milk' / 'the cow was milked by Devadattá'.

3.1.64 ná rudh-ah

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60] does not (ná) [replace Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stem] rudh-IR 'obstruct, hinder' (VII 1) [before the IUN substitute 43 tá 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62].

anu+avá+rudh+Clī+ta = anu-ava-rudh+siC+ta = anu-ava+áI+rudh+θ+ta (8.2.26) = *anu-avá+rudh+dha* (8.2.40) = *anu-avá-rud-dha* (8.4.53) *gauḥ svayám evá* 'the cow halted by herself' but *anu-avá-rudh-CiN+ta = anu-avá-rodh-i-θ gavír gopālakéna* (86) 'the cow was tied up by the cowherd'.

3.1.65 tapaḥ=anutāpé ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiṆ 60 does not 64 replace Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stem] tap- 'mortify, suffer' (I 1034) [before IUN substitute 43 tá 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62] and (ca) denotes regret or repentance (anu-tāpé).

$tap+IUN = tap+Clī+ta = tap+siC+ta - d-tap-s-ta = d-tap-θ-ta$ (8.2.26) *d-tap-ta tāpas tāpasāḥ* 'the ascetic mortified himself' and *anu-avā-tap-ta pāpēna kārmaṇā* 'repented his evil actions'.

3.1.66 CiṆ 'bhāva-²karmāṇ-oḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CiṆ [replaces Clī 44 after 2 a verbal stem before IUN substitute 43 tá 60] when denoting the action itself (bhāvā-) or the object (kārman-).

1. *bhāvé: śiṆ+CiṆ+ta = d-sai+CiṆ+θ* (7.2.115) = *d-sāy-i bhāvat-ā* 'sleeping was done by you (= you laid yourself down to sleep)'.
2. *kārmaṇ-i: kṛ+ciṆ+ta = d-kār-i kṛtaḥ devadattēna* 'the mat was made by Devadattā'.

3.1.67 sārvaadhātuke yák

[The affix 1] yáK is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] before sārvaadhātuka (3.4.113) [l-substitutes when denoting bhāvā (the action itself) or kārman (the object) 66].

1. *bhāvé: ās+yáK+te = ās-yá-te bhāvat-ā* 'sitting is done by you', a reflexive or impersonal construction applicable to intransitive verbal stems.
2. *kārmaṇ-i: kṛ+yáK+te = kri-yá-te* (7.4.28) *kṛta-ḥ* 'a mat is being made'. This construction also applies when the agent is at the same time also the object (karma-kartár-i): *pac-yá-te odaná-ḥ* 'rice is being cooked', but also *pac-yá-te odaná-ḥ svayám evā* 'rice is cooking by itself'.

3.1.68 kartár-i ŚaP

[The affix 1] ŚaP is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem before sārvaadhātuka l-substitutes 67] to denote the agent (kartár-i).

$pác+tiP = pác+ŚuP+tiP = pác-a-ti$ '(one) cooks, is cooking'.

3.1.69 *div-āḍibhyaḥ ŚyaN*

[The affix 1] *ŚyaN* is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with *div-* 'sport, gamble' (IV 1-137) [before *sārva-dhātuka* l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68]

Exception to 68 above. $div+tiP = div+ŚyaN+tiP = div+ya+ti = div-ya-ti$ (8.2.76).

3.1.70 *vā* ¹*bhrāś-* ²*bhlāś-* ³*bhrām-* ⁴*krām-* ⁵*klām-* ⁶*trās-* ⁷*trūṭi-* ⁸*lāṣ-aḥ*

[The affix 1 *ŚyaN* 69] is introduced optionally (*vā*) [after 2 the verbal stems] *bhrāś-*, *bhlāś-* (I 876-7) 'shine', *bhrām-* 'be confused, wander' (I 903, IV 96), *krām-* 'tread' (I 502), *klām-* 'become tired or weary' (IV 98), *trās-* 'tremble' (IV 10), *trūṭ-* 'break' (VI 82) and *lāṣ-* 'shine' (I 937) [before *sārvadhatuka* l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

The two verbal stems *klām-* and *trās-* occur only as members of the *div*-class in the Dhp. besides generating derived stems in the *cur*-class, while *trūṭ-* occurs only in the *tud-* and *cur-* classes.

1. *bhrāś+ŚyaN/ŚaP+te = bhrāś-ya-te/bhrāś-a-te* 'shines'.
2. *bhlāś-ya-te/bhlāś-a-te* 'shines'.
3. *bhrām-ya-ti* (7.3.74) / *bhrām-a-ti* 'wanders, is confused'.
4. *krām-ya-ti* / *krām-a-ti* (7.3.74,76) 'treads'.
5. *klām-ya-ti* / *klām-a-ti* (7.3.74,75) 'becomes tired'.
6. *trās-ya-ti* / *trās-a-ti* 'breaks'.
7. *lāṣ-ya-ti* / *lāṣ-a-ti* 'shines'.

3.1.71 *yās-aḥ=ān-upasargāt*

[The affix 1 *ŚyaN* 69 is optionally 70 introduced after 2 the verbal stem] *yās-* 'exert' (IV 101) [before *sārvadhatuka* l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] when not co-occurring after a preverb (*ān-upa-* *sargāt*).

Since this verbal stem already belongs to the *div*-class and affix *ŚyaN* is necessarily introduced after it, the present option operates only when it is not co-occurring with a preverb: *yās-ya-ti/yās-a-ti* 'exerts', but *prā-yas-ya-ti*.

3.1.72 sám-yas-aś ca

[The affix 1 ŚyaN 69] is also (ca) [optionally 70 introduced after 1 the verbal stem] sám+yas- 'exert well' [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

Exception to 71 above: *sám-yas-ya-ti* / *'-yas-a-ti*.

3.1.73 su=ādibhyah Śnúḥ

[The affix 1] Śnú is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with su- 'press, express, extract' (V 1-34) [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

su+tiP = *su+Śnú+tiP* = *su-nó-ti* (1.2.4; 7.3.84) 'extracts, distills'.

3.1.74 śruv-aḥ śṛ ca

[The affix 1 Śnú 73 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem] śru- 'listen to, hear' (I 989) and the substitute morpheme śṛ- replaces the (whole 1.1.55) of the verbal stem [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

śru+tiP = *śṛ+Śnú+tiP* = *śṛ-ṇó-ti* (7.3.84; 8.4.2) 'listens'.

3.1.75 ákṣ-aḥ=anyataráśyām

[The affix 1 Śnú 73] is optionally (anyataráśyām) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] ákṣ- 'pervade' (I 684) [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

akṣ+tiP = *akṣ+Śnú/ŚaP+tiP* = *akṣ-ṇó-ti/ákṣ-a-ti* 'pervades'.

3.1.76 tanū-karaṇé tákṣ-aḥ

[The affix 1 Śnú 73 is optionally 75 introduced after 2 the verbal stem] tákṣ- 'pare' (I 684) [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] when signifying paring (tanū-karaṇé).

takṣ+tiP = *takṣ+Śnú/ŚaP+tiP* = *takṣ-ṇó-ti/tákṣ-a-ti* *kāṣṭhām* 'pares wood', but *sám-takṣ-a-ti* *vāg-bhīḥ* 'criticizes harshly'.

3.1.77 tud-ādibhyaḥ Śá-ḥ

[The affix 1] Śá is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with tud- 'torment' (VI 1-143) [before sārva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$tud+tiP = tud+Śá+tiP = tud-á-ti$ 'torments'. Guṇa replacement of the light penultimate vowel of the verbal stem is blocked by 1.1.5 since the class-marker Śá is regarded as or acts like a Ñ-IT by 1.2.4.

3.1.78 rudh-ādibhyaḥ ŚnáM

[The affix 1] SnáM is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with rudh- 'obstruct, hinder' (VII 1-25) [before sārva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$rudh+tiP = rudh+ŚnáM+tiP = ru-ná-dh+tiP$ (1.1.47) = $ru-ná-dh+dhi$ (8.2.37; 4.2) = $ru-ṇá-d+dhi$ (8.4.53) 'obstructs'.

3.1.79 ¹tán-ādi-²kṛÑ-bhyaḥ=ú-ḥ

[The affix 1] ú is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1-9) and kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [before sārva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$tán+tiP = tán+ú+tiP = tán-ó-ti$, $tán-u-táḥ$, $tán-v-ánti$; $kṛ+tiP = kṛ+ú+tiP = kar-ó-ti$, $kur-u-táḥ$ (8.4.110).

3.1.80 ¹dhinvī=²kṛṇvy-or a ca

[The affix 1 ú 79] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] dhinv- (I 624 dhívī) 'please' and kṛṇv- (I 629 kṛvī) 'injure, hurt' [before sārva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] and the substitute phoneme /a/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of the verbal stems.

1. $dhinv+tiP = dhina+ú+tiP = dhinṅ+ú+tiP$ (6.4.148) = $dhin-ó-ti$ 'pleases'; guṇa replacement of penultimate light vowel of pre-affixal stem is blocked by 6 replacement of the substitute vowel before marker u (1.1.56).

2. $kṛṇ-ó-ti$.

3.1.81 $kr\bar{I}$ -ātibhyaḥ Śnā

[The affix 1] Śnā is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with $kr\bar{I}$ - 'buy, purchase' (IX 1-61) [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$$kr\bar{I}+tiP = kr\bar{I}+\acute{S}n\acute{a}+tiP = kr\bar{I}-\eta\acute{a}-ti \text{ (8.4.2), } kr\bar{I}-\eta\bar{I}-t\acute{d}h \text{ (6.4.113), } kr\bar{I}-\eta\emptyset+dnti \text{ (6.4.112).}$$

3.1.82 ¹stanbhŪ-²stunbhŪ-³skanbhŪ-⁴skunbhŪ-⁵skuñ-bhyaḥ Śnúś ca

[The affix 1 Śnā 81] as well as (ca) Śnú are introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] stanbh-, stunbh- (IX 7) and skanbh-, skunbh- (IX 8) 'stop, hinder' and skuñ (IX 6) 'cover, conceal' [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$$stanbh+tiP = sta\theta bh-n\acute{a}-ti/stabh-n\acute{o}-ti \text{ (8.4.24); } stubh-n\acute{a}/n\acute{o}-ti; skabh-n\acute{a}/n\acute{o}-ti, skubh-n\acute{a}-ti/skubh-n\acute{o}-ti; sku-n\acute{a}/n\acute{o}-ti \text{ 'covers, conceals'; guna replacement of stem-final vowel is blocked by 1.1.5 and 2.4.}$$

3.1.83 haL -aḥ Śn-āḥ ŚānāC=haú

(The substitute element) ŚānāC replaces (the marker affix 1) Śnā (Śn-aḥ) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72)] a consonant (haL -aḥ) before (the substitute affix 1) hí (= replacement of siP of IOT 3.4.87).

$$mu\check{s}+IOT = mu\check{s}+\acute{S}n\acute{a}+h\acute{I} = mu\check{s}+\acute{S}ānāC+h\acute{I} = mu\check{s}-ān\acute{a}+\emptyset \text{ (6.4.105; 8.4.2) 'steal'}$$

3.1.84 chāndas-i ŚāyāC=āpi

In the domain of Chāndas (the substitute element) ŚāyāC also (āpi) [replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the marker affix Śnā 83 introduced after 2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 83 before the substitute affix hí 83].

$$grah+\acute{S}n\acute{a}+h\acute{I} = grbh+\acute{S}āyāC+h\acute{I} \text{ (8.1.16) } = grbh-āy\acute{a}+\emptyset^1 \text{ 'catch'; alternately } badh+\acute{S}n\acute{a}+h\acute{I} = badh+\acute{S}ānāC+h\acute{I} = badh-ān\acute{a}+\emptyset^1.$$

3.1.85 vyatyayó bahulám

[In the domain of Chándas 84] interchange (vyatyayáh) [of affixes 1] occurs variously (bahulám).

$bhid+\acute{S}aP+tiP = bhéd-a-ti$ 'breaks' for $bhi-na-d+ti = bhindt-ti$ (8.4.55).
 $mṛ+\acute{S}aP+tiP = mār-a-ti$ 'dies': $mṛ+\acute{S}á+te = mri+d+te$ (7.4.28) = $mriy-á-te$ (8.4.77). Two marker-affixes: $nṛ+siP+\acute{S}aP+tu = né-ṣ-a-tu$ 'may he lead'.
Three marker-affixes: $tṛ+ú+siP+\acute{S}aP+liN+ma = tar-u-ṣ-a+yās+ma$ (3.4.103) = $tar-u-ṣ-a+iyθ-ma$ (7.2.79,80) = $tar-u-ṣ-é-ma$ 'may we cross'.

3.1.86 liN-i=āśís-i=aN

[In the domain of Chándas 84 the marker affix 1] aN is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem before the l-substitutes of] Precative (=Benedictive: liN-i āśís-i).

Although the Precative l-substitutes are defined as ārdha-dhātuka (3.4.116) they can also be sārva-dhātuka in the domain of Chándas (3.4.117); consequently this is an exception to ŚaP (68 above) and is valid for the following verbal stems: sthā- 'stand, remain', gā (= gai-) 'sing', gam- 'go', vac- 'speak', vid- 'know', śak- 'be able', ruh- 'shoot up, germinate, climb up, ascend': $upa+sthā+aN+yās+am = upa-sthθ+aN+yāsθ+am$ (8.4.64; 7.2.79) = $upa=sth-a-iy+am$ (7.2.80) = $upa-sth-ey-am$ 'may I conciliate'; $upa+gā+aN+yās+am = upa-g-éy-am$ 'may I sing the praise'; $gam-é-ma$ 'may we go'; $vac+aN+yās+ma = va-uM-c+a+fy+ma$ (7.4.20) = $vac-é-ma$ 'may we speak'; $vid-éy-am$ 'may I know'; $śak-éy-am$ 'may I be able'; $ā-ruh-ey-am$ 'may I ascend'; $dṛś-éy-am$ 'may I see'.

3.1.87 karmavát kārmaṇ-ā túlya-kriyaḥ

[The agent 68] who behaves with respect to the action in the same way as an object (kārmaṇ-ā túlya-kriya-ḥ) functions as though it were an object (karma-vát).

$bhid-yá-te kṣāṣh-ám svayám evā$ 'the wood splits of itself'; $ā-bhéd-i kṣāṣh-ám svayám evā$ 'the wood has split of itself'; $bhid-yá-te kuśāl-ena$ 'splitting is taking place by the granary'. For deriving all these sentences the words function as the agent of splitting while normally they are objects of the act of splitting.

3.1.88 *táp-as tápaḥ-karmakasya=evá*

[The Agent 68 of the verbal stem] *tap-* 'mortify, do penance' (I 1034) [functions like an object 87] only (*evá*) when it has the word *tápas-* 'austerity, mortification, penance' as its object (*tápaḥ-karmakasya*).

tap-yá-te tápas tāpasāḥ 'the ascetic mortifies himself' *á-tap-ta tápas tāpasāḥ* 'the ascetic mortified himself' but *út-tap-a-ti suvárṇam suvárṇa-kārāḥ* 'the goldsmith heats up the gold'.

3.1.89 *ná¹duh²snú³námām¹yaK²Ciṇ³-au*

[The affixes 1] *yáK* and *Ciṇ* are not (*ná*) [introduced after 2 the verbal stems] *duh-* 'milk' (II 4), *snú-* 'drip, trickle' (II 29) and *nám-* 'bow, bend down' (I 867) [when the agent of these stems behaves in the same way as an object 87].

1. *dug-dhe gáuḥ svayám evá* 'the cow yields milk by itself' and *á-dug-dha gáuḥ svayám evá* 'the cow yielded milk by itself', the cow being the real object of milking but serving as the agent of the verb.
2. *prá-snu-te gáuḥ svayám evá/prá-sno-ṣ-ṭa gáuḥ svayám evá* 'the cow yields/has yielded milk by itself'.
3. *nám-a-te daṇḍāḥ svayám evá/a-naṁ-s-ṭa daṇḍāḥ svayám evá* 'the staff bends/has bent by itself'.

3.1.90 *'kuṣ-²raj-oḥ prācām ŚyaN parasmaipadām ca*

[The affix 1] *ŚyaN* is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] *kuṣ-* 'pull, extract' (IX 46) and *rañj-* 'color, dye' (I 1048, IV 58) according to Eastern Grammarians (*prācām*) and co-occurring with *Parasmaipadā* 1-substitutes [when the agent functions in the same way as the object of the verbal stems 87].

1. *kúṣ-ya-ti pāddh svayám evá* 'the foot draws up by itself'. The reference to Eastern Grammarians is for indicating that this is an optional rule: *kúṣ-ya-te*.
2. *rāj-ya-ti vāstram svayám evá* 'the cloth dyes by itself' and alternately *raj-yá-te*. This is what is known as a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* (an ordered option) whereby this option does not function with reference to IIT (Perfect) and IIN (Optative) and before affixes containing a (*ṣiC*, *tāṣiḥ* etc.): *cu-kuṣ-ṣ/koṣ-i-ṣ-ṭa/koṣ-i-ṣyá-te/á-koṣ-i pādd-ḥ svayám evá; ra-rañj-e/ra nk-ṣi-ṣ-ṭa/rañk-ṣyá-te/á-rañj-i vāstram svayám evá*.

3.1.91 dhātu-ḥ

[After 2] a verbal stem.

This is a governing rule heading the section beginning here and extending up to the end of the third chapter; the word [dhātu- 'verbal stem'] will recur in each of the subsequent statements in this chapter.

3.1.92 tá-tra=upapadám saptamī-sthám

There (= in this section: tátra, headed by the governing rule 91) the t.t. upapadá denotes a form ending in (1.1.72) the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī-sthám).

1. as a t.t. occurs in: 1.3.16,71,77; 4.105,106; 2.2.19; 3.14; 5.3.57; 6.2.139.
2. as a non-technical term it denotes 'a complementary form subjoined', cf. 1.4.106.

3.1.93 kṛt=á-tiÑ

(The t.t.) kṛt denotes (affixes 1 introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91) other than l-substitutes defined by the siglum tiÑ (3.4.78).

This rule also governs the present section and all affixes introduced other than tiÑ will bear the t.t. kṛt. These are primary nominal affixes for deriving nominal stems from verbal stems. As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.39; 2.46; 2.1.32; 2.7; 3.65; 3.4.67; 6.1.71,182; 2.50,133; 3.14,72; 7.2.8; 3.33; 8.4.29.

3.1.94 vā=á-sarūpa-ḥ=á-striyām

[In this section headed by the governing rule 91 above] an exception (apavāda) optionally (vā) blocks [a general rule (utsargá) regarding two affixes 1] if they are not identical in shape (á-sarūpa-ḥ) except in the case of [affixes 1] introduced to form feminine agent nouns (3.3.94ff.).

133 below introduces affixes NvuL and tḥC after all verbal stems while 135 introduces affix Ká after verbal stems containing iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) as penultimate; since the two sets are not identical in shape, a verbal stem such as kṛep- 'cast, throw' (IV 14, VI 5) has both of them introduced after it: vi+kṛep+NvuL/tḥC/Ká = vi-kṛép-aka-/vi-kṛép-tḥ-/vi-kṛep-á- since 135 does not block the operation of 133. On the other hand 3.2.1 introduces affix áN after a verbal stem co-occurring with a nominal stem ending in the second sUP triplet, while 3.2.2 introduces affix Ká if the verbal stem ends in the vowel phoneme -ā and is not preceded by a preverb, since áN and Ká are identical in shape (= á) the latter (apavāda) blocks the preceding (utsargá).

With reference to feminine affixes 3.3.94 introduces KtiN to form feminine action nouns: kṛ+KtiN = kṛ-ti- 'action', while 3.3.102 introduces affix [á] after deriva-

tive verbal stems: $k\bar{f}+saN+d = ci-k\bar{f}-sa+d = ci-k\bar{f}-\bar{s}a$ [$*ci-k\bar{f}-\bar{s}a+d+T\bar{a}P$] (3.3.102; 6.1.97; 4.1.4) and though both affixes are not identical in shape 102 blocks the operation of 94. If this rule had not been introduced [KtiN] would have been introduced after derived verbal stems.

3.1.95 $k\bar{f}ty\bar{a}h$ $pr\bar{a}h$ $NvuL-ah$

(The t.t.) $k\bar{f}tya$ denotes [all affixes 1 introduced hereafter up to but excluding 133 below, after 2 a verbal stem 91].

This is a sub-class of $k\bar{f}t$ (93) affixes and the word [$k\bar{f}tya$] will recur in the subsequent rules prior to 133 below.

3.1.96 ${}^1tavy\bar{a}T-{}^2t\bar{a}vya=^3an\bar{f}yaR-ah$

[The $k\bar{f}tya$ 95 affixes 1] $tavy\bar{a}T$, $t\bar{a}vya$ and $an\bar{f}yaR$ are introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91].

1. $tavy\bar{a}T$: $gam+tavy\bar{a}T = gan-tavy\bar{a}$ (8.4.58) 'to be gone' (accent by 6.1.185).
2. $t\bar{a}vya$: $gam+t\bar{a}vya = gan-t\bar{a}vya$ 'to be gone'.
3. $an\bar{f}yaR$: $gam+an\bar{f}yaR = gam-an\bar{f}ya$ 'to be gone' (accent by 6.1.217).

3.1.97 $aC-ah=y\bar{a}T$

[The $k\bar{f}tya$ 95 affix 1] $y\bar{a}T$ is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme ($aC-ah$).

$gai+y\bar{a}T = g\bar{a}+y\bar{a}T$ (6.1.45) = $g\bar{a}+I\bar{T}+y\bar{a}T$ (6.4.65) = $g\bar{e}y-am s\bar{a}ma$ 'a s\bar{a}man to be sung' (accent according to 6.1.213). $p\bar{a}+y\bar{a}T = p\bar{e}-ya$ 'to be drunk'; $j\bar{i}+y\bar{a}T = j\bar{e}-ya$ 'to be won'; $l\bar{a}+y\bar{a}T = lo-y\bar{a}T$ (7.3.84) = $l\bar{a}u-ya$ (6.1.79) 'to be cut or reaped'.

3.1.98 pOr $aT=upadh\bar{a}t$

[The $k\bar{f}tya$ 95 affix 1 $y\bar{a}T$ 97 is introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in 1.1.72] a labial stop phoneme (pU) and containing short [a] as penultimate.

This is a prior exception to 124 below which introduces affix $Ny\bar{a}T$. $j\bar{a}p+y\bar{a}T = j\bar{a}p-ya$ 'to be muttered'; $k\bar{a}b+y\bar{a}T = k\bar{a}b-ya$ 'to be dyed'; $l\bar{a}b\bar{h}+y\bar{a}T = l\bar{a}b\bar{h}-ya$ 'to be gained'; $dram+y\bar{a}T = d\bar{r}\bar{a}m-ya$ 'to be moved'.

3.1.99 ¹śaki-²śah-oś ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 yāT 97] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] śak- 'be able' (V 15) and śah- 'endure, bear' (I 905).

Exception to NyāT (124 below).

1. śak+yāT = śak-ya- 'possible'.
2. śah+yāT = śah-ya- 'to be endured or borne; bearable'.

3.1.100 ¹gādA-²māda³-cārĀ-⁴yamaś ca=ān-upa-sarge

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 yāT 97] is also introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] gād- 'speak' (I 53), mād- 'rejoice' (IV 99), cār- 'move; graze' (I 591) and yam- 'restrain' (I 1033) when not co-occurring with preverbs (ān-upa-sarge).

Exception to (124 below).

1. gad+yāT = gād-ya-; pra-gad+NyāT (124) = pra-gād-ya 'to be spoken or uttered'
2. mād-ya-/pra-mād-ya- 'to be rejoiced/perplexed'.
3. cār-ya-/ā-cār-ya- 'to be visited'.
4. yām-ya- (98)/pra-yām-ya- 'to be restrained'.

3.1.101 ¹avadyā-²pānya-³varyāḥ ¹garhya-²pañitavya=³a-nirodheṣu

[The irregular forms with kṛtya 95 affix 1 yāT 97] a-vad-yā-, pān-ya- and varyā are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) 'contemptible' (garhyā), 'vendible' (pañitavya) and 'unrestricted' (ā-ni-rodha).

1. nāñ+vad+yāT = a-vad-yā- [accent by 8.2.180] corresponding to the regular form a+vad+KyaP = a+ud+KyaP (8.1.15) = an-ūd-ya- (8.3.74) 'not to be uttered, unutterable'.
2. pañ+yāT = pān-ya-, but regularly pañ+NyāT = pān-ya- 'praiseworthy, excellent'.
3. vara+yāT = varṭ+yāT (8.4.48) = var-ya+TāP (4.1.4) = vār-ya 'a girl who is free to choose her own husband', or alternately: vṛ+yāT+TāP = vār-ya against the regular form: vṛ+KyaP (109)+TāP = vṛ+taK+yā (8.1.71) = vṛt-ya.

3.1.102 váhyam káraṇam

[The irregular form with kṛtya 95 affix 1 yāT 97] váh-ya- is introduced to denote an instrument (káraṇa) (of transportation).

vāh-a-ti an-ēna = vah+yāT = váh-ya- 'a carriage', contra the regular form vah+NyāT (124) = vah-ya- 'to be borne'.

3.1.103 árya-h ¹svāmi(n)=²vaiśyayoh

$\bar{r}+y\grave{a}T = \acute{a}r\text{-}y\acute{a}\text{-}$; regular: $\bar{r}+Ny\grave{a}T = \acute{a}r\text{-}y\acute{a}\text{-}$ 'noble'.

3.1.104 upa-sáryā kályā pra-jané

[The irregular form with kṛtya 95 affix 1 yāT 97] upa-sáryā is introduced to denote the female (of any species) who has matured (kályā) or is ripe for her first impregnation (pra-jané).

$upa=\bar{a}\bar{r}+y\acute{a}T+T\bar{u}P = upa\text{-}\acute{s}\acute{a}r\text{-}y\acute{a}$ *gauh* 'a cow, ready for her first impregnation'; in other meanings the regular form is: $upa+\bar{a}\bar{r}+Ny\acute{a}T+T\bar{u}P = upa\text{-}\acute{s}\acute{a}r\text{-}y\acute{a}$ *śarād-i madhurá* 'fennel is to be sought in autumn'.

3.1.105 a-jar-yám sám-gatam

(The irregular form) a-jar-yá- is introduced [with kṛtya 95 affix 1 yāT 97] [introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 jṛ- co-occurring with the privative particle náñ] to denote 'permanent accord (sám-gatam).

$n\acute{a}\bar{N}+j\bar{r}+y\grave{a}T = a\text{-}j\acute{a}r\text{-}y\acute{a}\text{-}$ (6.2.160); in other senses: $a\text{-}j\bar{r}+i\bar{T}+t\bar{r}C = \acute{a}\text{-}j\acute{a}r\text{-}i\text{-}t\bar{r}\text{-}$ 'not aging' (133).

3.1.106 vad-aḥ sUP-i KyaP ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix] KyaP as well as (ca) [yāT 97 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] vad- 'speak' (I 1058) [not co-occurring with a preverb 100] but co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet.

$br\acute{a}hman\text{-}a\bar{h}=v\acute{a}danam = br\acute{a}hma\bar{\theta}+\bar{\theta}^1+v\acute{a}d+KyaP/y\grave{a}T = br\acute{a}hma\text{-}v\acute{a}d\text{-}y\acute{a}\text{-}$ (6.1.15)/*brahma-vád-ya-* 'theological discussion'. When preceded by preverbs: $pra+v\acute{a}d+Ny\grave{a}T = pra\text{-}v\acute{a}d\text{-}y\acute{a}\text{-}$, and when not co-occurring with a nominal stem ending in a sUP triplet: $v\acute{a}d+Ny\acute{a}T = v\acute{a}d\text{-}y\acute{a}\text{-}$.

3.1.107 bhuv-ó bhāvé

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] bhū- 'become' (I 1) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet 106 and not preceded by a preverb 100] to express a state or condition (bhāvé).

$b\bar{r}\acute{a}hman\text{-}a\bar{h}=bh\acute{a}v\text{-}\acute{a}m\text{-}g\acute{a}t\acute{a}\text{-}h = br\acute{a}hma\bar{\theta}+\bar{\theta}^1+bh\acute{u}+KyaP$ (2.4.71; 8.2.7)

brahma-bhā-yam gata-h 'attained the state of being brahman'. But elsewhere:
(pra)+bhā+yāT (97) = *(pra)-bhāv-ya-* (6.1.79).

3.1.108 han-as tṣ ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] *han-* 'kill, strike' (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet 106 and not preceded by a preverb 100, to express a state or condition 107] and (ca) phoneme [t] replaces (the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme).

brāhmaṇ-aḥ-hān-anam = *brahmaθ+θ¹+han+KyaP+TāP* (4.1.4) = *brahma-hāt-yā*
 'slaying of a brahmin'; similarly *bhrāṇa-hāt-yā* 'destroying an embryo'.

3.1.109 ¹éti-²stu-³sās=⁴vṛ-⁵dṛ-⁶juṣ-aḥ KyaP

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1] KyaP is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *iñ* 'go' (II 36), *stu-* 'praise' (II 34), *sās-* 'rule' (II 66), *vṛñ* 'choose' (V 8), *dṛñ* 'honor' (VI 118) and *juṣ-* 'is pleased' (VI 8).

1. *i+KyaP* = *i+tuK+KyaP* (6.1.71) = *i-t-ya-* 'fit to go'.
2. *stu+KyaP* = *stú-t-ya-* 'praiseworthy'.
3. *sās+KyaP* = *sís-ya-* (6.4.34) 'to be ruled, ordered or taught'.
4. *vṛ+KyaP* = *vṛ-t-ya-* 'to be chosen'.
5. *dṛ+KyaP* = *dṛ-t-ya-* 'to be honored'.
6. *juṣ+KyaP* = *jús-ya-* 'to be pleased'.

The repetition of the expression [KyaP] here when it was already recurring from 106 above is for the purpose of blocking out the operation of 125 below; this is a prior exception to that rule: *avasýaθ¹+stu+KyaP* = *avasýa-stú-t-ya-* 'necessarily to be praised'.

3.1.110 fT=upadh-āt=ca=a-¹k{pi-²cṛte-h

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 verbal stems 91] containing short [ɾ] as penultimate, except *kṛp* (*kṛp-* I 799) 'be able' and *cṛt-* 'injure (VI 35).

vṛt+KyaP = *vṛt-ya-* 'to be abided or stayed', but *kṛp+NyāT* = *kaṛp-yā-* (124) 'to be formed', *cṛt+NyāT* = *carṭ-yā-* 'to be harmed or injured'.

3.1.111 ɪ ca khan-aḥ

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] khan- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), and phoneme long [ɪ] replaces the stem-final (1.1.52) phoneme.

khan+KyaP = kha-ɪ+KyaP = khé-ya- 'to be excavated or dug'. The [ɪ]-replacement of stem-final phoneme is a prior exception to 6.4.43 and blocks out the optional [æ]-replacement indicated there.

3.1.112 bhṛÑ-aḥ=ś-saṁjñāyām

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] bhṛ- 'bear, nourish' (III 5) when not denoting a name (ś-saṁjñāyām).

bhṛ+KyaP = bhṛ-tuK+KyaP = bhṛ-t-ya- 'bearer, servant', but *bhṛ+Ñyāt = bhār-yā-* 'n.pr. of a kṣatriya or warrior'.

3.1.113 mṛj-ṛ vibhāṣā

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] mṛj-'polish, rub' (II 57).

**mṛj+KyaP/Nyāt = (pari-)mṛj-ya-/mārj-yā-* 'to be polished'.

3.1.114 ¹rājasūya-²sūrya-³mṛṣódya-⁴rúcyā-⁵kúpya-⁶kṛṣṭapácya=⁷avyathāḥ

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced to generate the irregular nominal stems] *rājasūya-* 'name of the coronation sacrifice', *sūrya-* 'sun', *mṛṣódya-* 'false speech', *rúcyā-* 'pleasant', *kúpya-* 'base metal'. *kṛṣṭa-pácya-* 'ripening in cultivated ground' and *a-vyathā-* 'unshakable'.

1. *rājñ-ā so-távyā-ḥ = rājaḥ+ḥ¹+su+KyaP = rāja-sū-ya-ḥ* the irregularity being absence of final increment *tuK* before KyaP or replacement of stem-final by the long vowel.

2. *ṣṛ+KyaP = sur-ya- = sūr-ya-/su+KyaP = su+ruT+KyaP = sūr-ya = sūr-ya-*.

3. *mṛṣā vadati = mṛṣā+vad+KyaP = mṛṣā-úd-ya-* (6.1.115) = *mṛṣódya-* (irregularity lies in affix KyaP for *yāt* 106).

4. *róc-a-te asaú = roc+KyaP = rác-ya-*; KyaP for *tṣC*.

5. *gup+KyaP = kúp-ya-* (name; saṁjñā); elsewhere *Nyāt*(124).

6. *kṛṣṭe pac-yā-nte = kṛṣṭa+ḥ¹+pac+KyaP = kṛṣṭa-pác-ya-*

7. *ná vyáth-a-te = a-vyath+KyaP = a-vyath-yā* (6.3.73).

The irregularity in (4-7) lies in KyaP replacing the normally expected *Nyāt*(124).

3.1.115 ¹bhīd-ya=²úddh-yau nadé

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] bhīd-ya- and úddh-ya- are introduced to denote a 'river' (nadé).

1. *bhi-ndī-ti kūlam* = *bhīd+KyaP* = *bhīd-ya-* (literally 'breaks the bank'). Exception to NyàT (124) or tñC 133.
2. *ujjh-d-ti=udakām* = *udjh+KyaP* = *úddh-ya-* (literally 'releases water'). Exception to tñC etc. 133.

3.1.116 ¹pūṣ-ya=²sīdh-yau náksatre

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] pūṣ-ya- and sīdh-ya- are introduced to denote asterisms (náksatre).

- puṣ-yānti aśmān árthāḥ* = *puṣ+KyaP* = *pūṣ-ya-* (lit. 'increases wealth'); but in other meanings *puṣ+Lyut* = *pōṣ-aṇa-*. *sīdh-yānti aśmān* = *sīdh+KyaP* = *sīdh-ya-* (lit. 'achieves success in this'), in other senses *sīdh+Lyut* = *sēdh-ana-*.

3.1.117 ¹vipū-ya=²vinī-ya=³jītyāḥ ¹mūñja=²kalká=³hālīṣu

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛtya 95 affix KyaP 106] vipū-ya-, vi-nī-ya- and jī-tya- are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) the mūñja grass, sediment (kalká) and plough (hālī-).

1. *vi-pū+KyaP* = *vi-pū-ya-* = *vi-pū-ya-te*, but in other senses *vi-pū+yāT* = *vi-po-ya-* = *vipū-ya-*.
2. *vi-nī+KyaP* = *vi-nī-ya-* contra *vi-nī+yāT* = *vi-nē-ya-* in other meanings.
3. *jī+KyaP* = *jī+tyK+ya-* = *jī-t-ya-* but in other meanings *jī+yāt-* = *jē-ya-*.

3.1.118 ¹prāti=²āpi-bhyām graheś chāndas-ī

In the domain of Chāndas [the kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] grāh- 'seize' (IX 81) co-occurring with preverbs prāti- " and āpi- ".

The original sūtra does not contain the word [chāndas-ī]; it is an emendation proposed by a vārttika and is incorporated as part of the sūtra from Kāśikā onwards.

prāti+grah+KyaP = *prāti-gṛh-ya-* (6.1.16) 'to be accepted' but in current speech *prāti+grah+NyāT* = *prāti-grāh-yā-*. *āpi+grah+KyaP* = *āpi-gṛh-ya-* 'to be closed', but elsewhere *āpi-grāh-yā-*.

3.1.119 ¹padá=²śsvairi(n)-³bāhyā-⁴pakṣyèṣu ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 grah- 118] to denote (1) a finished word (padá), (2) a dependent (ś-svairin-), (3) 'external' (bāhyā) and (4) a partisan (pakṣyā).

1. padá: *pra+grah+KyaP* = *pra-gṛh-ya-* defined by 1.1.11 as a nominal or verbal pada ending in '-i, '-ū or '-e and dual in number. *ava-gṛh-yam paddm* 'a pada separated in a compound, etc.'
2. śsvairin: *gṛhya-kāḥ ime* 'these are domesticated'.
3. bāhyā: *grāma-gṛh-yā sēnā* 'an army quartered outside the village'.
4. pakṣyā: *vātsudeva-gṛhya-* 'belonging to the party of V'

3.1.120 vibhāṣā ¹kṛ-²vṛṣoh

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [introduced after 2 the verbal stems 91] kṛ- 'do' (VIII 10) and vṛṣ- 'rain' (I 738).

1. *kṛ+KyaP/NyāT* (124) = *kṛ+tuK+ya-* = *kṛ-i-ya-* / *kār-yā-* 'to be done or accomplished'.
2. *vṛṣ+KyaP/NyāT* = *vṛṣ-ya-/varṣ-yā-* 'to be rained upon'.

3.1.121 yúg-yam ca páttre

[The irregular form] yúg-ya- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP] is also (ca) introduced to denote a vehicle or a draught animal (páttre).

yuj+KyaP = *yúg-ya-* (with irregular velar replacement of palatal [j]) but in other meanings: *yuj+NyāT* = *yog-yā-*.

3.1.122 amāvasyāT=anyataráśyām

[The irregular form] amāvasyāT [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyāT 124, without accompanying vṛddhi replacement (7.2.116)] is introduced optionally (anyataráśyam).

amā = *sahā vās-a-taḥ a-smīn kāle śāryā-candramās-au* = *amā+vas+NyāT* = *amā-vas-yā+TāP* = *amāvas-yā* 'new-moon day' contra regular *amā-vās-yā* (124).

3.1.123 *chándas-i* ¹*niṣṭarkyà*-²*devahūya*-³*prañīya*-⁴*unnīya*-
⁵*ucchīṣya*-⁶*mārya*-⁷*stāryā*-⁸*dhvārya*-⁹*khānyā*-¹⁰*khānyā*-
¹¹*devayājyā*-¹²*āpṛcchya*-¹³*pratiṣṭvya*-¹⁴*brahmavādyā*-
¹⁵*bhāvya*-¹⁶*stāvya*-¹⁷*upacāyya-prḍāni*

In the domain of *Chándas* [the irregular forms derived with *kṛtya* 95 affixes 1 *yàT* 97, *KyaP* 106 and *NyàT* 124 variously] are introduced:

1. *niṣ+kr̥t+NyàT* = *niṣ-tark-yà* 'to be unscrewed', with irregular metathesis of the verbal stem and retroflexion of the sibilant of [niṣ-³].
2. *devāḥ hā-yānte asmīn* = *devaḥ* ¹*+huv+KyaP* = *deva+há+KyaP* (8.1.15; 4.2) = *deva-há-ya-h* 'invocation of the deities'. Alternately *deva+hu+KyaP* with irregular absence of *tyK* increment and replacement of the short by the long vowel.
3. *pra+nī+KyaP* = *pra-nī-ya* 'to be led on'.
4. *ud+nī+KyaP* = *un-nī-ya* 'to be led upwards'.
5. *ud+śiṣ+KyaP* = *uc-chīṣ-ya* (8.4.40,63) 'to be left'.
6. *mṛ+yāT* = *mār-ya* 'mortal'.
7. *stṛ+yāT+TāP* = *stār-yā* 'laying low'. *dhvṛ+yāT* = *dhvār-ya*.
8. *khan+yāT/NyàT* = *khān-ya* / *khān-yā* 'to be excavated'.
9. *deva+yaj+yāT+TāP* = *deva-yāj-yā* 'worship of deities'.
10. *āñ+prach+KyaP* = *ā-pṛcch-ya* (8.1.16) 'to be questioned'.
11. *prāṇi+siv+KyaP* = *prat-ṣṭvya* (8.2.77) 'to be sewed on'.
12. *brahman+vad+NyàT* = *brahmaṭ+vād-yā* 'theological controversy'.
13. *bhā+NyàT* = *bhāv-yā* 'to be effected'.
14. *stu+NyàT* = *stāv-yā* 'to be praised'. *upa+ci+NyàT* = *upa-cāy+NyàT* = *upacāy-ya-prḍā* 'gold'.

3.1.124 ¹*r*-²*haL*-or *NyàT*

[The *kṛtya* 95 affix 1] *NyàT* is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme [r] or a consonant (*haL*).

1. *kr̥+NyàT* = *kār-yā* (7.2.115) 'to be done'.
2. *pac+NyàT* = *pāk-yā* (7.3.52) 'to be cooked'.

3.1.125 o-r *āvaśyake*

[The *kṛtya* 95 affix 1 *NyàT* 124 is introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme-class [u] to denote necessity (*āvaśyake*).

Exception to *yàT* 97. *lā+NyàT* = *lāv-yā* 'necessarily to be cut or reaped', but *lā+yāT* = *lāv-ya* 'to be cut'.

3.1.126 ¹ā-su-²yu-³vapī-⁴rāpī-⁵lāpī-⁶trāpī-⁷cāmas ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyāT 124] is also introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] ā+su- 'distil' (V 1), yu- 'mix' (II 23), vap- 'sow' (I 1052), rap-, lap- 'speak' (I 428-9), trap- 'feel shy, be ashamed' (I 399) and cam- 'eat or drink' (I 497).

Exception to yāT 97. $\tilde{a}\tilde{N}+su+NyāT = \tilde{a}-sāu-yā-$ 'to be distilled'; similarly: $yāu-yā-$, $vāp-yā-$, $rāp-yā-$, $lāp-yā-$, $trāp-yā-$, $\tilde{a}-cām-yā-$.

3.1.127 ānāyyāḥ=ā-nitye

(The irregular form) ānāyyā- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyāT 124] is introduced to denote 'impermanent' (ā-nitye).

Exception to yāT 97. $\tilde{a}\tilde{N}+ni+NyāT = \tilde{a}-nāy-yā-$ (7.2.116) = *Dakṣiṇāgnī* '(southern fire) which is not permanent'; the regular form is with (yāT): $\tilde{a}-nē-ya-$ 'to be brought'.

3.1.128 praṇāyyāḥ=ā-saṁ-matau

(The irregular form) pra-ṇāy-yā- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyāT 124] is introduced to denote 'disapproval (ā-sam-matau).

Exception to [yāT] 97. $pra+ni+NyāT = pra-ṇāy-yā-ḥ$ *caurā-ḥ* 'the thief is to be disapproved/disliked'. The regular form is $pra+ni+yāT = pra-nē-ya-$ 'to be led'.

3.1.129 ¹pāyyā-²sām-nāyyā-³ni-kāyyā-⁴dhāyyāḥ ¹māna-²hāvis=³nivāsā-⁴sāmidhenī-su

(The irregular forms) pāy-yā-, sām-nāy-yā-, ni-kāy-yā- and dhāy-yā- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyāT 124] are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) a measure (māna), a particular oblation of Agnihotra (hāvis), a habitation (nivāsā) and a verse recited when the sacrificial fire is kindled (sāmidhenīsu).

1. $mā+NyāT = pā+NyāT = pā+yuk+ya- = pā-y-yā-$; the regular form is: $mā+yāT = mī+yāT$ (8.4.85) = *mē-ya-* 'to be measured'.
2. $sam+ni+NyāT = sām-nāy+NyāT = sām-nāy-yā-$; in other senses $sam+ni+yāT = sām-nē-ya-$ 'to be led away'.
3. $ni+ci+NyāT = ni-cāy+NyāT = ni-kāy-yā-$; in other senses $ni-cē-ya-$ 'to be heaped or piled'.
4. $dhā+NyāT = dhā+yuk+yā+TāP = dhā-y-yā$ (7.3.33); in other senses $dhā+yāT = dhī+yāT$ (6.4.85) = *dhē-ya-* 'to be held or sustained'.

3.1.130 1 kuṇḍa-pāy-ya- 2 saṁ-cāyyaṇ

(The irregular forms) kuṇḍa-pāy-ya- and saṁ-cāy-yā- [derived with kṛtya 95 affixes yāT 97 and NyāT 124] do denote names of particular sacrifices (krātau).

1. *kuṇḍ-ena pī-yā-te asmīn* = *kuṇḍa-θ¹+pā+yāT* = *kuṇḍa-pā-yuK+ya-* = *kuṇḍa-pā-y-ya-*; but in other meanings *kuṇḍa-pā+LyuT* = *kuṇḍa-pāna-* 'drinking from a pot'.
2. *saṁ+ci+NyāT* = *saṁ-cay+NyāT* = *saṁ-cāy-yā-* in other meanings *saṁ+ci+yāT* = *saṁ-cē-ya-* 'to be heaped or piled'.

3.1.131 agnaū 1 pari-cāy-yā= 2 upa-cāy-yā- 3 saṁūhyāḥ

(The irregular forms) pari-cāy-yā, upa-cāy-yā- and saṁ-ūh-yā- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyāT 124] are introduced to denote names of certain ritual fires (agnau).

1. *pari/upa+ci+NyāT* = *pari/upa-cay+NyāT* = *pari-/upa-cāy-yā-*; in other meanings *pari-cē-ya-/upa-cē-ya* 'to be heaped all around/near'.
2. *saṁ+vah+NyāT* = *saṁ+uh+NyāT* (irregular vocalization) = *saṁ-ūh-yā-* (irregular replacement of short by long vowel); in other meanings: *saṁ-vāh-yā-* 'to be carried well'.

3.1.132 1 cit-yā= 2 agni-cit-yé ca

(The irregular forms) cit-yā- and agni-cit-yā- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1] yā are introduced [to denote the names of certain ritual fires 131].

1. *cī-yā-te asaū* = *cī+tuK+yā-* = *cī-t-yā-*; in other meanings *cī+yāT* = *cē-ya-* 'to be heaped or piled'.
2. *agni-h cī-yā-te asyām* = *agni+θ¹+cī+tuK+yā+TāP* = *agni-cī-t-yā-*.

The affix [yā] indicated here is not among primary affixes listed in Ast. but mentioned in the vṛtti to explain the irregularity in accent.

3.1.133 1 NvuL- 2 tṛC-au

[The kṛt 93 affixes 1] NvuL and tṛC are introduced [after 2 all verbal stems 91].

1. *kṛ+NvuL* = *kār-aka-* (7.1.1; 2.115) 'doer, performer'.
2. *kṛ+tṛC* = *kar-tṛ-* 'agent, doer'.

With this section only kṛt affixes are introduced denoting the agent (3 4.67).

3.1.134 ¹nándi-²gráhi-³pacá=ādibhyaḥ ¹Lyu-²Nīni-³áC-aḥ

[The kft 93 affixes 1] Lyu, Nīni and áC are respectively (1.3.10) introduced [after 2 the classes of verbal stems 91] beginning with nand+NíC, gráh- and pac- [to denote the agent (3.4.47)].

Actually in the Gaṇapāṭha it is not the verbal stems that are included in these classes but their derived forms.

1. *nánd+NíC+Lyu* = *nánd-θ+ana-* (6.1.193; 4.51; 7.1.1) 'one who delights'.
2. *gráh+Nīni* = *gráh-in-* 'who seizes or holds'.
3. *pac+dC* = *pac-d-* 'who cooks'.

3.1.135 ¹iK=upadha=²jñā-³prī-⁴kir-aḥ Ká-h

[The kft 93 affix 1] Ká is introduced [after 2 stems 91] containing iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) as penultimate, and jñā- 'know' (IX 36), prī- 'please, love' (IX 2) and kṛ- 'scatter' (VI 116) [to denote the agent (3.4.67)].

1. *vi-kṣip+Ká-* = *vi-kṣip-d-* 'scatterer'. Similarly *budh+Ká-* = *budh-d-* 'knower'; *kṛd-d-* 'lean'.
2. *jā-nā-ti* = *jñā+Ká* = *jñθ+d* (6.4.64) = *jñ-d-* 'knower'.
3. *prī+Ká-* = *prī-d-* (6.4.77) 'dear'.
4. *kṛ+Ká-* = *kir-d-* (7.1.100) 'scatterer, strewer'.

3.1.136 āT-aś ca=upasarge

[The kft 93 affix 1 Ká 135] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in (1.1.72)] the phoneme long [°-ā], co-occurring with preverbs (upasargé).

Prior exception to Na (141) below. *pra+sthā+Ká-* = *pra-sthθ+d-* = *pra-sth-d-* 'who abides in'; *su+glai+Ká* = *su-glā+Ká-* = *su-glθ+d-* = *su-gl-d-* 'very tired or weary'.

3.1.137 ¹pā-²ghrā-³dhmā-⁴dheṭ-⁵dṛś-aḥ Śáḥ

[The kft 93 affix 1] Śa is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] pā- 'drink' (I 972), ghrā- 'smell' (I 973), dhmā- 'blow, inflate' (I 974), dheṭ- 'drink' (I 951) and dṛś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [to denote the agent 3.4.67, when co-occurring with preverbs 136].

1. *ud+pā+Śá-* = *ut-pib-d* (7.3.78) 'drinking out'
2. *ud+ghrā+Śá-* = *uj=jighr-d-* (7.3.78; 6.4.40) 'smelling out'.
3. *ud+dhmā+Śá-* = *ud-dham-d-* (7.3.78) 'blowing out'.

4. *ud+dhēṭ+Śā-* = *ud-dhay-ā-* (6.1.78) 'drinking out'.

5. *ud+āṛś+Śā-* = *ut=paśy-ā-* 'seeing out'.

The marker Ś of the affix indicates that it is *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113), bringing into operation 7.3.37, replacing the verbal stems by their substitutes introduced therein.

3.1.138 *án-upasargāt*=¹*limpA*-²*vindā*-³*dhār-í*-⁴*pār-í*-⁵*vedí*-⁶*ud-ej-í*-⁷*cet-í*-⁸*sāt-í*-⁹*sāh-í*-*bhyaś ca*

[The kft 93 affix Śa 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *limp-* 'smear' (VI 139), *vind-* 'gain' (VI 138), *dhār-í* (= *dhṛj+ṆíC* VI 119) 'carry', *pār-í* 'cross over' (X 363), *ved-í* 'proclaim, (X 168), *ud-ej-í* (= *ej+ṆíC* I 253) 'shake', *cet-í* 'perceive, (X 135), *sāt-í* 'give pleasure, please' and *sāh-í* 'support' (X 287), when not co-occurring with preverbs (*án-upasargāt*) [to denote the agent 3.4.87].

1. *limp-a-ti* = *lip+Śā-* = *li-nuM-p+ā-* (7.1.59) 'plasterer', but *pra+lip+Kā-* - *pra-lip-ā-*.
2. *vid+Śā-* = *vi-n-d-ā-* 'gainer', but *ko-vid-ā-* 'learned'.
3. *dhār-ay-a-ti* = *dhār-i+Śā-* = *dhāri+ŚaP+ā-* = *dhār-ay-ā-* 'carrying, bearing'.
4. *pār-ay-ā-* 'carrying across'.
5. *ved-ay-ā-* 'proclaimer'.
6. *ud-ej-ay-ā-* 'agitator, shaker'.
7. *cet-ay-ā-* 'giver of pleasure'.
8. *sāt-ay-ā-* 'aide, supporter, helper, assistant'.
9. *sāh-ay-ā-* 'supporting, causing to bear'.

3.1.139 ¹*dā-dā-ti*=²*dā-dhā-ty-or vibhāṣā*

[The kft 93 affix 1 Śa 137] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *dā-* 'give' (III 9) and *dhā-* 'bear, nourish' (III 10) [when not co-occurring with preverbs 138 to denote the agent 3.4.87].

1. *dā-dā-ti* = *dā+Śā-* = *dā+Ślu+ā-* = *da-dā+ā-* = *da-dḥ-ā-* (2.4.75; 3.1.68; 8.1.10; 4.1.11; 7.4.59) = *da-d-ā-/dā+Na-* (141) = *dā+yuK+a* (7.3.33) = *dā-y-ā-* 'donor, supporter'; but *pra+dā+Ka-* (136) = *pra-dḥ+ā-* = *pra-dā-*.
2. *dā-dhā-ti* = *dhā+Śā-* = *da-dh-ā-/dhā+Nā-* = *dhā-y-ā-* 'bearer, supporter; nourisher'. But *pra+dhā+Kā-* = *pra-dh-ā-*.

3.1.140 jvāl-iti=kās-antebhyaḥ=Nāḥ

[The kft 93 affix 1] Nā is [optionally 139 introduced after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with jvāl- 'shine, burn' (I 884) and ending with kās- 'go, move' (I 913) [to denote the agent 3.4.67 when not co-occurring with preverbs 138].

This is an exception to áC (134 above). *jvāl+Nā/dC* = *jvāl-d-/jvāl-d-* 'burning, shining', but *pra+jvāl+dC* = *pra-jvāl-d-* 'flaring up, shining brightly'.

3.1.141 ¹śyā-²āT=³vyadhĀ=⁴ā-sru-⁵sām-sru-⁶āti-iN=⁷áva-sā=⁸áva-hṛ-⁹lihĀ-¹⁰śliṣĀ-¹¹śvas-as ca

[The kft 93 affix 1 Nā 140] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] syā- (= śyaiN I 1012) 'go move', stems (ending in 1.1.72) the phoneme long [ā] and vyadh- 'pierce' (IV 79), ā+sru- and sām+sru- 'flow' (I 987), āti+iN- 'go beyond, transgress' (II 36),áva+sā- (= so- IV 39) 'terminate, end',áva+hṛ- 'take down' (I 947), lih- 'lick' (II 6), śliṣ- 'embrace, clasp' (IV 77), śvas- 'breathe' (II 80) [to denote the agent 3.4.67].

1. *śyai+Nā* = *śyā+Nā* (6.1.45) = *śyā+yuK+a-* = *-śyā-y-d-, prati-śyā-y-d-* 'frost'.
2. stems ending in [°-ā]: *dā-y-d-, dhā-y-d-* (139). The verbal stem [śyā-] comes under this category, but is separately mentioned in order to block out the prior exception 136 above so that this affix is introduced after this stem even when it co-occurs with preverbs.
3. Similarly: *vyādh-d-* 'hunter', *śrāv-d-* 'discharge', *sām-srāv-d-* 'conflux', *aty-āy-d-* 'transgression', *áva-sāy-d-* 'termination, end', *áva-hār-d-* 'taking down', *lih-d-* 'licker', *śliṣ-d-* 'clasper, embracer', *śvas-d-* 'breath'.

3.1.142 ¹du-²ny-or ān-upasarge

[The kft 93 affix Nā 140 is introduced after 2 the verbal stems 91] du- 'burn' (V 10) and nī- 'lead' (I 950) when not co-occurring after preverbs (ān-upasarge).

du-nó-ti iti = *du+Nā* = *dāv-d-* (7.2.115) 'forest fire', but

pra+du+dC (134) = *pra-dāv-d-*; *ny-a-ti iti* = *nī+Nā* = *nāy-d-* 'leader', but *pra+nī+aC* = *pra-nāy-d-* 'love, lover'.

3.1.143 vibhāṣā grāheḥ

[The kṛt 93 affix 1 Na 140] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] grāh- 'seize, grasp, take hold of' (IX 61).

Exception to 4C (134). $grāh + Nā/dC = grāh-d-/grah-d-$. This is an ordered or regulated option (vyavasthā-vibhāṣā) whereby $grāh-d-$ is used to denote a marine animal like a shark or killer whale, while $grah-d-$ denotes a planet.

3.1.144 gehé Kāḥ

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] Kā is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91 grāh- 143] to denote a house (gehé).

$grāh + ká = grh-d-$ (6.1.16) 'house'.

3.1.145 śilpín-ī ṢvuN

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] ṢvuN is introduced [after a verbal stem 91] to denote an artisan (śilpín-)

By virtue of a vārtaka this rule is restricted to the verbal stems $nṛt-$ 'dance' (IV 9), $khán-$ 'dig, excavate' (I 927) and $ránj-$ 'dye, color' (I 865); the marker [Ṣ] of the affix denotes that the feminine affix [NfS] is introduced to generate a feminine stem: $nṛt + ṢvuN = nart-aka-$ 'dancer'; $+NfS = nart-akṇ-f = nart-ak-f$ 'female dancer'. Similarly $khán-aka-$ m./ $khan-ak-f$ 'excavator, digger'; $raj-aka-/raj-ak-f$ 'washerwoman/laundress'.

3.1.146 gas thakaN

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] thakaN is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] $gā$ (= $gai-$ I 965) 'sing' [to denote an artisan 145].

$gāy-a-ti$ iti $gai + thakaN = gā-thaka-/gāthi-k-a$ f. 'singer'.

3.1.147 Nyuṭ ca

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] Nyuṭ is also (ca) [introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 $gā-$ 146 to denote an artisan 145].

$gai + Nyuṭ = gā + yṛk + āna-$ (7.3.33) = $gāy-āna-$ m. $+Nṛp$ (4.1.15) = $gāy-anṇ + ṛ$ (6.4.148) = $gāy-ān-J$ f. 'singer',

3.1.148 *hāś ca ¹vrīhī-²kālāyoh*

[The kft 93 affix 1 *NyuT* 147] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] *hā* (= O-*hā*-K *tyāge*, O-*hā*-N̄ *gatau* III 8,7) to denote (respectively 1.3.10) rice (*vrīhī*-) and time or season (²-*kālāyoh*).

1. *ja-hā-tī udakām* = *hā+NyuT* = *hā+yuk+āna* (7.3.33) = *hā-y-āna*- 'a variety of rice'.
2. *ñi-hī-tē bhāvān* = = *hā+NyuT* = *hāy-āna*- 'year (because it passes through all seasonal states)'.

3.1.149 ¹*pru-²ṣṭ-³lv-aḥ sam-abhi-hāré vuN*

[The kft 93 affix 1] *vuN* is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *pru*- 'go' (I 1008), *ṣṭ*- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) and *lv*- 'cut, reap' (IX 13) to denote excellence (*sam-abhi-hāré*).

1. *pru+vuN* = *pró+aka*- (8.3.84) = *prāv-aka*- (7.1.78) 'one who proceeds well'.
2. *ṣṭ+vuN* = *sāv-aka*- 'who moves or flows well'.
3. *lv+vuN* = *lāv-aka*- 'an excellent reaper'.

3.1.150 *āśīṣ-i ca*

[The kft 93 affix 1 *vuN* 149] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91] to express benediction (*āśīṣ-i*).

ḡṽ-a-tāt 'may (one) live' = *ḡṽ+vuN* = *ḡṽ-aka*-.

3.2.1 kārmaṇ-i=āN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] āN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with a nominal padā functioning as the direct object (kārmaṇ-i).

kumbh-dm kar-o-ti = kumbha-θ¹+kṛ+āN = kumbha-kār-d- (7.2.115) 'a potter';
kāṇḍ-am lu-nā-ti = kāṇḍa-lāv-d- 'a branch cutter'; *véd-am adhṛ-te =*
veda+adhi+āy-d- = vedādhyaḍy-d- 'a student of Veda'.

3.2.2 ¹hvā-²vā-³amaś ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 āN 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] hvā- (= hveN I 1057) 'challenge', vā- (= veN I 1055)/ 'weave' and mā(N) 'measure' (IV 34) [co-occurring with a nominal padā serving as (its) direct object 1].

This is a prior exception to 3 below, blocking out affix Ká.

1. *svarg-dm hudy-a-ti = svarga+θ¹+vhe+āN = svarga+hvā+yuk-d-* - *svarga-hvā-y-d-* (6.1.45; 7.3.33) 'invoker of heaven'.
2. *tāntu+am +ve+ŚaP+tiP = tantu+θ¹+vā-y-d-* 'weaver'.
3. *dhānyā+am mā+ŚyaN+te = dhānya-θ¹+mā+āN = dhānya-mā-y-d-* 'corn-measurer'.

3.2.3 āTah=ān-upa-sarge Káh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Ká is introduced [after 1.2. a verbal stem 1.2 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme long [° -ā] when not co-occurring after a preverb (ān-upa-sarge), [but with a nominal pada functioning as (its) direct object 1].

Exception to āN (1 above). *gó+am dā+Ślu+tiP = go+θ¹+dā+Ká- = go-dθ+d- = go-dā-* 'donor of a cow'; similarly *kambala-dā-* 'donor of a blanket', *angūli+am trai+Śap+te = anguli-tr-d-* 'thimble', but *gó+Śas sam+dā+Ślu+tiP = go-θ¹+sam=dā+aN = go-sam-dā-y-d-* 'ceremonious donor of kine'.

3.2.4 sUP-i sthāḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká 3] is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sthā- 'stand, remain' (I 975), co-occurring after a nominal padā (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet.

This sūtra is divided into two parts by a process called yoga-vibhāgá 'splitting of a rule into parts' : [sUPi], which yields the following rendering: "The kft affix Ká

is introduced after verbal stems ending in [*-ā] when co-occurring with nominal stems ending in a sUP triplet¹⁰: *duā-bhyām pṛṣ-a-ti* = *duf+bhyām pā+Śap+tiP* = *dvi+θ¹+pā+Kā* = *div-pṛṣ-a-* = *dvi-p-ā-* 'elephant' and similarly *pāda-p-ā-* 'a tree'. The second half [stah] is then construed as above; this provides for the operation of this affix in generating both agent and action nouns: (a) agent noun: *sam-ē tisth-a-ti* = *sama-θ¹+sthā+Kā* = *sama-sth-ā-* 'remaining at the same level, even'; (b) action noun (bhāve): *ākṣā-nām utthānam* = *ākhu+θ¹+ut-sthā+Kā* = *ākṣā-ith-ā-* 'swarming of rats or moles'. The second sUP triplet occurs with the nominal padā in the case of transitive verbal stems while the remaining sUP triplets occur in the case of intransitive verbal stems.

3.2.5 ¹tundā-²śokāy-oḥ ¹pāri-mṛjā=²āpa-nud-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kā 3 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *pāri+mṛj-* 'cleanse, wipe off' (II 57) and *āpa-nud-* 'drive away' (VI 2) co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) with the nominal padās *tundā-* 'navel' and *śokā-* 'grief' [functioning as (their) direct objects 1].

1. *tundā+am pāri-mṛj+θ¹+tiP* (2.4.72) = *tundā+θ¹+pāri-mṛj+Kā* = *tunda-pāri-mṛj-ā-* 'a sluggish person (lit. one who cleanses or rubs the navel)'; in other meanings: *tunda-pāri-mārj-ā-* (1) by a vārttika.
2. *śoka+am āpa-nud+Śa+ti* = *śoka+θ¹+āpa-nud+Kā* = *śokāpa-nud-ā-* 'harbinger of joy', but in other senses: *śokāpa-nod-ā-* 'remover of grief'.

3.2.6 ¹pré ¹dā-²jñā-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kā is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *dā-* 'give' (III 9) and *jñā-* 'know' (IX 36) co-occurring after the preverb *prā-* " (*pré*) [and a nominal padā functioning as (their) direct object 1].

Exception to āN. 1.

1. *sārva+am prā+dā+Ślu+tiP* = *sarva-θ¹-prā-dā+Kā* = *sarva-prā-d-ā-* 'giving everything or all', but *go-sam-dā-y-ā-* (3 above).
2. *pāthin+am prā+jñā+Sna+tip* = *pathin-θ¹+prā-jñā+Kā* = *pathiθ-prā-jñā-ā-* (6.4.64; 8.2.7) = *pathi-prā-jñā-ā-* 'who knows the road well'.

3.2.7 sām-i khyāḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kā 3 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *khyā-* 'proclaim, speak' (II 7) co-occurring after the preverb *sām-* " [and a nominal padā functioning as its object 1].

Exception to āN. 1. *gō+am sām-khyā+θ¹+te* = *go-θ¹+sam-khyā+Kā* = *go-sam-khy-ā-* 'cowherd'.

There are two verbal stems [khyā] 'proclaim' (II 51) and 'speak' (II 7) which is a substitute morpheme (dhatv-ādeśa) for [cakṣ-] (II 7). The *vytti* indicates that [khyā] in this rule refers to the latter; however both could yield the same meaning.

3.2.8 'gā²poḥ=Ṭák

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṭák is introduced [after 1.2. the verbal stems 1.91] gā- (=gai- I 965) 'sing' and pā- 'drink' (I 972) [not co-occurring after a preverb 3, but with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1].

Exception to Ká (3 above).

1. *sāman+am gai+ŚaP+tiP* = *sāman+θ¹+gā+Ṭák* = *sāmaθ+gθ+d-* = *sāma-gā-* 'singer of sāman' m., and with [NtP 4.1.15] *sāma-gθ-ī* f.
2. *sūrā+am pā+ŚaP+tiP* = *sūrā+θ¹+pθ+d-* = *sūrā-p-d-* m./ 'p-f f. 'wine-bibber, drunkard'.

3.2.9 hār-a-ter ān-ud-yamane=áC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] áC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] hṛ- 'remove, take away' (I 947) [co-occurring after a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] to denote a meaning other than 'raising' (ān-ud-yamane).

Exception to āN (1). *āśśā+am hṛ+ŚaP+tiP* = *āśśā+θ¹+hṛ+áC* = *āśśā-har-d-* 'inheritor, partner', but *bhārā+am hār-a-ti* = *bhāra+θ¹+hṛ+aN* = *bhāra-hār-d-* 'porter'.

3.2.10 váyas-i ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hṛ- 9, co-occurring with a nominal padá serving as its object 1] to denote age (váyas-i).

An exception to the constraint [ud-yámana] of 9 above. *ásti+am hār-a-ti* = *ásti+θ¹+hṛ+aC* = *ásti-har-d-h* *śva* 'a dog which has reached the age when it can lift a bone'; similarly *kāvaca+am hār-a-ti* = *kavaca-har-d-h* *kṣatriya-kumārā-h* 'a warrior boy who has reached the age for wearing a coat of mail'.

3.2.11 āN-i tāt-chīlye

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hṛ- 9] co-occurring after preverb āN [and a nominal pada functioning as its object 1] to denote addiction or regular disposition (tāt-chīlye).

púspāṇi ā+har-a-ti- = *púspa+θ¹+ā-hṛ+dC* = *púspā-har-ā-* 'accustomed or habituated to pluck flowers', but *bhārdm ā-har-a-ti* = *bhār-hār-ā(N)* 'occasional porter'.

3.2.12 árh-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] árh- 'deserve, merit, honor' (I 776) [co-occurring after a nominal pada functioning as its object 1].

Exception to áN (1). *pūjā+am árh-a-ti* = *pūjā+θ¹+arh+dC+TāP* = *pūjā-rh-ā brāhmaṇf* 'a brahmin lady deserving respect'. If [áN] were the affix, the feminine would have been with the affix[ÑP] (4.1.15) instead of [TāP].

3.2.13 ¹stámba-²kárṇay-oḥ ¹rámi-²jáp-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] rám- 'sport' (I 906) and jáp- 'mutter' (I 425) co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) with the nominal stems stámba- 'clump of grass' and kárṇa- 'ear' [ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 4].

(a) *stámbe rám-a-te* = *stambe+rám+dC* = *stambe-ram-ā-* 'an elephant (lit. delighting in a clump of grass)'; non-replacement of sUP affix '-i' by 6.3.14. In other meanings *stambe+ram+tfC* (1.133) = *stámbe ran-tf-*. *kárṇa+ti jáp-a-ti* = *karṇe-jap-ā-* 'slanderer (lit. 'one who whispers in the ear')'; in other meanings *karṇe jap+ti+tf-*. Constraints on the meanings by a vārttika.

3.2.14 sám-i dhāt-oḥ saṁjñā-y-ām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2] a verbal stem (dhāt-oḥ) co-occurring with the particle sám 'goodness, auspiciousness' to denote a proper name (saṁjñā-yām).

sám+kar-ā-ti = *sam+kṛ+dC* = *sam-kar-ā-* 'n.pr. of the god of auspiciousness, Siva', *sám+bhā+dC* = *sam-bhav-ā-* 'id'. The repetition of the word [dhātu] here when it was recurring from the governing rule 1.91 is for the purpose of blocking out the operation of 20 below in connection with the verbal stem [kṛN], and the introduction of [ÑP] (4.1.15) as a feminine affix. In the present case the feminine

affix is [TāP] (4.i.4): $\acute{s}am+kar-\acute{a}+T\acute{a}P = sam-kar-\acute{a}$ 'n.pr. of a female mendicant/ascetic'.

3.2.15 adhikāraṇe śeteḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] $\acute{s}t(N)$ - 'lie down, sleep' (II 22) [co-occurring with a nominal padá (ending in 1.1.71) a sUP triplet 4] functioning as a locus or substratum (adhikāraṇe).

$kha+f\acute{s}e-te = kha+\emptyset^1+\acute{s}t+aC = kha-\acute{s}ay-\acute{a}$ 'resting in the sky'; similarly $g\acute{a}rt-e \acute{s}e-te = garta-\acute{s}ay-\acute{a}$ 'lying in a hole'.

3.2.16 cáreṣ Táh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Táh is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] cár- 'go, wander' (I 591) [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 4 functioning as a locus/substratum 15].

$kúru-su\ cár-a-ti = kuru+\emptyset^1+car+T\acute{a} = kuru-car-\acute{a}$ m./+ '-NtP = kuru-car-f f. 'wandering in the Kúru country'.

3.2.17 ¹bhikṣā-²śenā=³ādāye-ṣu ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Táh 16 s introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 cár- 16] also [when co-occurring with the nominal padás] bhikṣā 'alms', śenā 'army' and ādā-ya 'having taken' [functioning in meanings other than the locus or substratum].

1. $bhikṣā+am\ cár-a-ti = bhikṣā+\emptyset^1+car+T\acute{a} = bhikṣā-car-\acute{a}$ m./ '-car-f f. 'alms-person (who collects alms by moving from place to place)'.
2. $śenā+am\ cár-a-ti = senā-car-\acute{a}$ m./ '-car-f f. 'person enlisted in the army'.
3. $a+da+Kiv\acute{a} = \acute{a}-dā-ya\ cár-a-ti = \acute{a}-dā-ya-car-\acute{a}$ m./ '-car-f f. 'who moves or eats after receiving alms'.

A separate rule has been formed to indicate that the (upapadās) mentioned here are not covered by the preceding rule, thus blocking out the [adhikāraṇa kāraka] by implication.

3.2.18 ¹púras=²agrátas=³ágre-ṣu sart-eh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 sṛ- 'move, flow' (I 982, III 17) co-occurring with the nominal padás púr-as 'in front', agra-tás 'ib.', ágr-e 'ib'.

purás sár-a-ti = *puras+sar+Ṭá* = *purah-sar-á-* m./ '-sar-f f. (8.3.15) 'leader';
similarly *agra-tah-sar-á-* m./ '-sar-f f., *agre-sar-á-* m./ '-sar-f f.

3.2.19 púrv-e kartár-l

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 sṛ- 18 co-occurring with the nominal padá] púrva- 'front' [ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 4] functioning as (its) agent (kartár-i).

púrva+sU sár-a-ti = *púrva+Ṭ¹+sar-(Ṭ)á-* m./ '-sar-f f. 'leading, moving in front',
but *púrva+am (des-ám) sár-a-ti* = *púrva-sár-á(N)* 'moving eastwards'.

3.2.20 kṛÑ-ah=¹hetú-²táčchīlya-³ānulomye-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in (1.1.72) the second sUP triplet] when the agent is characterized as the cause (hetú-) of the object or is habitually performing the activity (táč-chīlya-) or is complying (ānulomya).

1. hetu: *yásas+am kar-o-ti* = *yásas+kṛ+Ṭa+ÑIP* (4.1.15) *yásas-kar-f* *vidyā* 'wisdom, producing renown'.

2. táčchīlya: *śrāddha+am kár-o-ti* = *śrāddha-kar-á-* 'habitually performing śrāddhá'.

3. ānulomya: *praiṣ-ám kar-ó-ti* = *praiṣa-kar-á* 'who carries out orders, obedient servant'.

But *kumbh-ám kar-ó-ti* = *kumbha-kár-á(N)* (1).

3.2.21 ¹dívā-²vibbhā-³nísā-⁴prabhā-⁵bhās-⁶kārā=⁷ánta=⁸ān-anta=⁹ādī-¹⁰bahú-¹¹nāndī-¹²kīm-¹³līpi-¹⁴lībi-¹⁵balf-¹⁶bhākti-¹⁷kartf-¹⁸citrā-¹⁹kṣétra-²⁰samkhyā-²¹jaṅghā-²²bāhú-²³āhan=²⁴yād=²⁵tād=²⁶dhānus=²⁷āruṣ-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- 20] co-occurring with the following nominal padás [(ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets 1,4] dívā 'day', vibbhā 'lustre', nísā 'night', prabhā

'splendor', bhās- 'light', kārá- 'work', ānta- 'end', ān-anta- 'endless, infinite', ādi- 'beginning', bahú- 'numerous, many', nāndī 'benediction', kīm- 'what?', lípi-, líbi- 'writing', balī- 'offering', bhākti- 'devotion', kartṛ- 'agent, doer', citrá- 'painting', kṣétra- 'field', saṁkhyā 'number-name', jāṅghā 'thigh', bāhú- 'arm', āhan- 'day', yád- 'which, what', tát- 'that', dhānuṣ- 'bow' and āruṣ- 'wound'.

The words [kārman-i 1 and sUP- 4] both occur in this rule and apply as required in each case. [sUP-i 4] applies only in the case of dīva (= āhn-i). The forms generated are: *dīva-kar-ā-*, *vibhā-kar-ā-*, *prabhā-kar-ā-*, *bhās-kar-ā-*, *āhan+ky+Tā* = *āhas-kar-ā-* (8.2.68) 'sun (= maker of day)'; *niśā-kar-ā-* 'moon (= night-maker)'; *kāra-kar-ā-* 'agent'; *antā-kar-ā-* 'death'; *an-anta-kar-ā-* 'magnifying infinitely'; *ādi-kar-ā-* 'founder, creator'; *bahū-kar-ā-* 'busy-body', 'nāndī-kar-ā- 'stage-manager'; *kīrṇ-kar-ā-* 'servant' *lipi-kar-ā-*, *libi-kar-ā-* 'scribe'; *balī-kar-ā-* 'sacrificer' *bhakti-kar-ā-* 'devotee'; *kartṛ-kar-ā-* 'agent'; *citra-kar-ā-* 'painter' *kṣetra-kar-ā-* 'cultivator, agriculturalist'; *eka-kar-ā-* 'doing one thing only'; *jāṅghā-kar-ā-* 'courier, runner'; *bāhū-kar-ā-* 'laborer'; *yat-kar-ā-* 'doing what'; *tat-kar-ā-* 'doing that'; *dhanuṣ-kar-ā-* 'maker of bows'; *aruṣ-kar-ā-* 'causing a wound'.

3.2.22 kārman-i bhṛt-au

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭā 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem kṛN̄ 20] co-occurring with the nominal padā kārman- 'action, work' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote 'hired for wages' (bhṛt-au).

kārman+am kar-ā-ti = *kārman+θ¹+kar-ā-* = *karmaθ-kar-ā-* (8.2.7) 'hired servant', but *karma-kār-ā(N)* (1) 'who works without wages, honorary worker'.

3.2.23 ná ¹śābda-²ślōka-³kalahā-⁴gāthā-⁵vaira-⁶cāṭu-⁷sūtra-⁸māntra-⁹padē-ṣu

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭā 16] is not introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem kṛN̄ 20] co-occurring with nominal padās śābda- 'word', ślōka- 'verse', kalahā- 'strife', gāthā 'song', vaira- 'enmity', cāṭu- 'flattery', sūtra- 'string, aphorism', māntra- 'sacred formula', padā- 'finished word' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

śābda+am kar-ā-ti = **śābda+θ¹+ky+Tā* = *śābda-kār-ā(N)* (1) 'grammarian (lit. maker of words)'; similarly *śloka-kār-ā-* 'poetaster' *kalaha-kār-ā-* 'quarrelsome person'; *gāthā-kār-ā-* 'song-writer'; *vaira-kār-ā-* 'causing enmity'; *cāṭu-kār-ā-* 'flatterer'; *sūtra-kār-ā-* 'author of sūtras'; *mantra-kār-ā-* 'seer, composer of mantras'; *padā-kār-ā-* 'composer of Pada-pāṭha (of a Veda)'.

3.2.24 ¹stambá-²śákṛt-or iN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] iN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛÑ- 20] co-occurring with the nominal padás stambá- 'clump of grass' and śákṛt- 'ordure' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

A vārttika restricts the operation of this rule to denote respectively rice and a calf.

stambá+am kar-ó-ti = *stamba-θ¹+kṛ+iN* = *stamba-kár-i-* 'rice which makes a clump'; similarly *śákṛt-kár-i-* 'a calf'; in other senses: *stamba-kār-á-*, *śákṛt-kār-á-*.

3.2.25 hárateḥ=¹dṛti-²nātháy-oḥ paśaú

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] iN 24 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] hṛ- 'take away, remove' (I 947) co-occurring with the nominal padás dṛti- 'a leather bag' and nāthá- 'master' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote a domestic animal (paśaú).

1. *dṛti+am hár-a-ti* = *dṛti+θ¹ hṛ+iN* = *dṛti-hár-i-* '(a draught animal) carrying a leather bag'.

2. *nātha-hár-i-* '(an animal) carrying the master'.

3.2.26 ¹phale-gráh-ir-²ātmam-bháriś ca

[The irregular forms] phale-gráh-i- and ātmam-bhár- are introduced [as derived with kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] iN 2r].

phalāni gṛh-nā-ti = *phala+θ¹+grah+iN* = *phal-e-gráh-i-* 'bearing fruit' (irregular sUP triplet Ñi).

ātmán+am+bhṛ+Ślu+tiP = *ātmán+θ¹+bhṛ+iN* = *ātmaθ+muM+bhár-i-* 'self-nourishing, selfish'.

3.2.27 chāndas-i ¹vánĀ-²sánĀ-³rákṣi-⁴máth-ām

In the domain of Chāndas [the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] iN 24 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ván-, sán- 'honor' (I 491-2), rákṣ- 'protect' (I 688) and máth- 'churn, agitate' (I 901) [co-occurring with nominal padás ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

brāhman+am ván-a-ti = *brāhman+θ¹+van+iN* = *brahmaθ¹+vān-i-* 'gains or honors brahman'; similarly: *gó+am+sán-a-ti* = *go-śán-i-* 'winning or honoring kine'; *páthin+am rákṣ-a-ti* = *pathiθ+θ¹+rákṣ-i-* 'road protector' and *hávīś+am+máth-a-ti* = *havis+θ¹+math+iN* = *havir-máth-i-* (3.2.86) 'churning or agitating the oblation'.

3.2.28 ejéh KHáŚ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KHáŚ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ej-í- (= ejṛ+ñIC I 253) 'agitate, shake' [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

The marker Ś in KHáŚ is to indicate that this affix belongs to the sárvadhātuka group (3.4.113), while KH operates an infixed increment myM to nominal stems ending in a vowel (6.3.87). $anḡá+am+ej+ñIC+ŚaP+tiP = anḡa+θ+ej-é+a+KHáŚ = anḡa+nyM+ej-áy-a+á = anḡa-m-ey-ay-á$ (6.1.97) 'shaking the limb' and similarly $jana-m-ey-ay-á$ 'causing men to tremble', 'n.pr. of a king'.

3.2.29 ¹nāsikā-²stánay-oh=¹dhmā-²dheṭ-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dhmā- 'blow, inflate' (1.974) and dheṭ- 'drink' (1 951) co-occurring with the nominal padás nāsikā 'nose' and stána- 'breast' respectively (1.3.10) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

A vārttika, however, blocks the operation of the meta-rule 1.3.10 by stating that [dhmā] co-occurs with both while dheṭ co-occurs only with [stana-]; this interpretation is derived from the fact that the dvandva compound [nāsikā-stanáy-oh] contravenes the operation of 2.2.34.

1. $nāsikā+am+dhmā+ŚaP+tiP = nāsikā+θ^1+dhama+ŚaP+KHáŚ = nāsika+myM+dhama-a+KHáŚ$ (6.4.94) = $nāsika-m-dham-á$ 'who blows through the nose'; similarly $nāsika-m-dhay-á$ 'who drinks through the nose'.
2. $stána+am+dheṭ+ŚaP+tiP = stana+θ^1+myM+dheṭ+a+kháŚ = stana-m-dhay-á$ 'an infant sucking the breast (of the mother)' m./ *-dhay-a+Nṛp (4.1.15) = *-dhay-f.

3.2.30 nāḍī-muṣṭi-y-ós ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 dhmā- and dheṭ- 29 co-occurring with the nominal padás] nāḍī 'tube, pipe' and muṣṭi- 'fist' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

Here also the reverse order in the dvandva cmpd. [nāḍī-muṣṭi-] contra 2.2.32 is interpreted as barring the operation of metarule 1.3.10 and both verbal stems co-occur with both upapadás.

1. $nāḍī+am+dhmā+ŚaP+tiP = nāḍi+θ^1+myM+dhama+ŚaP+KHáŚ = nāḍi-m-dham-á$ (6.1.97) 'blowing through a pipe or reed'; similarly $nāḍi-m-dhay-á$ 'sucking through a reed or straw' (6.3.86).
2. $muṣṭi-m-dham-a$ 'blowing through the fist'; $muṣṭi-m-dhay-á$ 'sucking the fist'.

3.2.31 ud-l kûl-e ¹rujî-²vah-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ruj- 'break into pieces, destroy' (VI 123) and vah- 'carry, convey' (I 1053) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [and the nominal padá] kûla- 'bank' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

kûla+am+ud+ruj+Śap+tiP = *kûla+θ¹+m_uM+úd-ruj-a+kHáŚ* = *kûla-m-ud-ruj-d-* 'shattering the bank'; similarly *kûla-m-ud-vah-d-* 'overflowing the bank'.

3.2.32 ¹váha=²abhr-é lih-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] lih- 'lick' (II 6) co-occurring with [nominal padás] váha- 'shoulder' and abhrá- 'cloud' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

váha+am+lih+θ¹+tiP = *váha+θ¹+m_uM+lih+KHáŚ* = *váha-m-lih-d-* 'shoulder-licking (cow or bull, etc.)'; similarly *abhra-m-lih-d-* 'cloud-licking (wind)'.

3.2.33 parimāṇ-e pac-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pac- 'cook' (I 1045) co-occurring with [a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] denoting a measure (parimāṇe).

prasthá+am+pac-a-ti = *prasthá+θ¹+m_uM+pac-a+KHáŚ* = *prasthá-m-pac-d-* 'who cooks a prasthá measure' m., +TāP = *prasthá-m-pac-d* (4.1.4) f.

3.2.34 ¹mitá-²nakh-é ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pac- 33] also (ca) when co-occurring with (nominal padás) mitá- 'limited quantity' and nakhá- 'nail' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

mitá+am+pac-a-ti = *mitá+θ¹+m_uM+pac-a+KHáŚ* = *mitá-m-pac-d-h* *brāmana-h* 'a brahmin who cooks a limited quantity (of food)'; similarly *nakha-m-pac-d+TāP* = *nakha-m-pac-d* *yavāgā-h* 'rice gruel, scalding the thumb-nail'.

3.2.35 ¹vidhú=²áruṣ-oh=³tud-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] tud- 'bruise, vex' (VI 1) co-occurring with (nominal padás) vidhú- 'moon' and áruṣ- 'wound' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

vidhú+am+tud+Śá+tiP = *vidhu+θ¹+mṡM+tud-d+KHáŚ* = *vidhu-m-tud-d-* 'vexing (= eclipsing) the moon'; likewise *áruṣ+mṡM+tud+d+KHáŚ* = *aru-m-s+tud-d-* = *aru-mθ-tud-d-* (8.2.23) 'hurting the wound, painful, sore'.

3.2.36 ¹á-sūrya-²lalāṭay-oh-¹drśi-²tap-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] drś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) and tap- 'heat' (I 1034) co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) (with nominal padás) á-sūrya- 'what is not the sun' and lalāṭa- 'forehead' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

á-sūrya+am+drś+ŚaP+tiP = *a-sūrya+θ¹+mṡM+paśy-a+KHáŚ* = *a-sūrya-m-pasy-d+TāP* (4.1.4) = *asūrya-m-pasyāḥ rāja-dārāḥ* 'king's wives, not even seeing the sun'.

Similarly *lalāṭa+am+tāp-a+ti* = *lalāṭa+θ¹+mṡM+tap-a+KHáŚ* = *lalāṭa-m-tap-d-* 'burning or scorching the forehead (said of the sun)'.

The first derivative is irregular since the privative particle [náñ] in [á-sūrya-] is not connected with [sūrya-] but with [drś] as *sūryam ná páśy-a-nti* 'do not see the sun'. It is therefore called an [a-samartha-samāsā] since it contravenes 2.1.1.

3.2.37 ¹ugra-m-paśy-á=²ira-m-mad-á-³pāṇi-m-dhamāḥ

[The irregular forms] ugra-m-paśy-á- 'fierce-looking', ira-m-mad-a- 'delighting in liquors' and pāṇi-m-dham-á- 'where blowing into hands takes place' are introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28].

1. *ugra+am+paśy-a+ti* = *ugra-θ¹+mṡM+paśy-a+KHáŚ* = *ugra-m-paśy-d-* as an exception to 6N (1).
2. *iraya mād-ya+ti* = *irā+Tā+mad+ŚyaN+tiP* = *irā+θ¹+māḍ+ya=KHáŚ* = *ira+mṡM+mad+θ+d-* (with irregular θ replacement of the class-marker) (6.3.68) = *ira-m-mad-d-*.
3. *pāṇāyo dhmā-yānte esu* = *pāṇi+θ¹+mṡM+dham+ŚaP+KHáŚ* *pāṇi-m-dham-d+Jas pānthān-aḥ* 'crowded roads where one blows one's hands to attract attention'.

3.2.38 ¹priyá-²vásá-e vad-aḥ KHÁC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KHÁC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vad- 'speak' (I 1058), co-occurring with [the nominal padas] priyá- 'pleasant' and vásá- 'submission' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. $priyá+am+vad+ŚaP+tip = priyá+θ^1+muM+vad+KHdC = priyá-m-vad-a-$ 'affable, speaking pleasantly'.
2. $vásá+am+vad-a-ti = vásá+θ^1+muM+vad+KHdC = vásá-m-vad-á-$ 'obedient, submissive to the will of another'. The new affix KHÁC is introduced for the sake of the following sūtras; here it makes no difference if KHaŚ operates.

3.2.39 ¹dviṣāt-²pāray-os=tāpéh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] tāp-í (= tap- I 1034 + N(C)/tap- X 275) 'burn, scorch', co-occurring with (nominal padás) dviṣāt- 'hostile' and pára- 'adversary' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

$dviṣāt(t)+am+tāp-f+ŚaP+tiP - dviṣāt+θ^1+tāp-i+KHdC = dviṣāt+muM+tāp-θ+á-$ (6.4 51,94) = $dviṣa-m-t+tāp-á-$ (8.3.24) = $dviṣant-tāp-á-$ 'scourger of enemies'; similarly $para-m-tāp-á-$ 'chastiser of enemies'.

The geminated phoneme [t] of [dviṣāt(t)] is to block the operation of this rule in the case of the feminine derivative: $dviṣātīm tāp-á-y-a-ti = dviṣātI+tāp-á-$ where the feminine form is derived with the affix [NfP 4.1.8] from the masculine ending in affix [ŚatR].

3.2.40 vāc-í yama-ḥ=vrat-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yam- 'restrain' (I 1033), co-occurring with (the nominal padá) vāc- 'speech' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote a vow (vrat-é).

$vāc+am+yam+ŚaP+tip = vāc+θ^1+yam+KHdC = vāc+am$ (6.3.69) $+yam+á-$ = $vāc-am-yam-á-$ 'restrained in speech, silent (while observing a vow)'. Elsewhere $vāc+θ^1+yam+aN = vāg-yam-á-$ (8.1.30).

3.2.41 ¹púr=²sárvay-oh ¹dār-f-²sáh-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dār-f (= dā- IX 23+ÑiC) 'destroy' and sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905), respectively (1.3.10) co-occurring with (nominal padás) púr- 'city fort' and sarvā- 'all' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. *pur+am+dār-i+ŚaP+tiP* = *pur-θ¹+dār-i+KHáC* = *pur+am* (6.3.69)+*dar-θ-d-* (6.4.51,94) = *pur-am-dar-d-* 'destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra'.
2. *sárva+am+sáh-a-te* = *sarva-θ+sah+KHáC* = *sarva+myM+sah-d-* = *sarva-m-sah-d-* 'all-forbearing'.

3.2.42 ¹sarvā-²kūla=³abhrā-⁴kārīṣe-ṣu kās-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93] kās- 'injure, rub, polish' (I 716) co-occurring with (nominal padás) sarvā- 'all, kūla- 'bank', abhrā- 'cloud' and kārīṣa- 'cow-dung' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. *sárva+am+kās-a-ti* = *sarva+θ¹+kas+KHáC* = *sarva+myM+kas+d-* = *sarva-m-kas-d-* 'injuring everyone (said of a villain)'.
2. Similarly: *kūla-m-kas-d-*, *abhra-m-kas-d-*, *kārīṣa-m-kas-d-* 'corroding the bank (said of a river)'/ 'rubbing the clouds (said of a mountain)'/ 'carrying away cow-dung (said of a hurricane)'.

3.2.43 ¹meghā=²ṭti-³bhayé-ṣu kṛñ-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛñ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with (nominal padás) meghā- 'cloud', ṭti- 'misfortune' and bhayā- 'fear' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

- meghā+am+kṛ+d+ti* = *meghā+kṛ+KHáC* = *megha-m-kar-d-* 'producing clouds';
similarly: *ṭti-m-kar-d-* 'causing misfortune'; *bhaya-m-kar-d-* 'producing fear, fearsome'.

3.2.44 ¹kṣéma-²priyā-³madré-é áṆ ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38] and (ca) áṆ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛñ- 43] co-occurring with [nominal padás] kṣéma- 'peace, security, welfare', priyā- 'pleasure' and madrá- 'joy' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

$kṣéma+am+kar-ṭi = kṣéma+ṭ^1+muM+kr+KHáC = kṣema-m-kar-ḍ/$
 $kṣema-kār-a$ 'bestower of welfare/happiness'; similarly: $priya-m-kar-a-/$
 $priya-kār-ḍ; madra-m-kar-ḍ/madra-kār-ḍ.$

3.2.45 āśīt-e bhūv-aḥ ¹kāraṇa-²bhāváy-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū- 'become' (I 1), co-occurring with (the nominal padá) āśīta- 'satiated, sated'; functioning as an instrument (kāraṇa-¹) or denoting a state or condition (-bhāváy-oḥ).

1. kāraṇa: $āśīta-ḥ=bhūv-a-ti=anēna = āśīta+ṭ^1+bhū+KHáC = āśīta-m-bhau-ḍ$
 'what satisfies or satiates (such as rice)'.
2. bhāvé: $āśīta-sya bhūv-anam = āśīta-m-bhau-ḍm$ 'becoming satisfied, satiety'.

3.2.46 saṁjñā yām ¹bhṛ-²tṛ=³vṛ-⁴ji-⁵dhār-i-⁶sāh-⁷tapī-⁸dam-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhṛ- 'bear, nourish' (III 5), tṛ- 'cross over', (I 1018), vṛ- 'choose' (V 8), ji- 'conquer' (I 59), dhār-i (= dhṛ- I 948+N(C) 'hold', sāh- 'bear, endure' (I 905), tap- 'heat' (I 1034) and dam- 'tame, subdue' (IV 94) [co-occurring with nominal padás ending in sUP triplets 1.4] to denote names (saṁjñā-yām).

Both [kārmaṇ-i (1)] and [sUP-i (4)] recur here, covered by the cover term "nominal padás" as required by each particular context.

$viśva+am+bhṛ+kHáC = viśva+ṭ^1+muM+bhar-ḍ+TāP = viśva-m-bhar-ḍ$ 'the earth (bearing all)'; likewise $ratha+Tā+tār-a-ti = rātha-ṭ^1+tṛ+KHáC = ratha-muM+tār-ḍ = ratha-m-tār-ḍ$ 'n.pr. of a sāman'; $pātim vṛ-nu-té = pati-m-var-ḍ+TāP = pati-m-var-ḍ$ '(a maiden) ready to choose her husband'; $śātrūn jay-a-ti = śātru-m-jay-ḍ$ 'n.pr. of an elephant (lit. conquering enemies)'; $yugám dhār-ḍy-a-ti = yuga-m-dhar-ḍ$ 'n.pr. of a mountain'; $śātrum sáh-a-te = śātru-m-sah-ḍ$ 'n.pr. (lit. enduring enemies)'; similarly $śātru-m-tap-ḍ, ari-m-dam-ḍ$ 'proper names'.

3.2.47 gam-aś ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] gam- 'go' (I 1031) [co-occurring with nominal padás ending in a sUP triplet 4 to denote a name 46].

$bhuja+Tā+gam+ŚaP+tiP = bhuja+ṭ^1+gam+KHáC = bhuja-m-gam-ḍ$ 'snake'.

3.2.48 ¹ánta=²áty-anta=³adhva(n)-⁴dūra-⁵pār-á-⁶sarv-á- ⁷án-ante-ṣu Ḍá-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ḍá is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 gam- 47] co-occurring with (nominal padás) ánta- 'end', áty-anta- 'excessive', ádhvan- 'road', dūr-á 'far', pār-á 'across', sarv-á-, 'all', and án-anta- 'endless, infinite' [functioning as the direct object (i.e., ending in the second sUP triplet) 1].

ánta+am+gam+ṢaP+tiP = *ánta+ḥ¹+gam+Ḍá - anta-gḥḥ+á* (8.4.143) = *ánta-g-á-* 'gone to the end = thoroughly conversant'; and similarly: *áty-ánta-g-á-/adhvaḥ-g-á-* (8.2.7)/*dūra-g-á-/pāra-g-á-/sarva-g-á-/an-ánta-g-á-* respectively denoting 'going excessively fast/traveler, passenger or going far/going across/going everywhere/going on for ever'.

3.2.49 āśís-i han-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 48 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] to denote benediction (āśís-i).

śátrūn vadh-yāt 'may he destroy enemies' = *śátru+ḥ¹+han+Ḍá* = *śátru-hḥḥ-á* = *śátru-h-a-*; when benediction is not denoted: *śátru+han+áN* (1) = *śátru-ghāt-á-* (7.3.32,54) 'destroyer of enemies'.

3.2.50 āp-e ¹kléśa-²tāmas-oh

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 48 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with the preverb āpa- 'and [the nominal padás] kléśa- 'pain' and tāmas- 'darkness' [functioning as its object 1].

kléśam āpa-han-ti = *kléśa+ḥ¹+apa+han+Ḍá* = *kléśāpa-h-á-* 'painkiller'; similarly *tāmas+apa+han+Ḍá* = *tāma-rU+apa-hḥḥ+á-* = *tāmapa-h-á-* (8.2.86; 8.1.87,109,113) 'destroyer of darkness (an epithet of the sun)'.

The present rule is for the purpose of blocking out the constraint of benediction (49).

3.2.51 ¹kumār-á-²śīrṣáy-oh=Nínī-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Nínī is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padás) kumār-á- 'infant' and śīrṣá- 'head' [functioning as its object 1].

kumār-á+am han+ḥ¹+ti = *kumāra+ḥ¹+han+Nínī* = *kumāra-ghāt-in-* (7.3.32,54)

'child-killer, infanticide'; similarly *śīrṣa-ghāt-in-* 'executioner'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.52 lakṣaṇ-é ¹jāyā-²pāty-oh=Ṭāk-

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṭāk is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padās) jāyā 'wife' and pāti- 'husband' [functioning as its objects 1] to denote an omen [lakṣaṇ-é].

The word [lakṣaṇá-] is here interpreted as a secondary derivative from *lakṣaṇa+d* (5.2.127) = *lakṣaṇa-vat-* so as to give the sense 'an agent noun possessed of a sign which is the omen for the prognostication of the derived form'.

jāyā+am+han-θ¹+ti = *jāyā+han+Ṭāk* = *jāyā+hñn+d* (6.4.98) = *jāyā-ghn-d* (7.3.54) 'destined to kill his wife (on account of a sign [lakṣaṇa] such as a mole (cf. 53) on the body)'. Similarly *pāti-ghn-d+ñIP* (4.1.15) = *pāti-ghn-f* 'destined to kill the husband (on account of a sign [lakṣaṇá-] such as a line on the palm serving as an omen)', cf. 53 below.

3.2.53 á-manuṣya-kartṛk-e ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭāk 52 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49 co-occurring with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] when the agent of the verbal stem is not a human being (á-manuṣya-kartṛk-e).

jāyā-ghn-d-ḥ tilakālakā-d-ḥ (52) 'a mole (on his body) predicting a wife-murderer'; similarly *pāti-ghn-f pāñi-rekhā* 'a line on the palm (of the wife) indicating a murderess of the husband' (52). Likewise *pitta-ghn-am ghytām* 'ghee or clarified butter as an antidote for bile' and *śleṣma-ghn-d-m mādhu* 'honey as an antidote for phlegm'.

3.2.54 śákt-au ¹hastí(n)=²kapāṭay-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭāk 52 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padās) hastín- 'elephant' and kapāṭa- 'door, gate' [functioning as its objects 1] to denote capacity (śákt-au).

hastín+am+hñn-ti = *hastín+θ¹+han+Ṭāk* = *hastíñ+ghn-d-* 'capable or strong enough to kill an elephant'; similarly *kapāṭa-ghn-d-* 'capable or strong enough to break the door (said of a thief)'.

3.2.55 ¹pāṇi-gh-á-²tāḍa-gh-aú śilpín-i

(The irregular forms) pāṇ-gh-á- and tāḍa-gh-á- are introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix Ták 52] to denote artisans (śilpín).

pāṇīnā hán-ti = *pāṇi+θ¹+han+Tak* = *pāṇi+hθθ* (irregular)+*á* = *pāṇi-gh* (irregular)+*á* = *pāṇi-gh-á-* 'a drummer (beating with the hand/hands)'.

Similarly *tāḍa-gh-á-* 'a metal-smith'.

With reference to non-artisans: *pāṇim hanti* = *pāṇi-ghat+áN* 'striking the hand'.

3.2.56 ¹āḍhyá-²subhága-³sthūlá-⁴palitá-⁵nagná-⁶andhá-⁷priyé-ṣu Cvi[=arthe-ṣu=á-Cvau kṛÑ-ah káran-e KHyuN

[The kft 1.93 affx 1.1] KHyuN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with (nominal padás) āḍhyá- 'rich', su-bhága- 'fortunate', sthūlá- 'large', palitá- 'grey', nagná- 'naked', andhá- 'blind' and priyá- 'agreeable, pleasant' [functioning as its direct objects 1] denoting an instrument (káran) in the sense of the affix Cvi (Cvi[=arthe-ṣu) though not ending in it (á-Cvau).

án-āḍhyam āḍhyám kar-ó-ti anéna = *āḍhya+θ¹+kr+KHyuN* = *āḍhya+muM+kar-an-am* = *āḍhya-m-kár-anam* 'enriching'; similarly: *subhaga-m-káranam* / *sthūla-m-kár-anam* / *palita-m-kár-anam* / *nagna-m-kár-anam* / *andha-m-kár-anam* to denote respectively 'making fortunate/enlarging/making grey/stripping/making blind'; *priya-m-kár-anam* 'making pleasant'.

3.2.57 kartár-i bhúv-ah ¹KHiṣṇúC-²KHukaÑ-au

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] KHiṣṇúC and KHukaÑ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū- 'become' (I1) [co-occurring with nominal padás āḍhyá- . . . priyá- 56] functioning as its agents (kartár-i) to denote the agent.

án-āḍhyah āḍhyó bháv-a-ti = *āḍhya+θ¹+bhū+KHiṣṇúC/KHukaÑ* = *āḍhya-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/ 'bháv-uka-* 'becoming rich'; similarly: *subhaga-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/ 'bháv-uka-*; *sthūla-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/ 'bháv-uka-*; *palita-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/ 'bháv-uka-*; *nagna-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/ 'bháv-uka-*; *andha-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/ 'bháv-uka-*; *priya-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/ 'bháv-uka-* to denote respectively: 'becoming fortunate; becoming large; becoming grey; becoming naked; becoming blind; becoming pleasant or agreeable'.

3.2.58 $\text{spr}\acute{s}\text{-a}\eta\text{=}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n-udak-e Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}$

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] Kv $\acute{\text{I}}$ N is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] $\text{spr}\acute{s}$ - 'touch' (VI 128) co-occurring with a nominal padá other than $\text{udak}\acute{\text{a}}$ - 'water' [to denote the agent 57].

$\text{ghṛtám spr}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-ti} = \text{ghṛta}+\emptyset^1+\text{spr}\acute{s}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{ghṛta-spr}\acute{s}+\emptyset$ (6.1.107) 'touching ghee or clarified butter'; $\text{mántr-ena spr}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-ti} = \text{mantra-spr}\acute{s}$ - 'touching with a sacred formula'; $\text{jál-éna spr}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-ti} = \text{jála-spr}\acute{s}$ - 'touching with water', but $\text{udaka-spar}\acute{s}+\text{a}(\text{N})$ (1).

3.2.59 $\text{ṛtv-íj=}^2\text{dadhṛṣ=}^3\text{sráj=}^4\text{diś=}^5\text{uṣṇih=}^6\text{āñcU=}^7\text{yuj-}^8\text{kṛūñc-ām ca}$

(The irregular forms) ṛtv-íj - 'name of a class of priests'; dadhṛṣ - 'audacious', sráj - 'garland', diś - 'direction', uṣṇih - 'name of a metre', are introduced [as derived with křt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kv $\acute{\text{I}}$ N 58] and [the same affix 1.1 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] āñc(U) 'worship, go' (I 203), yuj - 'join' (VII 7) and kṛūñc - 'be crooked' (I 201).

$\text{ṛt-aú ṛtám vā yáj-a-ti} = \text{ṛtu}+\emptyset^1+\text{yaj}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{rtu-íj}+\emptyset$ (6.1.15,67) 'who sacrifices regularly or in season (name of a class of priests)'; similarly: $\text{dhṛṣ}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{da-dhṛṣ}+\emptyset$ (irregular reduplication) $= \text{dhṛṣ-ṇó-ti}$; $\text{srj-ánti tām} = \text{srj}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{srj}+\text{aM}+\emptyset = \text{sr-á-j}$ (despite 6.1.58); $\text{diś-ánti tām} = \text{diś}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{diś-ḥ} = \text{diś}$; $\text{úḍ+enih}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{uḥ}$ (irregular)+ $\text{ṣṇih}+\emptyset$ (irregular retroflexion).

$\text{prá+añc-a-ti} = \text{prá+añC}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{prāñc}+\emptyset = \text{prāñc}$ - 'going forward/east, etc.'; affix Kv $\acute{\text{I}}$ N is introduced after this verbal stem only when co-occurring with nominal padás. $\text{yuj}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{yuj}+\emptyset+\text{sUT}$ $= \text{yuj}+\text{nuM}+\text{sUT} = \text{yuj}+\text{sUT}$ (7.1.71) but when co-occurring with a nominal padá affix Kv $\acute{\text{I}}$ P is introduced by 61 below: $\text{ásvaṃ yu-ná-k-ti} = \text{ásva-yuj}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{P} = \text{ásva-yúj}+\text{sU} = \text{ásva-yúk}+\emptyset$ (6.1.68; 8.2.30); $\text{kṛūñc}+\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{kṛāñc}+\emptyset$ (with irregular retention of the penultimate nasal contra 6.4.24).

3.2.60 $\text{tyád-ādi-ṣu dṛś-a}\eta\text{=}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n-ālocane Ka}\tilde{\text{N}} \text{ ca}$

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kv $\acute{\text{I}}$ N 58] and (ca) Ka $\tilde{\text{N}}$ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dṛś - 'see, perceive' (I 1037), co-occurring with the class of nominal padás beginning with tyád - 'that' except when it denotes the sense of perceiving with the eye ($\acute{\text{a}}\text{n-ālocane}$).

$\text{tyád+dṛś+Ka}\tilde{\text{N}}/\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N} = \text{tyád-a+dṛś+Ka}\tilde{\text{N}}/\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}$ (7.2.102) $= \text{tyád-dṛś+Ka}\tilde{\text{N}}/\text{Kv}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}$ (6.3.91) $= \text{tyád-dṛś-a-/'-dṛś}$ - 'such a one as that'; likewise: tā=dṛś-a-/'-dṛś -, etc.

A vārttika adds the words samānā - 'equal' and anyā 'another' as additional co-occurring padás, and affix Ksa as an alternate: $\text{tā-dṛś+Ksa} = \text{tā-dṛś+sa-} = \text{tādṛk-sā}$ - (8.2.41).

3.2.61 ¹sád=²sū-³dviṣÁ-⁴drúhÁ-⁵duhÁ-⁶yuja-⁷vidÁ-⁸bhida-
⁹chida-¹⁰jí-¹¹nī-¹²rāj-ām upasargé=ápi KviP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KviP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sád- 'sit down' (I 907), sū- 'give birth to' (II 21), dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3), drúh- 'hurt, harm, injure' (IV 88), duh- 'milk' (II 4), yuj- 'join, unite' (IV 68), vid- 'know' (II 55), bhid- 'break into pieces' (VII 2), chid- 'split, rend' (VII 3), jí- 'win, conquer' (I 59), nī- 'lead' (I 950) and rāj- 'shine' (I 874), co-occurring with or without preverbs (upasargé=ápi) [and with nominal padás 4].

śúc-au śíd-d-ti = *śuci*+θ¹+*sad*+KviP = *śuci-śadd*-θ 'abiding in purity' (retroflexion by 8.3.108 as this is a Vedic word), but in *div-I śíd-d-ti* = *dyu*+*sad*+KviP = *dyu-sadd*- 'divine being', there is no retroflexion. *upa-sád*- 'sitting near'. Similarly: *anda-sú*- 'oviparous'; *pra-sú*- 'giving birth to'; *mitra-dviṣ*- 'treacherous, hating a friend'; *pra-dviṣ*- 'hating'; *mitra-drúh*- 'betrayor, injuring a friend'; *pra-drúh*- 'harming, injuring'; *go-dúh*- 'milkman', *pra-dúh*- 'who milks'; *aśva-yúj*- 'harnessing a horse'; *pra-yúj*- 'joining'; *veda-vid*- 'Vedic scholar', *pra-vid*- 'knower'; *kāṣṭha-bhid*- 'cleaver of wood', *pra-bhid*- 'cleaver, breaker'; *rajju-cchid*- 'slicer of ropes', *pra-cchid*- 'slicer'; *śatru-jít*- 'conqueror of enemies', *pra-jít*- 'victorious'; *sena-ní*- 'army commander'; *grāma-ní*- 'village head', *pra-ní*- 'leader'; *viśva-rāj*- 'universal ruler', *sam-rāj*- (8.3.25) 'emperor'.

3.2.62 bhaj-aḥ=Nvi-h

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Nvi is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhaj- 'share, enjoy' (I 1047) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4, but with or without preverbs 61].

árdham bháj-a-te = *ardha*+θ¹+*bhaj*+Nvi = *ardha-bháj*+θ 'sharing half'; *pra-bháj*- 'division'.

3.2.63 chándas-I sáh-aḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nvi 62 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sáh- 'bear, endure, suffer' (I 905) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

pṛtanām sáh-a-te = *pṛtanā*+θ¹+*sah*+Nvi = *pṛtanā-sáh*-θ 'victorious in battle' and similarly *turā-sáh*- 'overpowering the mighty, n.pr. of Indra'.

3.2.64 vah-as ca

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nvi 62 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vah- 'carry, convey' (I 1053) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

pr̥sth-é vāh-a-ti = *pr̥stha+θ¹+vah+Nvi* = *pr̥stha-vāh-θ* 'a young bull being trained for the plough' and similarly *ditya-vāh-* 'two-year old bull'.

3.2.65 ¹kavyá-²púrīṣa-³purīṣyè-ṣu N̄yuṭ

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1] N̄yuṭ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 vah- 64 co-occurring with nominal padás 4] kavyá- 'funerary obligation', púrīṣa and purīṣyà- 'ordure'.

kavyám vāh-a-ti = *kavya+θ¹+vah+N̄yuṭ* = *kavya-vāh-ana-* (7.1.1) 'conveyor of funerary oblation to the Manes', and similarly: *purīṣa-*/'*purīṣya-*/'-*vāh-ana-* 'scavenger, remover of rubbish or ordure'.

3.2.66 hávy-e=án-antah-pādam

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 N̄yuṭ 65 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 vah- 64 co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] hávy- 'sacrificial oblation', provided (the word so derived) does not occur in the middle of the verse quarter (án-antah-pādam).

agnír no havya-vāh-ana-h (RV 4.24.4) 'and Agni is the conveyor of the sacrificial oblation', but *havya-vāḍ agnír a-jāra-h pitā nah* (RV 5.4.2) 'the immortal carrier of sacrificial oblations, Agni, is our father'.

3.2.67 ¹jánA-²sánÁ-³khána-⁴kráma-⁵gam-o viṭ

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1] viṭ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ján- 'be born' (III 24, IV 41), sán- 'gain' (I 492), 'donate' (VIII 2), khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), krám- 'march, tread' (I 502) and gam- 'go' (I 1031) [co-occurring with nominal padás 4 or with or without preverbs 61].

ap-sú jā-ya-te = *ap+θ¹+jan+viṭ* = *ap-jā+θ* (6.4.41) = *ab-jā-* 'water-born, produced in waters'; *gám san-ó-ti* = *go+θ¹+san+viṭ* = *go-sā+θ* = *go-sā-* 'winning cattle'; similarly *kūpa-khá-* 'well-digger'; *dadhī-krā-* 'n.pr. of a divinity'; *agre-gā-* 'going in front, leader'.

3.2.68 ad-aḥ=án=anne

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 $\text{vi}\bar{\text{T}}$ 67 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ad- 'eat, consume' (II 1) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] other than anná- 'food'.

$\bar{a}mám\ át-ti = \bar{a}ma + \emptyset^1 + ad + \text{vi}\bar{\text{T}} = \bar{a}mād-$ 'consumer of raw or uncooked food';
 $sasyám\ át-ti = sasyād-$ 'vegetarian' but $annād-d(N\ 1)$ 'food consumer'.

3.2.69 kravy-é ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 $\text{vi}\bar{\text{T}}$ 67] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ad- 68 co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] kravyá- 'raw or uncooked meat, flesh'.

$kravyám\ at-ti = kravya + \emptyset^1 + ad + \text{vi}\bar{\text{T}} = kravyād-$ 'flesh-eater, carnivorous', but
 $kravyād-d(N\ 1)$ 'consumer of cooked meat'.

3.2.70 duh-aḥ KaP=gha-ś ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KáP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] duh- 'milk' (II 4) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] and (ca) the phoneme [gh] replaces (the final 1.1.52) stem-phoneme.

$kāmam\ dóg-dhi = kāma + \emptyset^1 + duh + KaP = kāma-dugh + a + \bar{\text{T}}aP$ (8.2.32; 4.1.4) =
 $kāma-dúgh-ā$ 'the wish-granting divine cow'.

3.2.71 mántre ¹śveta-vah-g-²uktha-śás=³puro-dās-o NviN

In the domain of the Mántra (portion of the Veda) [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1] NviN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ¹-vah- (I 1053) co-occurring with śvetá-, ²-śás- (I 764) co-occurring with ukthá-³ and ³-dās- (I 931) co-occurring with purás-³.

1. $\bar{s}vetá\ enám\ vdh-anti = \bar{s}veta + \emptyset^1 + vah + NviN = \bar{s}veta-vāh-$ 'borne by white (steeds), n.pr. of Indra'.
2. $ukthāni\ śātha-a-ti = uktha + \emptyset^1 + śāns + NviN = uktha-śāṭs-$ (irregular \emptyset replacement of nasal) 'praising with hymns'.
3. $puro\ dās-ante\ enám = puras + \emptyset^1 + dās + NviN = puro-dās-$ 'a sacrificial oblation' (irregular retroflexion).

3.2.72 av-e yaj-aḥ

[In the domain of Mántra 71 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nv̥iN 71 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) co-occurring with the preverb áva-^o.

áva+yaj+Nv̥iN = *áva-yáj+avU* = *áva-yáj+Das* (by a vārttika) = *áva-yáṣ* = *áva-yáh* .
tvám yajñé vdr̥ṇasýāvayá asi 'you are the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

3.2.73 v̥iC=up-e chandas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1] v̥iC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 yaj- 72] co-occurring with the preverb úpa-^o.

upa+yaj+v̥iC = *upa-yáj+θ* 'n.pr. of eleven sacrificial formulae': *upa-yád-bhír*
úrdhvaṁ vah-anti (8.2.36) 'they carry it up with upayáj formulae'.

3.2.74 āT-aḥ 'man̥iN=²Kvan̥iP=³van̥iP-as ca

[In the domain of Chándas 73 the kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 v̥iC 73] and man̥iN, Kvan̥iP and van̥iP are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ā] [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 and also with or without a preverb ṣi].

1. *su+dā+man̥iN* = *su-dā-man-* 'bountiful'.
2. *su+dhā+Kvan̥iP* = *su-dhā-van-* (6.4.56) 'intelligent'.
3. *bhūri+dā+van̥iP* = *bhūri dā-dā-ti* = *bhūri-dā-van-* 'munificent'.
4. *kīlālam piṭ-a-ti* = *kīlāla+θ¹+pā+v̥iC* = *kīlāla-pā+θ* 'who drinks the sweet beverage called kīlāla'.

3.2.75 anyé-bhyaḥ=āpi dr̥ś-yānte

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 man̥iN, Kvan̥iP and van̥iP 74] are also (āpi) introduced [after 1.2] other [verbal stems 1.91 (i.e., those not ending in long ^o-ā) along with v̥iC 73].

1. man̥iN: *śobhanam śr-ñā-ti* = *su-śr+man̥iN* = *su-dār-man-* 'good protection, refuge'.
2. Kvan̥iP: *prātar+é-ti* = *prātar+ti+Kvan̥iP* = *prātar-i+tuK+van-* = *prātar-i-l-van-* (6.1.72) 'going out early (in the morning)'.
3. van̥iP: *āgr-e gácch-a-ti* = *agre+gam+van̥iP* = *agre-ga-ā+van-* (6.4.41) = *agre-gā-van-* 'leader, going in front'.
4. v̥iC: *riṣ+v̥iC* = *reṣ+θ* 'who injures' in the expression *reṣ=a-si* (8.4.55) 'thou art an injurer'.

3.2.76 KvīP ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīP is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 all verbal stems 1.91, whether co-occurring or not with nominal padās 4 or preverbs 61, both in the domain of Chāndas 73 or elsewhere 75].

ukhā-yāḥ srāṁs-a-te = *ukhā+θ¹+srāns+KvīP* = *ukhā+srāṁs+θ* (6.4.24) 'falling from the pot'; *parṇāni dhvāṁs-a-te* = *parṇa+dhvāns+KvīP* = *parṇa-dhvāṁs+θ* 'causing leaves to fall'.

3.2.77 sth-aḥ Kā ca

[The kft 1.93 affix KvīP 76] as well as Kā are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sthā 'stay, remain' (I 975) [co-occurring with a nominal padā 4 or a preverb 61].

The introduction of affix [Kā] here while it was already introduced by 4 above is to block out the operation of 14 when [sthā-] co-occurs with the nominal padā sam-: *śām tiṣṭh-a-te* = *śām+sthā+Ka/KvīP* = *śām+sthā+ā/-sthā+θ* 'happy, prosperous'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.78 sUPy ā-jāt-au Nīni-s tācchilye

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Nīni is introduced [after a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padā 4] not denoting a species (ā-jāt-au) to express the meaning of 'habitually addicted' (tācchilye).

uṣṇām bhōk-tum śīlam asyā = *uṣṇa+θ¹+bhuj+Nīni* = *uṣṇa-bhoj-in-* 'habitually accustomed to eat hot (food)'. But *uṣṇām bhuk-té kadāci* 'occasionally eats hot (food)', and *brāhmaṇān ā-mantr-ay-i-ty(C)* 'accustomed to invite brahmins' since this is a species word (jāti). Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.79 kartár-i=upa-mān-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nīni 78 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padā 4] functioning as an agent (kartár-i) and serving as an object of comparison (upamāne).

uṣṭra-ḥ iva króś-a-ti = *uṣṭra+θ¹+krúś+Nīni* = *uṣṭra-króś-in-* 'making a noise like a camel'; similarly *dhvānkṣa-ḥ iva rau-ti* = *dhvānkṣa+θ¹+ru+Nīni* = *dhvānkṣa-rāṅv-in-* 'sounding like a crow'; when the co-occurring nominal padā is not an agent: *apūpān iva māsān bhakṣ-āy-a-ti* 'eats māsā grain like a cake of flour'; when not an object of comparison: *uṣṭrah króś-a-ti* 'the camel cries harshly'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.80 vrat-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] to denote a religious vow (vrat-é).

sthāṇḍil-e śé-te = *sthāṇḍila+θ¹+śT+Nini* = *sthāṇḍila-śāy-in-* 'sleeping on the bare ground (as a religious vow)'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.81 bahulám ābhīkṣṇy-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced] variously (bahulám) [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote repetition (ābhīkṣṇy-e).

[ābhīkṣṇya-] 'repetition' here is distinct from [tācchīlya-] 'habitual disposition':
kaśāya-pā-yuK+in (7.3.33) = *kāśāya-pā-y-in-* 'repeatedly drinking juice' in the phrase *kāśāya-pā-y-in-aḥ uśmarāḥ* 'the residents of Uś. constantly drink juice'. (6.2.79 for accent).

3.2.82 man-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] man- 'think' (IV 67)[co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

darśanīyam mān-ya-te (*kām-cit*) = *darśanīya+θ¹+man+Nini* = *dārśanīya-mān-in-* 'considers (someone) as handsome or good-looking'.

3.2.83 ātma-mān-é KHáŚ=ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 Nini 78] as well as (ca) KHáŚ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 man- 82, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] when the object of the verbal stem is oneself (ātma-mān-é).

darśanīyam ātmānam mān-ya-te = *darśanīya+θ¹+man+KhaŚ/Nini* =
darśanīya-muM+man+ŚyaN+d- = *dārśanīya-m-man-yá* (3.1.69; 6.3.87) /
dārśanīya-mān-in- 'considering one's self as good-looking'.

3.2.84 bhūt-é

(When the action refers to) the general past (bhūt-é).

This is a governing rule extending up to 122 below. All affixes hereafter introduced, prior to 123, are with reference to the general past tense. The word [bhūté] 'in the general past tense' will recur in all subsequent rules coming under this head.

3.2.85 káran-e yaj-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.92] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as an instrument (i.e., ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet) [to denote the general past tense (bhūt-é) 84].

agni-ṣṭomēna iṣṭáuvān = *agniṣṭoma+θ+yaj+Nini* = *agniṣṭoma-yaj-in-* 'one who has performed the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice'.

3.2.86 kárman-i han-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as its object (kárman-i) [to denote the general past tense 84].

pitṛvyam hatáuvān = *pitṛvya+θ¹+han+Nini* = *pitṛvya-ghat-in-* (7.3.32,54) 'who has murdered his paternal uncle'.

3.2.87 ¹bráhm(n)-²bhrūṇá-³vṛtré-ṣu KvīP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 86, co-occurring with nominal padás 4] bráhma- 'brahmin', bhrūṇá- 'embryo' and vṛtrá- 'n.pr. of a demon, destroyed by Indra' [functioning as its direct object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

bráhma-+am+ha-táuvān = *brahma+θ¹+han+KvīP* = *brahmaθ+hán-* 'who has murdered a brahmin'; similarly *bhrūṇa-hán-* / *vṛtra-hán-* respectively denoting 'who has killed the embryo / the demon Vṛtra'.

In view of the general rule 76 introducing this affix after all verbal stems, there is a four-fold application derived from that fact: (a) KvīP is introduced after [han-] when co-occurring with these three nominal padás only; (b) with these three úpapadas only, [han-] is followed by this affix, not other verbal stems; in *brahma adhr-táuvān* it is inoperative; (c) with these úpapadas it is only to denote the general past time that KvīP is introduced after [han-]; in *bráhmānam hán-ti* 'kills a brahmin', it is inoperative; and (d) also in *bráhmān-am han-i-ṣyá-ti* 'will kill a brahmin' it is inoperative.

3.2.88 babulám chandas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KvīP 87] is variously (babulám) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 86, co-occurring with other nominal padás 4 functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

mātr-am ha-tāvān = *mātr-+θ¹+han+KviP* = *mātr-hān* 'who has killed his mother' in the passage: *mātr-hā saptamām narakam prā-viś-ēt* 'a matricide will enter the seventh hell'.

3.2.89 'sú-²kárma(n)-³pāpá-⁴mántra-⁶pún̄ye-su kṛÑah

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kv̄iP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *kṛÑ* 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with nominal *padás* 4] *sú*- 'well', *kárman-* 'work', *pāpá-* 'sin', *mántra-* 'sacred hymn', and *pún̄ya-* 'virtue, merit' [functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

sú+kṛ+KviP = *su-kṛ-tuK+θ* (6.1.71) = *sobhanam kṛ-tāvān* 'who has done well'; similarly: *karma-kṛ-t-*, *pāpa-kṛ-t-*, *mantra-kṛ-t-*, *punya-kṛ-t-* respectively denoting: 'who has performed all work/committed a sin/composed a sacred hymn/done a virtuous deed'.

There is a three-fold application here: (a) this affix is applicable only when denoting the general past time: in *kárma kṛ-tāvān* Kv̄iP alone is applicable, not *áN* (1); (b) with other *úpapadas*, Kv̄iP is not applicable, but only *áN* as in *mántram adhi-tavān* = *mantrādhyāy-á-* 'who has studied sacred hymns'; (c) through introducing Kv̄iP in the general past tense, it is not applicable when other tenses are indicated: *mántram kari-syá-ti/kar-ó-ti* = *mantra-kār-á(N)* 'who will compose/is composing sacred hymns'. Since no regulation is intended, in the view of the recurrence of the word [bahulám 88], this rule is applicable also with other *úpapadas*: *bhāṣya-kṛ-t-/śāstra-kṛ-t* 'who has composed a commentary/treatise on science' respectively.

3.2.90 sóm-e suÑ-ah

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kv̄iP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *suÑ-* 'press or distil the Soma' [co-occurring with the nominal *padá* 4] *sóma-* [functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

sómam su-tāvān = *soma+su+KviP* = *soma-sú-t-* 'who has pressed Soma'. Here also the four-fold application (in 87 above) is valid.

3.2.91 agn-aú ce-h

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Kv̄iP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *ci-* 'heap, pile, arrange' (V 5) [co-occurring with the nominal *padá* 4] *agní-* 'fire' [serving as its object to denote the general past tense 84].

agnīm ci-tāvān = *agni-ci-t-* 'who has built the sacrificial fire'.

3.2.92 *kārmaṇ-i=agni=ākhyā-yām*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KvīP is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *ci-* 91, co-occurring with a nominal *padā* 4 functioning as its object 88 to denote the general past tense 84] (and the form derived) with the passive construction (*kārmaṇ-i*) denotes the name of a ritual fire (*agni=ākhyā-yām*).

dyend-ḥ=iva ci-tā-ḥ = *dyena+θ¹+ci+KvīP* = *dyena-ci-t-* 'a sacrificial fireplace piled in the shape of a hawk'.

3.2.93 *kārmaṇ-i=iniḥ=vī-kriy-aḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *ini* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *vī+krī-* 'sell' (IX 1) [co-occurring with a nominal *padā* 4 functioning as its direct object 85 when indicating the general past tense 84] to denote a despicable act (*kārmaṇ-i*).

The repetition of the word [*karmaṇ-i*] here while it is already recurring from 92 above is to indicate not 'an object' as defined by 1.4.49 but to denote a despicable or unworthy act and censure the agent of the verbal stem: *sómam vī-kri-tāvān* = *soma+θ¹+vī-krī+ín* = *soma-vī-kriy-ín-* 'who has sold Soma' implying censure; but *dhānya+vī-krī+dN* = *dhānya-vī-kriy-á-* 'who has sold grain' with no censure implied.

3.2.94 *dṛśe-ḥ KvaniP*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *KvaniP* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *dṛś-* 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [co-occurring with a nominal *padā* 4 functioning as its object 86 when referring to the general past tense 84].

pārdm dṛśe-tāvān = *pāra+θ¹+dṛś+KvaniP* = *pāra-dṛś-va-* 'who has seen the opposite shore'.

3.2.95 *rājan-i¹yudh-i²kr̥ñ-aḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *KvaniP* 94 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *yudh-* 'fight' (IV 64) and *kr̥ñ-* 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with the nominal *padā* 4] *rājan-* 'king' [serving as their object 86 when referring to the general past tense 84].

rājān-am yodh-i-tāvān = *rājan+θ¹+yudh+KvanīP* = *rājaY+yūdh-van-* 'who has made war against the king / who has made the king fight a war'; similarly *rājān-am kṛ-tāvān* = *rāja=kṛt-van-* 'who has crowned or enthroned the king'.

3.2.96 sah-é ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KvanīP 94] is introduced also (ca) [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 yudh- and kṛ 95 when co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] sah-é 'with' [when referring to the general past tense 84].

sahd yodh-i-tāvān = *saha+yudh+KvanīP* = *saha-yūdh-van-* 'who has fought along with'; similarly *saha-kṛt-van-* 'who has cooperated with'.

3.2.97 saptamy-ām jāṇ-r Dāḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Dā is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] jān- 'be born' (IV 41) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamy-ām) [when denoting the general past tense 84].

upa-sar-é jā-tā-h = *upa-sarā-θ¹+jan+Dā* = *upa-sāra-ṣṭṭ+a-* (6.4.143) 'born by impregnation'; similarly *pañk-e jā-tā-h* = *pañka-j-ā-* 'born in mud, a lotus'. Cf. 6.2.83 for accent.

3.2.98 pañcamy-ām ā-jāt-au

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Dā 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] jān- 97, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-ām), not specifying a species (ā-jāt-au) [and referring to the general past tense 84].

buddhe-r jā-tā-h = *buddhi+θ¹+jan+Dā* = *buddhi-j-ā-* 'arisen or originated in the intellect', but *dēvat=jā-tā-h* 'born of a horse'.

3.2.99 upa-sarg-é ca samjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Dā 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] jān- 97] also when co-occurring with a preverb (upa-sarg-é) [and referring to the general past tense 84] to form a name (samjñāyām).

pra+jā-tā-h = *pra+jan+Dā* = *pra-j-ā+TāP* = *pra-j-ā* 'progeny' as in *dīthemā mānavi pra-j-ā* 'now these born of Manu'.

3.2.100 áu-*au* kármaṇ-i

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Dá 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97] co-occurring with the preverb ánu-° [and a nominal padá 4] functioning as its direct object (kármaṇ-i) [when referring to the general past tense 84].

rādm̐ anu-jā-tā-h = *rāma*+*θ*¹+*anu-jān*+*Dá* = *rādm̐nu-jāθ-d*- 'born after Rāma (i.e., his younger brother)'.

3.2.101 anyé-*su*=ápi dṛś-yá-te

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Dá 97] is also (ápi) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97] co-occurring with other (anyé-*su*) [nominal padás 4 when referring to the general past tense 84].

nāN+jā-tā-h = *a-j-d*- 'was not born'; similarly *dvīr-jā-tā-h* = *dvī-j-d*- 'twice-born/born again'.

The word [anyé-*su*] not only refers to the nominal padás but also to different kárakas, other than the fifth and seventh referred to above. The word [ápi] also permits the introduction of other verbal stems: *pari-tas=khā-tā-h* = *pari-θ*¹+*khan*+*Dá* = *pari-khθθ-d*+*TāP* = *pari-kh-d*- 'a moat dug all around'.

3.2.102 niṣṭhā

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.26 = Ktā- and KtāvatU) are introduced [after 1.2 all verbal stems 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

kṛ+Ktā(vatU) = *kṛ-tā*- 'was done', *kṛ-tāvat(U)* 'has done'.

3.2.103 ¹su-²yaj-or NvanīP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] NvanīP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *su*- 'press, extract' (V 1) and *yaj*- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) [to denote the general past tense 84].

su+NvanīP = *su+tuK+van-* = *sū-t-van-* 'who has pressed or extracted'; similarly *yāj-van-* 'who has sacrificed'.

3.2.104 jfr-ya-te-r atRN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] atRN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] jfr- 'grow old, age' (IV 22) [to denote the general past tense 84].

jfr+atRN = jdr-atR 'who has grown old or aged'; the marker [R] indicates that before sUP triplets denoted by [Śi] and [sUT] an infixed nyM is introduced after the last vowel of the nominal stem (7.1.70).

3.2.105 chāndas-i IIṬ

In the domain of Chāndas (l-substitutes of) IIṬ 'Perfect Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

ahām sūryam ubhayd-to da-darā-a 'I saw the sun from both sides'; *ahām dyāvā-prthivī ā-ta-tān-a* 'I stretched heaven and earth'. This is a prior exception to 115 below.

3.2.106 IIṬ-aḥ KānāC=vā

[In the domain of Chāndas 105 the kft 1.92 affix 1.1] KānāC optionally (vā) replaces (the l-substitutes of) IIṬ [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

ci+IIṬ = ci-ci+eŚ (3.4.81; 5.1.8) = *ci-ki-ś* (7.3.58) = *ci-ky-ē/ci-ci+KānāC* = *ci-ky-ānā-* as in : *agnīm ci-ky-ānā-h* 'he constructed the sacrificial fire'.

3.2.107 KvāsU-s=ca

[In the domain of Chāndas the kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KvāsU also (ca) [optionally replaces the l-substitutes of IIṬ 105 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

pā+IIṬ = pa-pā+iṬ+KvāsU = pa-pḥ+i-vas = pa-p-i-vas- 'drank', the marker [U] operating under 7.1.70.

3.2.108 bhāṣā-yām ¹sād-²vas^Ā-³śruv-aḥ

In the domain of the spoken language (= current speech: bhāṣā-yām) [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KvāsU 107 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sād- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133), vas- 'abide, dwell, reside' (I 1054) and śru- 'hear, listen' (I 980) [as a replacement for l-substitutes of IIṬ 106 to denote the general past tense 84].

$\acute{u}pa + sad + lIT = \acute{u}pa - \acute{e}a - sad + KvásU = \acute{u}pa - \emptyset - sed + iT + vás - (6.4.120) = \acute{u}pa - sed - i - vān$
Kaṭṭsa-h Pāṇinim 'K. became a pupil of P.' The alternate forms are:
 $upā - sad - a - t (lUN)$, $upā - sīd - a - t (lAN)$ and $\acute{u}pa - \acute{e}a - sād - a (lIT)$.
 Similarly, $\acute{a}nu + vas + lIT = \acute{a}nu + va - vas + KvásU = \acute{a}nu - u - us + iT + vás - (6.1.15,17) =$
 $anā - s - i - vās = anā - sīvān$ *Kaṭṭsa-h Pāṇinim*.
 $\acute{u}pa + \acute{e}ru + lIT = \acute{u}pa - \acute{e}u - \acute{e}ru + KvásU = \acute{u}pa - \acute{e}u - \acute{e}ru - vās : \acute{u}pa - \acute{e}u - \acute{e}ruvān$ *Kaṭṭsa-h*
Pāṇinim.

3.2.109 ¹upeyi-i-vān=²anās-vān=³anūcānās-s=ca

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KvásU 107 replaces the l-substitutes of lIT 109 to generate the irregular forms] upeyi-vān 'approached', anās-vān 'did not eat' and anūcānās 'studied' [with KānāC replacement 106].

1. $\acute{u}pa + iN + lIT = \acute{u}pa + i - i + KvásU : \acute{u}pa - i - i + KvásU (7.4.69) = \acute{u}pa + i - y - iT + KvásU$
 (contra 7.2.87) = $upe - y - i - vās + sU = upe - y - i - vān (7.1.70; 6.4.10; 8.2.23)$.
2. $naN + aś + KvásU = an - ā - aś + vas + sU = anā - ś - vān$ (with irregular absence of initial iT increment).
3. $\acute{a}nu + vac + KānāC = \acute{a}nu - u - uc + ānd (5.1.15,17) = anā - c - ānd - sU = anā - c - ānd - ḥ$.

3.2.110 lUN

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84, the l-substitutes of] lUN 'Aorist' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$kṛ + lUN = kṛ + Cl + t (3.1.43) = kṛ + sīC + t (3.1.44) = dIT + kṛ + sīC + t (6.4.71) =$
 $d - kār + s + IT + t (7.2.1; 3.96) = d - kār - s - i - t$ 'made, performed, did'.

3.2.111 án-adya-tane lAN

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84] excluding the current day (án-adya-tane) [the l-substitutes of] lAN 'Imperfect Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$kṛ + lAN = kṛ + u + t = d - kār - o - t (3.1.79; 7.3.84)$ 'did, made' (not referring to the current day).

3.2.112 abhijñā-vacané lṛT

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84 excluding the current day 111] (the l-substitutes of) lṛT (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with an expression implying recollection (abhijñā-vacané).

Exception to laÑ 111 above. *smár-a-ei devadatta kasmīre-ṣu vat-syā-maḥ* 'do you remember, Devadatta, how we lived in Kashmir?' from *vas+IṚT* = *vas+syā+mas* (3.1.33) = *vat-syā-maḥ* (7.3.102; 4.43; 8.3.15).

3.2.113 ná yád-i

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, the l-substitutes of IṚT 112] are not introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the expression implying recollection co-occurs 112 with] the particle yád 'which, what'.

smár-a-ei devadatta yát kasmīre-ṣu á-vas-āma where the Imperfect (laÑ 111) operates instead.

3.2.114 vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣ-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111 and the expression implying recollection 112 co-occurs or not with yád 113, l-substitutes of IṚT 112] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] if the speaker needs (another) expression for completion of the sense (sākāṅkṣ-e).

smár-a-ei devadatta (yát) kasmīre-ṣu vat-syā-maḥ/á-vas-ā-ma, tátra odanam bhok-syā-mahe/á-bhuñj-mahi 'do you remember, Devadatta, that we lived in K. and there we ate porridge?'. The second phrase complements the first for completion of the sense.

3.2.115 parókṣ-e IIṬ

[When the action refers to the general past time 84 excluding the current day 111] and beyond the perception of the speaker (parókṣ-e), l-substitutes of IIṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

gam+IIṬ = *gam-gam+IIṬ* (6.1.8) = *ga-gam+NaL* (3.4.82; 7.4.80) = *ja+gam+NaL* (7.4.82) = *ja-gām-a* (7.2.116) 'has gone (before the current day) but I did not see it myself'.

3.2.116 'ha-śásvat-or laÑ ca

[When the action refers to the general past time 84 excluding the current day 111 beyond the perception of the speaker 115] l-substitutes of laÑ 'Imperfect' as well as (ca) [those of IIṬ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles ha 'verily, indeed' and śásvat 'constantly'.

1. *iti ha ca-kār-a/ā-kar-o-t* 'indeed he has done'.
2. *śāśvat+ca-kār-a/ā-kar-o-t* 'has repeatedly done'.

3.2.117 praśn-é ca=ā-sanna-kāl-é

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, beyond the perception of the speaker 115, the l-substitutes of IIT 115 and IAN are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote a recent (ā-sanna-kāle) past time in an interrogation (praśn-é).

X asks Y: *ja-gām-a/d-gacch-a-t devadattā-h?* 'Has D. gone?'. Recent past [ā-sanna-kāla] by interpretation is defined as within five years.

3.2.118 IAT sm-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, beyond the perception of the speaker 115] l-substitutes of IAT 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma.

yāj-a-ti sma yudhīsthīra-h 'Y. has sacrificed'.

3.2.119 ā-parokṣ-e ca

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111] and is within the perception of the speaker (ā-parokṣ-e) [the l-substitutes of IAT 118 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with the particle sma 118].

evāṁ sma pitā brāu-J-ti 'thus has the father spoken'.

3.2.120 nan-aú prṣṭa-prati-vacan-é

[When the action refers to the general past 84, the l-substitutes of IAT 118 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle nanú in a response to a question (prṣṭa-prati-vacan-é).

ā-kār-a-J-h kṛtām devadatta? nanú kar-ā-mi bhoḥ 'O Devadatta! have you made a mat? Yes, I have made (it)'.

3.2.121 'ná-²uv-ór vibhāṣā

[When the action refers to the general past 84 the l-substitutes of LAṬ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] optionally (vibhāṣā) when co-occurring with the particles ná and nú [in response to a question 120].

Q. *ā-kār-ṣ-i-h kṛtam devadatta?* R. *nā kar-ō-mi bhoh / ahm nú kar-ō-mi* 'Have you made a mat, O Devadatta? I have not made (it) / I have certainly made (it)'. Alternately *ā-kār-ṣ-am* replaces *kar-ō-mi*.

3.2.122 pur-í IUN ca=ā-sm-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111 the l-substitutes of LAṬ 118] and (ca) IUN [are optionally 121 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle purā 'formerly', provided the particle sma does not co-occur.

vas-anti-ihd purā chātrāḥ 'pupils lived here formerly' or with IUN: *ā-vas+sīC+us* = *ā-vas+s+us* (7.2.3) = *ā-vāt-s-uh* (7.4.49); in addition, when these do not co-occur, IIT and IAN also operate: *ās-ūḥ / ā-vas-an* but *yāj-a-ti sma yudhsthira-h*

3.2.123 vārtamān-e LAṬ

When the action refers to the present time (vārtamān-e) l-substitutes of LAṬ 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93].

bhū+LAṬ = *bhū+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.88; 4.78) = *bhō+a+ti* (7.3.84) = *bhāv-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'becomes'; similarly *pāc-a-ti/dā-mi* 'is cooking/am eating'.

3.2.124 LAṬ-ah ¹ŚātR-²ŚānāC-au=ā-prathamā-samāna=adhi-karaṇ-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] ŚātR and ŚānāC replace the l-substitutes of LAṬ when it has the same reference (samāna=adhi-karaṇé) [with a nominal padā 4 (ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet)] other than the first (ā-prathamā-°).

pac+LAṬ = *pac+ŚaP+LAṬ* , *pac+a+ŚātR/ŚānāC* = *pāc-at-* (6.1.97) *pac-a+mūK+ānd-* (7.2.82) = *pāc-a-m+āna-* in constructions like *pāc-ant-am/pāc-a-m-ānam devadattām pāśy-a* 'behold D. who is cooking'; *pāc-at-ā pāc-a-m-ān-ena kṛtām* 'prepared by one who is cooking', but *devadattā-h pāc-a-ti*. (Cf. 6.1.188).

The repetition of the word [IAT] when it is already recurring from 123 above is to permit occasional use of these affixes even when co-occurring with a padá ending in the first sUP triplet: *śdn/śs-ti/vśd-ya-te/vid-yá-m-āna-h* *brāhmaṇá-h* 'the brahmin is'

3.2.125 sam-bódhana-e ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátR and ŚānáC 124 replace the l-substitutes of IAT 124 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when it has the same reference with a nominal padá 124 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 124] used in invocation or address (sam-bódhana-e).

he pācan/pác-a-m-āna 'O thou who art cooking'.

3.2.126 ¹lákṣaṇa-²hetv-óḥ kriyā-yāḥ

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátR and ŚānáC replace the l-substitutes of IAT 124 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] the action denoted by which is a characteristic (lákṣaṇa) or cause (hetú) of (another) action (kriyā-yāḥ).

1. *lákṣaṇa*: *śay-āná bhuj-áte yavanāḥ* 'the Yavanas eat while lying down or reclining'.
2. *hetú*: *adhīy-āśó vās-a-ti* 'he is staying in order to study (or for the purpose of studying)'.

3.2.127 t-au SAT

(The technical term) SAT denotes those two [kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátR and ŚānáC 124].

As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.11; 3.3.14.

3.2.128 ¹pūñ-²yaj-oḥ ŚānaN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] ŚānaN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pūñ- 'purify' (I 1015) and yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051).

1. *pā+ŚānaN* = *pá+ŚaP+āna* = *pó+a+āna*- (7.3.84) = *páv-a+muK+āna* (6.1.78; 7.2.82) = *páv-a-m-āna*- 'Soma, the purifier'.
2. Similarly *yáj-a-m-āna*- 'sacrificer'.

This affix generates nominal stems, while [ŚānáC] is a replacement for l-substitutes of IAT.

3.2.129 ¹tācchīlya-²vayovacanā-³śākti-ṣu Cānāś

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Cānāś is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote habitual disposition (tāc-chīlya), age (vayo-vacanā) or capacity (śākti).

1. *bhōg-am bhuñj-ānd-* (= *bhuj+Cānāś* = *bhuj+ŚāndM+Cānāś* = *bhu-ñj-ānd-* 6.4.111) 'habitually disposed to enjoy food'.
2. *vayo-vacanē: kāvac-am bi-bhr-ānd-* (= *bhṛ+Ślu+Cānāś* = *bi-bhṛ-ānd-* = *bi-bhr-ānd-* 7.4.76; 8.4.2) 'of an age to wear a coat of mail'.
3. *śākt-au: śātrum ni-ghn-ānd-* 'able to destroy enemies' = *ni-han+Cānāś* = *ni-hñn-ānd-* (6.4.98) = *ni-ghn-ānd-* (7.3.54).

3.2.130 ¹iñ-²dhāry-ḥ ŚātṚ=kṛcchrñ-i

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] ŚātṚ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] iñ (with ādhi-°) 'study' (I 37) and dhār-ī = dhṛ+ñC (I 948) 'hold' to denote that the agent is free from difficulty (ā-kṛcchrñ-i).

1. *adhṛ-ān vyākaraṇam* (= *adhi+iñ+ŚātṚ+eU* = *adhṛ-ān* 7.1.70) 'studying grammar without difficulty', but *kṛcchr-ēṇa adhṛ-tē* 'studies with difficulty'.
2. *dhār-āy-an-upanīṣad-am* (= *dhār-ī+ŚātṚ* = *dhār-āy-at+eU* = *dhār-āy-an*) 'easily quoting or remembering the Upanīṣad', but *kṛcchr-ēṇa dhār-āy-a-ti* 'remembers with difficulty'.

3.2.131 dviṣ-aḥ=a-mītr-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚātṚ 130 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3) to denote an enemy (a-mītr-e).

dviṣ+ŚātṚ = *dviṣ-ḥ¹+āt-* 'unfriendly, inimical', but *dveṣ-ṭi bhāryā pātim* 'the wife dislikes the husband'.

3.2.132 suñ-aḥ=yajña-saṁ-yog-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚātṚ 130 is introduced after 1 the verbal stem 1.91] suñ- 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) when expressing a participation in a sacrifice (yajña-saṁ-yog-é).

sāru-e sunv-āntaḥ (= *su+Śnū+ŚātṚ+Jas* = *sunv-ānt-aḥ*) 'all are participating in the sacrifice', but *su-nó-ti sūrāṁ* 'distils liquor'.

3.2.133 árh-ah pūjā-yām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚātṚ 130 is introduced after the verbal stem 1.91] árh- 'merit' (I 776) to denote eulogy (pūjā-yām).

arh+ŚātṚ = arh+ŚaP+āt+sU = arh-ant=sU · arh-anθθ (6.1.97; 8.2.23) in *arh-an=sha bhāvān pūjām* 'you are worthy of honor here'.

3.2.134 ś-kve-ḥ ¹tác-chīla-²tád-dharma-³tát-sādhukārī-ṣu

Up to and including sūtra 177 below [the kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 introduced here after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] are meant to express that the agent performs the action as (a) a part of his habitual disposition (tác-chīla-) or (b) as his duty (tád-dharma) or efficiently (tat-sādhukārīṣu).

This is a governing or [adhikāra] sūtra and these three meaning conditions will recur in each of the succeeding rules up to and including 177 below.

3.2.135 tṛN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] tṛN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the agents natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

kṛ+tṛN = kār-tṛ- 'doer, performer'; (a) natural or habitual disposition: *kār-tā kātam* 'who habitually makes a mat'; (b) duty: *mūṇḍ-ay-i-tār-ah śrāvīṣṭhāyanāḥ=bhāv-anti vadhūm adhām* 'Śrāvīṣṭhāyanas shave the head of their married daughter-in-law'; (c) efficient performance: *kār-tā kātam* 'excellent maker of mat(s)'.

3.2.136 ¹ālam-kṛÑ-²nir-ś-kṛÑ-³prá-jan=⁴út-pacA=⁵út-pat=⁶ún-mad=⁷rúc-⁸ápa-trap=⁹vftU-¹⁰vfdhU-¹¹sáhA-¹²cárÁ iṣṇúC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] iṣṇúC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ālam+kṛ- 'adorn' (VIII 10), nir-ś-kṛ- 'reject', prá+jan- 'be born' (IV 41), út+pac- 'ripen' (I 1045), út+pat- 'fly up' (I 898), ún+mad- 'be mad' (IV 99), rúc- 'shine' (I 781), ápa+trap- 'be ashamed' (I 399), vft- 'turn; abide' (I 795), vfdh- 'increase' (I 796). sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) and cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

alam+kṛ+iṣṇúC = alam-kar-iṣṇú- 'decorating or adorning' (in any of the three senses referred to in 134); similarly: *nir-ś-kar-iṣṇú-* 'repudiating'; *pra-jan-iṣṇú-*

'being born'; *ut-pac-iṣṇú-* 'ripening'; *ut-pat-iṣṇú-* 'flying up'; *un-mad-iṣṇú-* 'intoxicating'; *roc-iṣṇú-* 'shining brightly'; *apa-trap-iṣṇú-* 'becoming bashful'; *vart-iṣṇú-* 'abiding'; *vardh-iṣṇú-* 'growing, increasing'; *sah-iṣṇú-* 'tolerating'; *cari-iṣṇú-* 'moving, grazing, practising'.

3.2.137 *Né-s chándas-i*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *iṣṇúC* 136 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affix 1.1] *Ni(C)* in the domain of Chándas [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

ḍṛ-ṣdd-am dhār-ay-iṣṇúv-aḥ 'capable of or accustomed to carry or bear stones'.

3.2.138 *bhūv-as ca*

[In the domain of Chándas 137 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *iṣṇúC* 135 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū-* 'become' (I 1) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

This is a prior exception to the following sūtra 139. The implication of the particle [ca] here is not for the purpose of recurrence of [Ni] from the preceding rule, but to extend the scope of this rule to other verbal stems not specifically mentioned. *bhav-iṣṇú-* 'becoming'; *bhrāḍj-iṣṇú-* 'shining brightly'.

3.2.139 *'glā-²jī-³sthaś ca Ksnú-ḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *Ksnú* (= **Gsnú-*) is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *glā-* (*glā-* I 862) 'be weary', *jī-* 'win' (I 159) and *sthā* 'remain, stand' (I 975) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

The affix [*Ksnú*] is by interpretation derived from the underlying form [**G-snú*] in order to derive the correct surface form from [*sthā*]. The presence of [G] as an IT-marker is also posited by interpretation in the case of 1.1.5 [*KN-IT* = **G-K-N-IT*]. *glāf+Ksnú* = *glā=snú-* (6.1.45) 'exhausted, weary, tired'; similarly: *jī-snú-* 'victorious'; *sthā+*G-snú-* = *sthāsnú-* 'disposed to remain firm'; since the marker here is **G* and not *K*, the operation of 6.4.66 is blocked and there is no replacement of stem-vowel by [i]. The implication of [ca] in this rule is for the recurrence of verbal stem [*bhū-*] from the preceding rule: *bhū-ṣṇú-* 'becoming'.

3.2.140 ¹trási-²gḡdhi-³dhḡṣi-⁴kṣip-eḥ Knú-h

[The kṣt 1.93 affix 1.1] Knú is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] trás- 'tremble' (IV 10), gḡdh- 'be greedy' (IV 136), dhḡṣ- 'be bold' (V 22) and kṣip- 'throw, cast, toss' (IV 14, VI 15) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

tras+Knú = *tras-nú-* 'trembling'; *gḡdh-nú-* 'greedy'; *dhḡṣ-nú-* 'bold, daring'; *kṣip-nú-* 'tossing, casting, throwing' [8.2.2 in-applicable, cf. 8.4.39].

3.2.141 śam-iti=aṣṭā-bhyāḥ GHínyN

[The kṣt 1.93 affix 1.1] GHínyN is introduced [after 1.2] eight [verbal stems 1.91] beginning with śam- 'be calm' (IV 92=99) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

The marker [GH] of the affix is for the operation of 7.3.52 (of velar replacement of palatal phonemes [c, j]) applicable to the subsequent sūtras and [N] for the purpose of 7.2.116. In the case of the seven verbal stems referred to here ending in '-m, 7.3.34 blocks the operation of 7.2.116.

śam+GHínyN = *śam-in-* 'calm'; similarly *tam-in-* 'subduing, taming'; *śram-in-* 'laboring, exerting'; *bhram-in-* 'wandering'; *klam-in-* 'fatiguing'; *kṣam-in-* 'forebearing'; *un-mād-in-* 'maddening'.

3.2.142 ¹sám-prcā=²ánu-rudhā=³āN-yamÁ=⁴āN-yasā-
⁵pári-sṛ-⁶sám-sṛjÁ-⁷pári-devi-⁸sám-jvarÁ=⁹pári-kṣipÁ-
¹⁰pári-vadÁ-¹¹pári-dahÁ-¹²pári-muhÁ-¹³duṣÁ-¹⁴dviṣÁ-
¹⁵drúhÁ-¹⁶duhÁ-¹⁷yuja-¹⁸ā-kṛīḍ-¹⁹vī-vicā-²⁰tyajÁ-²¹rājÁ-
²²bhajÁ=²³āti-carÁ=²⁴āpa-carÁ=²⁵ā-muṣÁ=²⁶abhy-ā-han-as ca

[The kṣt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínyN 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sám+prc- 'connect, contact' (VII 25), ánu+rudh- 'surround' (VII 1), ā+yam- 'stretch' (I 1033), ā+yas- 'work hard' (IV 101), pári+sṛ- 'go round' (I 982), sám+sṛj- 'mix together' (VI 121), pári+dev- 'lament' (I 529), sám+jvar- 'be in great fever or heat' (I 813), pári+kṣip- 'cast all around' (VI 5), pári+raṭ- 'scream' (I 319), pári+vad- 'shout' (I 1058), pári+dah- 'consume' (I 1040), pári+muḥ- 'be bewildered' (IV 89), duṣ- 'err' (IV 76), dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3), drúh- 'be hostile' (IV 85), duh- 'milk' (II 4), yuj- 'join' (VII 5), 'concentrate' (IV 68), ā-kṛīḍ- 'sport' (I 373), vī+vic- 'separate' (VII 5), tyaj- 'abandon' (I 1035), rāj (= rānj- I 865) 'desire', bhaj- 'share' (I 1047), āti+car- 'overtake' and āpa+car- 'depart', ā+muṣ- 'steal' (I 707) and abhi+ā+han- 'wound' (II 2) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

sam+prc+GHínyN = *sam-park-fn-* (7.3.52,86) 'mixing, blending'; similarly: *anu-rodh-fn-* 'obliging, compliant'; *ā-yām-fn-* 'stretching'; *ā-yās-fn-* 'exhausted by work'; *pari-sār-fn-* 'wandering about'; *sam-sarg-fn-* 'mixing together'; *pari-dev-fn-* 'bemoaning'; *sam-jvār-fn-* 'feeling the heat of fever'; *pari-kṣep-fn-* 'scatterer'; *pari-rāṭ-fn-* 'screaming'; *pari-vād-fn-* 'blaming'; *pari-dāh-fn-* 'burning hot'; *pari-moh-fn-* 'perplexed'; *doṣ-fn-* 'guilty of an offence'; *dveṣ-fn-* 'hating'; *droh-fn-* 'hurting'; *doh-fn-* 'milking'; *yog-fn-* 'uniting'; *ā-kṛīḍ-fn-* 'sporting'; *vi-vek-fn-* 'discriminating'; *tyāg-fn-* 'renouncing'; *rāg-fn-* 'hankering after'; *bhāg-fn-* 'sharer'; *ati-cār-fn-* 'wrong-doer, transgressor'; *apa-cār-fn-* 'wrong-doer'; *ā-moṣ-fn-* 'thief, robber'; *abhy-ā-ghāt-fn-* 'attacker, attacking' (7.3.32,54).

3.2.143 v-aú ¹kās-²lās-³kātthA-⁴srāmbh-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínyN 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *kās-* 'injure' (I 716), *lās-* 'embrace, sport' (I 745), *kātth-* 'praise' (I 37) and *srāmbh-* 'trust, believe in' (I 794), co-occurring with the preverb *ví-* 'to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vi-kās-fn- 'injuring'; *vi-lās-fn-* 'sportful'; *vi-kātth-fn-* 'boasting'; *vi-srāmbh-fn-* 'confiding'.

3.2.144 āp-e ca lās-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínyN 142 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *lās-* 'desire' (I 937), co-occurring with the preverb *āpa-* 'and (ca) [vī-' 143, to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

apa-lās-fn- 'free from desire'; *vi-lās-fn-* 'desirous'.

3.2.145 pr-é ¹láp-²sr-³dru-⁴māthg-⁵vād-⁶vas-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínyN 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *láp-* 'prattle' (I 429), *sr-* 'flow' (I 982, III 17), *dru-* 'run' (I 992), *māth-* 'churn, agitate' (I 901), *vad-* 'speak' (I 1058), and *vas-* 'reside, dwell, abide' (I 1054), co-occurring with the preverb *prá-* 'to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

pra-lāp-fn- 'prattler'; *pra-sār-fn-* 'flowing or moving around'; *pra-drāv-fn-* 'running away'; *pra-māth-fn-* 'churner, agitator'; *pra-vād-fn-* 'reporter' and *pra-vās-fn-* 'traveller'.

3.2.146 ¹nínda-²himsa-³klísA-khāda-⁴vi-nāśa-⁵pāri-klísĀ-
⁶pāri-raṭĀ-⁷pāri-vād-i-⁸vyā-bhāṣA=⁹asūy-aḥ vUÑ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] nínd- 'blame' (I 66), hims- 'hurt, injure' (VII 19), klís 'torment' (IV 52a), khād- 'eat' (I 50), vi+nāś- (= naś+NíC IV 85) 'destroy', pári+kṣip- 'scatter' (VI 5), pári+raṭ- 'scream' (I 319), pári+vād-i (= vad+NíC I 1058) 'accuse, blame' and vy-ā-bhāṣ- 'declare' (I 643) and asūy- (kaṇḍv-ādi) 'envy' [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

nínd+vuÑ = *nínd-aka-* (7.1.1; 6.1.117) 'who blames or censures'; similarly: *hims-aka-* 'who injures'; *klís-aka-* 'tormentor'; *khād-aka-* 'eater'; *vi-nāś-aka-* 'destroyer'; *pāri-kṣép-aka-* 'scatterer'; *pāri-rāt-aka-* 'screamer, clamorer'; *pāri-vād-aka-* 'accuser, censurer'; *vy-ā-bhāṣ-aka-* 'announcer, declarer'; and *asūy-aka-* 'envier'.

3.2.147 ¹dev-i-²krúś-os=ca=upasargé

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 vuÑ 145] is also (ca) [introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dev-i (= dév- I 529+NíC) 'lament' and krúś- 'cry' (I 909) when co-occurring with preverbs (upasarg-é) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

ā-dev-i+vuÑ = *ā-dév-θ+aka-* (6.4.51) = *ā-dév-aka-* 'sporting, playful'; *pāri-dév-aka-* 'who laments, wailer'. Here two sets of verbal stems appear to be involved: [div- I 1, X 166, and X 185 with I 529 as indicated above].
ā-krúś-aka- 'reviler', *pāri-krúś-aka-* 'who laments, wailer'.

3.2.148 ¹cálana-²śábdā=arth-āt=á-karmak-āt=yuC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.93] signifying movement (cálana-°) or sound (°-śábdā=arthāt) and are intransitive (á-karmak-āt) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

1. *cálana=arthe: cal+yuC* = *cal-and-* (7.1.1) 'moving'; similarly *gam-and-* 'going'.
2. *śábdā=arthe: śabd-and-* 'sounding'; *rav-aṇḍ-* 'crying'.

3.2.149 ánudātta=IT-as=ca hál-āde-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *yuC* 148 is introduced after 1.2 an intransitive 148 verbal stem 1.91] beginning with a consonant (hál-āde-ḥ) and having a low pitch as an IT marker (án-udātta-IT-aḥ) (when first introduced in the Dhp.) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vr̥tU (I 795)+*yuC* = *vart-and-* 'abiding'; similarly *vr̥dhU* (I 796)+*yuC* = *vardh-and-* 'increasing, growing'; but *bhū+iT+tr̥N* = *bhū-i-tr̥-* 'becoming'.

3.2.150 ¹ju-²cañ-kram-yá-³dan-dram-yá-⁴sṛ-⁵grdhī-⁶jvālÁ-⁷súcÁ-⁸lāsA-⁹pátā-¹⁰pad-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *yuC* 148 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *ju-* 'go', *cañ-kram-yá-* 'walk constantly', *dan-dram-yá-* 'roam about constantly', *sṛ-* 'flow' (I 982), *grdh-* 'envy' (IV 136), *jvāl-* 'burn' (I 842), *súc-* 'lament' (I 198), *lās-* 'desire' (I 937), *pát-* 'fly, fall down' (I 898) and *pad-* 'tread, walk' (IV 80) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Verbal stems having the sense of 'movement' and [pad-], covered by the preceding rule, are included here when they function as transitive verbs. The verbal stems [cañ-kram-yá-] and [dan-dram-yá-] are derived intensive or frequentative stems from [kram-] 'walk, tread' (I 502) and [dram-] 'roam' (I 494).

ju+yuC = *jau-and-* 'fleet, swift'; and similarly: *cañ-kram-yā+yuC* (6.4.48) = *cañ-kram-āṅ-and-* (6.4.49; 8.4.2) 'moving about constantly' and *dan-dram-āṅ-and-* 'wandering about frequently'; *sar-and-* 'flowing', *grdh-and-* 'envying, greedy'; *jval-and-* 'burning, fire'; *soc-and-* 'lamenting'; *lās-and-* 'yearning'; *pat-and-* 'flying, falling'; *pad-and-* 'moving, treading'.

3.2.151 ¹krudhÁ-²mañdā=arthe-bhyas=ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *yuC* 148 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] signifying 'be angry' [*krudhÁ-(arthe-bhyaḥ* IV 80)] and 'adorn' [*mañd-(arthe-bhyaḥ* I 344)] [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

krudh+YuC = *krodh-and-* 'wrathful', *ros-and-*, *kop-and-* 'irate'; similarly: *mañd-and-*, *bhūṣ-and-* 'adorning'.

3.2.152 ná y-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148] is not introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme °-y- [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

knāy-i-tṛ+trN = *knāy-i-tr-* 'stinking'.

3.2.153 ¹sūdA-²dīpa-³dīkṣ-as=ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is not introduced 152 after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sūd- 'fight, slay' (I 25), dīp- 'shine, be bright' (IV 42) and dīkṣ- 'initiate' (I 640) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Exception to 149 above. *sūd-i-tr-* 'fighter, combatant'; *dīp-i-tr-* 'illuminator'; *dīkṣ-i-tr-* 'initiator'. The general affix [trN 135] above is introduced in the place of yuC in 152-3.

3.2.154 ¹lāṣA-²pātā-³padA-⁴sthā-⁵bhū-⁶vṛṣa-⁷hanĀ-⁸kāma-⁹gama-¹⁰śṛ-bhyaḥ=ukaN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] ukaN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] lāṣ- 'desire' (I 937), pāt- 'fly, fall' (I 898), pad- 'walk, tread' (IV 60), sthā- 'stand, remain' (I 975), bhū- 'become' (I 1), vṛṣ- 'rain' (I 738), han- 'strike, kill' (II 2), kām- 'love' (I 470), gam- 'go' (I 1031), śṛ- 'destroy' (IX 18) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

apa+lāṣ+ukaN = *apa-lāṣ-uka-* 'undesirable'; similarly: *pra-pāt-uka-* 'falling down, miscarrying'; *upa-pād-uka-* 'coming into existence or being'; *upa-sthā-y-uka-* (7.3.33) 'nearing, approaching'; *pra-bhū-uka-* 'powerful, mighty'; *pra-vṛṣ-uka-* 'precipitating, raining'; *ā+han+ukaN* = *aghān-ukaN* (8.3.54) = *aghāt-uka-* (7.3.32) 'killing, fatal'; *kām-uka-* 'lustful, desirous'; *ā-gām-uka-* 'arriving'; *kim-śār-uka-* 'destroying everything'.

3.2.155 ¹jālpĀ-²bhīkṣA-³kuṭṭĀ-⁴luṇṭĀ-⁵vṛN-bhyaḥ=ŚākaN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] ŚākaN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] jālp- 'prattle, murmur' (I 425), bhīkṣ- 'beg, seek alms' (I 637), kuṭṭ- 'to crush, abuse' (X 23), luṇṭ- 'rob, plunder' (X 27), and vṛN- 'choose' (IX 38) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

jālp+ṢakaN = *jālp-āka-* 'prattler', *bhīkṣ-āka-* 'seeking alms', *kūtt-āka-* 'crusher, abuser'; *lūṇṭ-āka-* 'robber, plunderer', *vār-āka-* 'choosing'. The marker [Ṣ] of affix is to indicate that the feminine derivative has NfS (4.1.41).

3.2.156 *prá-jo-r ínī-ḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *ínī* is introduced [after the verbal stem 1.91] *prá+ju-* 'hasten' [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

pra+ju+ín- = *pra-jav-ín-* 'rapid, swift, hastening'.

3.2.157 ¹*jí-²dr-³kṣí-⁴ví-śrí=*⁵*iN-⁶vámÁ=*⁷*á-vyathA=* ⁸*abhý-amA-⁹pári-bhū-¹⁰prá-sū-bhyas=ca*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *ínī* 156 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *jí-* 'win' (I 59), *dr-* 'honor' (VI 18), *kṣí-* 'waste away' (I 255), 'reside, move' (VI 114), *ví+śrí-* 'depend on, rely' (I 945), *iN-* 'go' (II 36), *vam-* 'vomit, throw out' (I 902), *náñ+vyath-* 'not tremble' (I 801), *abhí+am-* 'attack, hurt' (I 493), *pári+bhū-* 'despise' (I 1) and *prá+sū-* 'urge, incite, impel' (VI 115) also (ca) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

jí+ín- = *jay-ín-* 'victorious, winning'; similarly: *dar-ín-* 'honoring'; *kṣay-ín-* 'wasting away'; *vi-śray-ín-* 'depending on, relying upon'; *aty-ay-ín-* 'exceeding'; *vam-ín-* 'vomiting, throwing out'; *a-vyath-ín-* 'not hurting'; *abhý-am-ín-* 'attacking'; *pári-bhav-ín-* 'despising'; *pra-sav-ín-* 'urging, inciting, impelling'.

3.2.158 ¹*spṛh-í-²grh-í-³pat-í-⁴dáyí-⁵ní-drā-⁶tándrā-⁷śrād-dhā-bhyaḥ=ālúC*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *ālúC* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *spṛh-í-* 'desire' (X 325), *grh-í-* 'grasp, seize' (X 351), *pat-í-* 'go' (X 315), *dáy-* 'give' (I 510), *ní-drā-* 'fall asleep' (II 45), *tándrā-* 'be tired' (II 45), *śrād-dhā-* 'have faith, believe in' (III 10) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

spṛh-í+ālú- = *spṛh-ay-ālú-* (6.4.55) 'desirous'; similarly: *grh-ay-ālú-* 'disposed to grasp'; *pat-ay-ālú-* 'apt to fly or fall'; *dáy-ālú-* 'kind, compassionate'; *ní-dr-ālú-* 'disposed towards sleep, sleepy'; *tan-drā-ālú-* 'tired, lazy, weary'; *śrād-dhā-ālú-* 'disposed towards faith, trusting'.

3.2.159 ¹dā-²dheṭ-³si-⁴śadā-sad-aḥ=rúḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *rú* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *dā* 'give' (III 9), *dheṭ*- 'drink' (I 951), *si*- 'blind' (V 2), *śad*- 'fall' (I 908, VI 134) and *sad*- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

dā+ṛú- = *dā-ṛú* 'liberal, bounteous'; *dhe+ṛú*- = *dhā-ṛú* (8.1.45) = 'suckling (baby)';
se-ṛú- 'binding'; *śad-ṛú*- 'unstable, liable to fall down'; *sad-ṛú*- 'stable, resting'.

3.2.160 ¹ṣṭ-²ghāsi=³ad-aḥ KmaráC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *KmaráC* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *ṣṭ*- 'flow' (I 982, III 17), *ghās*- 'eat' (I 747) and *ad*- 'eat' (II 1) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

ṣṭ+KmaráC = *ṣṭ-mard*- 'running well, a kind of gazelle'; *ghas-mard*-, *ad-mard*- 'voracious, gluttonous'.

3.2.161 ¹bhanjā-²bhāśa-³mīd-aḥ=GHuráC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *GHuráC* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *bhanj*- 'break' (VII 16), *bhāś*- 'shine' (I 655) and *mīd*- 'be fat' (I 920) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

bhañj+GHuráC = *bhañj-urá*- (7.3.52) 'fragile'; *bhāś-urá*- 'luminous, shining';
mīd-urá- 'fat, thick'.

3.2.162 ¹vidi-²bhidī-³cchideḥ KuráC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *KuráC* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *vid*- 'know' (II 55), *bhid*- 'split' (VII 2) and *chid*- 'cut' (VII 3) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vid+KuráC = *vid-urá*- 'learned, knowledgeable'; *bhid-urá*- 'fragile, brittle';
chid-urá- 'easily breaking'.

3.2.163 ¹iṆ-²naś-³jī-⁴sar-ti-bhyaḥ KvaraP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *KvaraP* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *iṆ*- 'go' (II 36), *naś*- 'disappear' (IV 85), *jī*- 'win' (I 59), and *ṣṭ*- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

iN+KvaraP = *i-tuK+vara-* = *i-t-vara-* (8.1.71) 'traveler'; *ndé-vara-* 'perishable, transitory'; *jí-t-vara-* 'victorious'; *af-t-vara-* 'swift, running'.

3.2.164 *gá-t-vara-s=ca*

(The irregular form) *gá-t-vara-* is introduced [as derived with *kft* 1.93 affix 1.1 *KvaraP* 163 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 *gam-* (I 1031) to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

gam+KvaraP = *gaθ+KvaraP* (irregular *θ* replacement) = *gá-t-vara-* 'transient, perishable'.

3.2.165 *jāgu-r ūka-h*

[The *kft* 1.93 affix 1.1] *ūka* is introduced [after 1.1 the verbal stem 1.91] *jāg-* 'wake up' (II 63) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

jāg+ūka = *jāgar-ūka-* 'wakeful, alert'.

3.2.166 ¹*yaj*À-²*jáp*Á-³*daś*-ām *ya*Ñ-ah

[The *kft* 1.93 affix 1.1 *ūka* 165 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *yaj-* 'sacrifice' (I 1051), *jap-* 'mutter' (I 424) and *daś-* (= *daś-* I 1038) 'bite', co-occurring with the derivative affix *yáÑ* (of the frequentative stem) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

yaj+yaÑ+ūka- = *yā-yaj+ya+ūka-* = *yāyaj-θθ+ūka-* (2.4.74) = *yā-yaj-ūka-* 'constantly sacrificing'; similarly: *jāñ-jap-ūka-* (7.4.86; 2.4.72) 'constantly muttering'; *dañ-daś-ūka-* 'biting repeatedly'.

3.2.167 ¹*nam*|-²*kámp*|-³*smi*-⁴*ś*-*jas*-⁵*kāma*-⁶*himsa*-⁷*dīp*-ah=*ra-h*

[The *kft* 1.93 affix 1.1] *rā-* is introduced [after 1.1 the verbal stems 1.91] *nam-* 'bend, bow down' (I 1030) *kámp-* 'tremble' (I 400), *smi-* 'smile' (I 996), *ś+jas-* 'not be exhausted' (IV 102), *kām-* 'love' (I 470), *hims-* 'injure, hurt' (VII 19) and *dīp-* 'shine' (IV 42) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

nam+rā = *nam-rā-* 'tender, easily bending'; *kāmp-rā-* 'tremulous'; *smi-rā-*

'smiling'; *a-jas-rá-* 'inexhaustible'; *kam-rá-* 'loving' ; *hims-rá-* 'predatory';
dīp-rá- 'shining, luminous'.

3.2.168 ${}^1\text{saN} = {}^2\tilde{\text{ā}}\text{-śāmsa-}^3\text{bhīkṣ-aḥ=ū-h}$

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] $\tilde{\text{ū}}$ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] (ending in 1.1.72) the stem-forming affix *saN* (= marker of the desiderative) and $\tilde{\text{ā}}+\text{śāmsa-}$ 'hope' (I 660) and *bhīkṣ-* 'seek alms, beg' (I 637) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

kṛ+saN+ū = ci-kṛ-ṣa+ū (cf. 1.7) = *ci-kṛ-ṣṭ+ū-* (6.4.48) = *ci-kṛ-ṣ-ū-* 'wishing to do'; similarly: *ā-śāmsa-ū-* 'hoping, wishing, desiring'; *bhīkṣ-ū-* 'almsman, medicant, monk'.

3.2.169 vind-ū-r icch-ū-h

(The irregular forms) *vind-ū-* 'intelligent' and *icch-ū-* 'who desires or wishes' are introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 $\tilde{\text{ū}}$ 168 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem *vid-* 'know' (II 5) and *iṣ-* 'wish, desire' (VI 59) to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vid+u- = *vid+nyM+ū-* (irregular increment) = *vind-ū-* 'intelligent, disposed to know'; *iṣ+u-* = *ich+ū* (irregular replacement of stem-final by [ch] before a non- $\tilde{\text{S}}$ -IT affix, cf. 7.3.77) = *icch-ū-* (6.1.73).

3.2.170 Kyāt=chāndas-i

In the domain of *Chāndas* [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 $\tilde{\text{ū}}$ 168 is introduced after 1.2 a (denominative) verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affixes 1.1 denoted by the cover term] *Kyā* (= *KyāC*, *KyāN* and *KyāṢ* 1.8,11,13 respectively) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

1. *KyāC*: *mitr-ām ātmān-aḥ=icch-d-ti* = *mitra+KyāC* (1.8)+ $\tilde{\text{ū}}$ - = *mitra-ya+ū-* = *mitra-yṭ-ū-* = *mitra-y-ū-* 'friendly', corresponding to non-Vedic *mitrī-ya+iT+trN* (135) = *mītrī-yṭ+i-tr-*.
2. *sumnd iva ā-car-a-ti* = *sumna+KyāN+ū-* = *sumna+yṭ+ū-* = *sumna-y-ū-* 'gracious, benevolent'.
3. *sarṁ-svedo bhūv-a-ti* = *sarṁ+sved+KyāṢ+ū-* = *sarṁ-sved+yṭ+ū-* = *sarṁsveda-y-ū-* (7.4.35) 'perspiring'.

3.2.171 ¹āṭ=²ṛ-³gamā-han-⁴jan-aḥ ¹Ki-²KiN-au=IIṬ ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 170 the kft 1.93 affixes 1.2] Ki and KiN are introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the phonemes] long [ā] and phoneme-class [ṛ] as well as gam- 'go' (I 1031), han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) and jan- 'be born' (IV 41) and these affixes function like IIṬ 'Perfect Tense' [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Interpretation indicates that the phoneme [t] of [āṭ] is not a marker which by 1.1 70 would have constrained the following phoneme [ṛ] to the short variety only, Patañjali even suggests that its replacement [d] in sandhi served the purpose of separating the two vowels and is used for ease of pronunciation only. When sandhi is separated the alternative reading would be [āḍ-ṛ-] in the place of [āṭ-ṛ-].

1. ¹-ā: pā+Ki = pa-pā+Ki (6.1.8; 7.4.59) = pa-pḥ+I (6.4.64) pa-p-f-ḥ sōm-am dad-ir gā-ḥ 'imbiber of Soma and donor of cattle' (RV 6.23.4).
2. ²-ṛ (phoneme class): tṛ+KiN = tḍ-tṛ+i- = tḍ-tur-i- (7.4.78 bahulam chandas-i) 'conquering, going over'.
3. gam+KiN = jā-gam+KiN = ja-gḥm+i- (6 4.98) = ja-gm-f- 'going'.
4. han+KiN = jā-han+KiN = ja-hḥn+KiN = jā-ghn-i- (7.3.54; 4.62) in jā-ghn-ir vṛtr-ām 'destroyer of V.' (RV 9.61.20).
5. jan+KiN = jā-jan+KiN = jā-jḥn+KiN = jā-jn-i bṛjān 'germinating seed'.

3.2.172 ¹svapi-²tṛṣ-oh=nájiN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] nájiN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] svap- 'lie down, sleep' (II 59) and tṛṣ- 'be thirsty' (IV 118) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

svap+nájiN = svap-nāj- 'sleepy'; tṛṣ-ṇaj- (8 4.1) 'thirsty'.

3.2.173 ¹śṛ-²vāndy-or āru-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] āru is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śṛ- 'injure, hurt' (IX 18) and vānd- 'salute' (I 11) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

śṛ+āru- = śar-āru- 'injurious'; vānd-āru- 'saluting'.

3.2.174 bhiy-aḥ ¹Krú-¹KlukaN-au

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] Krú and KlukaN are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhī- 'fear' (III 2) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

bhī+Krú/KlukaN = bhī-rú-/bhī-luka- 'timid, timorous'.

A vārttika introduces in addition the affix KrukaN: *bhī-ruka-*.

3.2.175 ¹sthā-²śāA-³bhāsA-⁴pīśa-⁵kās-aḥ=varāC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] varāC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sthā- 'stand, remain' (I 975), śā- 'rule' (II 10), bhās- 'shine' (I 655), pīś- 'go' (I 751) and kās- 'go' (I 913) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

sthā+varāC = sthā-varā- 'stationary, immovable'; similarly: *śā-varā-* 'ruler, lord, master'; *bhās-varā-* 'luminous, shining'; *pīś-varā-*, *kās-varā-* 'moving'.

3.2.176 y-as=ca yaN-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 varāC 175 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yā- 'go' (II 40) (ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affix) yaN (marker of the Intensive or Frequentative 1.22) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

yā+yaN+varāC = yā+yā-varā- 'vagrant, rambling'.

3.2.177 ¹bhrāja-²bhāśa-³dhūrvī-⁴dyūtA=⁵ūrjī-⁶pṛ-⁷ju-⁸grāva-stuv-aḥ KvīP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhrāj- 'shine' (I 194), bhāś- 'shine' (I 650), dhūrv- 'injure' (I 604), dyūt- 'shine' (I 777), ūrj- 'be strong' (X 16), pṛ 'fill up' (IX 19), ju- 'move rapidly', grāva+stu- 'praise the Soma stones' [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vi-bhrāj+KvīP = vi-bhrāj+Ø 'splendid, luminous'; *bhāś-* 'luster, brightness'; *dhuru+KvīP = dhūr+Ø* (6.4.21) = *dhūr-* 'yoke, pole or shaft of a wagon'; *vi-dyūt-* 'shining, lightning'; *ūrj-* 'strength, vigor'; *pṛ+KvīP = pūr+Ø = pūr-* 'fortified city'; *ju+KvīP = jū-* (irregular replacement by long vowel, contra 6.1.71) 'swift'; *grāva-stu-t+Ø* 'pressing the Soma stones'.

3.2.178 anyé-bhyah=ápi dṛś-yá-te

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 177] is also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yá-te) as [introduced after 1.2] other (anyé-bhyah) [verbal stems 1.91 to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

yúj+KviP = yúj+ṭh 'joining'; similarly *chíd-* 'cutting', *bhíd-* 'breaking'. The expression [dṛś-yá-te 'seen'] is interpreted as indicating the application of other rules such as replacement of short vowels by long ones as in the case of *já* (177) or reduplication as in *dī-dyút-* 'shining, glittering', *já-gat-* 'moving', or samprasāraṇa replacement (= vocalization) as in *dī-dyút-* or absence of vocalization as in *vac+KviP* = *vāk-* 'speech, speaking'.

3.2.179 bhūv-aḥ ¹saṁjñā=²āntaray-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 177 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū* 'become' (I 1) to form a name or for denoting a surety (*āntara*).

vi+bhū+KviP = *vi-bhū-* 'n.pr. of a person'; *prati-bhū-* 'surety'.

3.2.180 ¹vi-²prá-³sám-bhyah=Ḍú=⁴saṁjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *Ḍú* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *bhū-* 179] co-occurring with the preverbs *vi-*°, *prá-*°, *sám-*° when not denoting a name (*ś-saṁjñā-yām*).

vi+bhū+Ḍú = *vi-bhū+ú-* (6.4.143) = *vi-bh-ú-* 'omnipresent'; similarly: *pra-bh-ú-* 'master, lord'; *sam-bh-ú-* 'sire, progenitor'; but *vi-bhū* 'n.pr.' (179).

3.2.181 dh-aḥ kármaṇ-i ṢṭraN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *ṢṭraN* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *dhā-* (= *dheṭ* I 951) 'drink' and *dhā-* 'nourish' (III 10) to denote the object (*kármaṇ-i*) of the verbal stem.

dháy-anti/dá-dh-ati tām = *dheṭ+ṢṭraN* = *dhā+ṢṭraN+Nṯ* (4.1.41) *dhā-trf* 'wet nurse'; *dhā+ṢṭraN+Nṯ* = *dhā-trf* = *dá-dh-ati tām bhaisajyārtham* 'they bear it for the purpose of medication: n.pr. *Emblca Officinalis*'.

3.2.182 ¹dāP-²nī-³śás-⁴yu-⁵yuja-⁶stu-⁷tudÁ-⁸si-⁹siA-¹⁰mihÁ-
¹¹pát-¹²daśÁ-¹³nah-aḥ káraṇe

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ṢtraN 181 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dāP- 'cut' (II 50), nī- 'lead' (I 950), śás- 'injure' (I 763), yu- 'mix' (II 23), yuj- 'join' (VII 7), stu- 'praise' (II 34), tud- 'torment' (VI 1), si- 'bind' (V 2), si- 'sprinkle' (VI 140), mih- 'urinate' (I 1041), pát- 'fly, fall' (I 898), daś- (= danś- I 1038) 'bite', and nah- 'bind' (VI 57) to denote an instrument (karaṇe).

dāP+ṢtraN = *dā-tra-* 'sickle'; similarly: *nē=trá-* 'eye'; *śás-a-ti an-éna* = *śás-tra-* 'weapon'; *yó-tra-* 'the tie which fastens the yoke'; *yók-tra-* 'thong, halter'; *stó-tra-* 'song of praise, eulogy'; *tót-tra-* 'goad'; *śé-tra-* 'bond, fetter, ligament'; *śek-tra-* 'sprinkler'; *mēh-a-ti an-éna* = *mih+ṢtraN* = *mēh+tra-* = *médh+dhra-* (8.2.31,40; 4.41) = *mēṭh-dhra-* (8.3.13 contra 8.2.1) 'penis'; *pát-tra-* 'pinion, feather; vehicle'; *dánś+ṢtraN+TāP* (4.1.4) = *dámś-tra-* (8.2.36; 4.1) 'tooth, tusk' *nādh+ṢtraN* = *nādh+tra-* (8.2.34) = *nādh-dhra-* (8.2.40) + *ÑTS* = *nad-dhrf* (8.4.53) 'a thong'.

3.2.183 ¹halá-²sūkaráy-oḥ puv-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ṢtraN 181 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pū- 'purify' (I 1015, IX 12) [to denote an instrument 182] when it forms a limb of a plough (halá- ' ') or of a boar (°-sūkará).

pāv-a-te/pu-ná-ti vā anéna = *pó-tra-* 'ploughshare/snout of a boar'.

3.2.184 ¹ár-ti-²lū-³dhū-⁴sū-⁵khána-⁶sáhA-⁷cár-aḥ=ftra-h

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] ftra is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] f- 'go' (III 16), lū- 'cut, reap' (IX 13), dhū- 'shake' (IV 115), sū- 'urge, incite, impel' (VI 115), khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) and cár- 'move; graze' (I 591) [to denote an instrument 182].

fyar-ti anéna = *f+íttra-* = *ar-íttra-* 'oar'; similarly *lav-íttra-* 'sickle'; *dhav-íttra-* 'fan'; *sav-íttra-* 'an instrument (of production)'; *khán-íttra-* 'spade'; *sáh-íttra-* 'endurance'; *cár-íttra-* 'behavior, conduct'.

3.2.185 puv-aḥ saṁjñá-yām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ftra 184 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pū- 'purify' (I 1015, IX 12) [to denote an instrument 182] to derive a name (saṁjñá-yām).

pāv-a-te/pu-nā-ti an-ēna = pū+ītra- = pav-ītra- 'instrument for purification (such as kuśa grass or darbha-grass)'.

3.2.186 kartár-i ca=¹ṣi-²devatáy-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ītra* 184 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *pū-* 185 to denote the instrument 182] as well as (ca) the agent (kartár-i) to denote (respectively 1.3.10) a seer (*ṣi-* °) and a divinity (°-devátay-oh).

pū-yá-te an-ēna = pav-ītra-h = ṣi-h 'the seer is an instrument of purification (i.e., purifier)'; *pāv-a-te/pu-nā-ti asaú = pav-ītram agnī-h, śd mā pu-nā-tu* 'May Agni, the purifier, purify me'.

3.2.187 ŪI=IT-aḥ Ktá-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *Ktá* is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] with IT marker ŪI [when the action refers to the present time 123].

ŪI-mid-Ā anēhan-e (I 779, IV 133)+*Ktá* = *min-nā-* (8.2.42) 'grows fat'.

3.2.188 ¹māti-²búddhi-³pūjā=arthe-bhyas=ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *Ktá* 187 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] signifying wish (*māti-* °), know (°-*búddhi-* °) and honor (°-*pūjā*=*artha-*) also (ca) [when the action refers to the present time 123].

The two rules 187-8 are exceptions to 102 above where this affix functions when the action refers to the past time.

man+Ktá = māṭ+tá- (8.4.37): *rājñ-am mā-táḥ* 'is desired by kings'. Similarly *rājñ-am bud-dhā-ḥ* 'is known to kings'; *rājñ-am pūj-i-tá-ḥ* 'is honored by kings'.

The genitive is used by virtue of 2.3.85.

3.3.1 úN=āday-aḥ=bahulám

[The class of kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] beginning with úN is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 when the action refers to the present time 2.123] variously (bahulám) [to form names 2.185].

The word [bahulám] here implies that (a) these affixes are introduced after some verbal bases other than those specified and (b) affixes not specified are inferred from actual usage.

This class of affixes is not taught by Pāṇini in the Aṣṭ. He makes a reference to this class again in 4.75 below. There are many recensions of Uṇādi-sūtras independent of Aṣṭ, but their relationship to P. is not established. Commentaries however quote some illustrations: *vāti=vā+úN = vā+yaK+ú-* (7.3.33) = *vā-y-ú* 'wind, breeze'; *kṛ+úN = kār-ú-* 'doer'.

3.3.2 bhūt-é=āpi dṛś-yānte

[The class of kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 beginning with úN 1] are also (āpi) seen (dṛś-yānte) introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] when the action refers to the general past (bhūt-é).

vyt-tām idam = vyt+mañiN = vārti-man- 'way'; *bhas-i-tām tad = bhas-man-* 'ashes' respectively indicating what was trodden and what was burnt, the results of which respectively stand for the notion of 'way/ashes'.

3.3.3 bhaviṣyāt-i gami(n)=āday-aḥ

(The class of expressions) beginning with [gam-in-] 'intends to go' are introduced when the action refers to the general future (bhavi-ṣyāt-i).

By interpretation (through a vārttika) this is restricted to the general future excluding the current day: *śvo gam-iḥ grāmam* 'he intends going to the village tomorrow'.

3.3.4 yāvat-²purā-nipātáy-oḥ=IAT

(The l-substitutes of) IAT 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the action refers to the general future time 3] while co-occurring with the particles yāvat 'whenever' and purā 'soon, shortly'.

yāvad bhunk-té 'whenever he eats' and *purā bhunk-té* 'will eat shortly'; but when [yāvat] is not a particle: *yāvad dā-syā-ti tāvad bhok-syā-te* 'he will eat as much as he will give'.

3.3.5 vibhāṣā ¹kadā-²karhy-ōḥ

[The l-substitutes of IAṬ (Present Tense) 4] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem when the action refers to the general future 3] when co-occurring with [the particles 4] kadā 'when' and karhī 'id.'

kadā/karhī + bhukṣ-īē/bhok-sya-te 'when will he eat?'

3.3.6 kim-vṛtt-é lipsā-yām

[When the action refers to the general future time 3, the l-substitutes of IAṬ 4 are optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] when co-occurring with declensional forms of kim- 'what, which, who' (and its derivatives: kim-vṛtt-e') to denote the agent's desire to gain possession (lipsā-yām).

kām bhāvanto bhoj-āy-anti? 'Whom will you desire to feed?' = *kām bhāvanto bhoj-ay-i-tā-rah/bhoj-ay-i-ṣyānti*
katarā bhikṣām dā-syā-ti / dā-dā-ti/dā-tā 'which one desires to give alms?'

3.3.7 lip-sya-m-āna-siddh-āu ca

And (ca) [when the action refers to the general future time 3 the l-substitutes of IAṬ 4 are optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote success (siddh-au) arising from the fulfilment of what is desired (lip-syā-m-āna-°).

yō bhaktām dā-dāti/dāsyā-ti/datā sá svargām gacch-a-ti/gam-i-ṣyā-ti/gan-tā 'he who will donate food will go to heaven'. X exhorts Y, the donor, with the promise of heaven as a result of the donation.

3.3.8 IOṬ=artha-lakṣaṇ-é ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the l-substitutes of IAṬ 4] are also (ca) introduced [optionally 5 after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] if that action characterizes the meanings associated with IOṬ (Imperative Mood 162) (IOṬ-artha-lakṣaṇ-é).

upādhyāyāś céd ā-gacch-a-ti/ā-gam-i-ṣyā-ti/ā-gan-tā ātha tvām vyākaraṇam ādhi-sva 'if the teacher comes learn grammar'. The subordinate clause is the characteristic of the Imperative Mood.

3.3.9 IIN ca=ūrdhva-mauhūrtik-e

[When the action refers to the general future time 3] indicating its happening after a short interval (ūrdhva-mauhūrtik-e) [l-substitutes of IAT 4] as well as of IIN (ca) (Optative Mood) are [optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, if that action characterises the meanings associated with IOT 8].

*ūrdhvam muhūrtāt / upāri muhūrtā-ya upādhyāyāś cēd ā-gacch-et/ā-gacch-a-ti/
ā-gam-i-ṣya-ti/ā-gan-tā ātha tvam vyākaraṇam ādhī-ṣva* 'if the teacher arrives
within a muhurta (i.e., shortly) then study grammar'.

3.3.10 ¹tumyN=²NvuL-au kriyā-yām kriyā-arthā-yām

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] tumyN and NvuL are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with (another action) which is performed in order to perform this action (kriyā-yām kriyārthā-yām).

bhuj+tumyN = bhōk-tum vrdj-a-ti 'goes to eat' = *bhuj+NvuL = bhōj-ako-vrdj-a-ti*

3.3.11 bhāva-vācanāś ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] introduced in the section headed by [bhāvé 18 below] are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with another action performed in order to perform this action 10].

pac+GHañ (18) = pak-d- (7.3.52; 6.1.159): pākā-ya vrdj-a-ti 'is going to cook'.

3.3.12 āN kārman-l ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1] āN also (ca) is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [a nominal padā 1.4] functioning as its direct object (kārman-l) [and with another action which is performed in order to perform this action 10].

kāṇḍam lu-nā-ti = kāṇḍa+θ¹+lū+aN = kāṇḍa-lāu-d+sU = kāṇḍa-lāu-ō vrdj-a-ti 'is
going to cut a branch'.

3.3.13 lṛṭ śeṣ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of] lṛṭ (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the action refers to the general future time 3] (śeṣ-e) and [when co-occurring with another action which is performed in order to perform this action 10].

1. $kṛ+lṛṭ = kar-iṭ+syā+ti = kar-i-syā-ti$ (1.33; 7.2.35; 8.3.59) 'he will do/be doing'.
2. $kar-i-syā-mi=iti urāḍ-a-ti$ 'he goes out to perform or make (something)'.

3.3.14 lṛṭ-aḥ SAT=vā

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. SAT (2.127 = Śātṛ and ŚānāC) optionally (vā) replace (l-substitutes of) lṛṭ.

This is a regulated option [vyavasthita-vibhāṣā]; it is optional with the first sUP triplet but obligatory with other sUP triplets: $kar-i-syā-n/kar-i-syā-ti$ *devadattā-h* 'D. will be doing', but $kar-i-syā-ntam/kar-i-syā-m-ānam$ *deva-dattām pāśya* 'look at D. who is about to perform'.

3.3.15 ān-adya-tan-e IUṭ

[When the action refers to the general future time 3] excluding the current day (ān-adya-tan-e) (l-substitutes of) IUṭ (periphrastic or non-sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$śvāḥ kṛ+IUṭ = śvāḥ kar+tās+Dā$ (1.33; 2.4.85) = $kar-tāḥ+ā$ (8.4.143) = $śvāḥ kar-t-ā$ 'will be doing tomorrow'.

3.3.16 ¹padA-²ruja-³viśÁ-⁴spṛś-aḥ=GHaÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affx 1.1] GHaÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pad- 'go' (IV 80), ruj- 'afflict' (VI 123), viś- 'enter' (VI 130) and spṛś- 'touch' (VI 128).

Beginning with this rule onwards all affixes introduced are valid for all the three times: present, past and future.

$pad-yā-te an-ēna = pad+GHaÑ = pād-d-$ (7.2.116; 8.1.159) 'foot'; $ruj-d-ti asaś = rōg-a-$ 'affliction, disease'; $viś-d-ti asaś = vēś-a-$ 'tenant'; $spṛś-d-i asaś = spārś-a-$ 'contagious disease', but in other senses affix śC (1.134) operates: $spṛś-dC = sparś-d-$ 'touch'.

3.3.17 *ṣṛ* *sthir-é*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *ṣṛ-* 'flow' (I 982, III 17) to denote a stable agent (*sthiré*).

ṣṛ+GHaÑ = *sār-d-* in *candana-sār-d-* 'essence of sandal-wood'; but in other senses: *ṣṛ+trC* = *sar-tf-* 'moving, flowing'; *-*ṆvuL* = *sār-aka-* ibid.; by a vārttika GHaÑ is introduced in the following derivations: *atf-sār-d-* 'dysentery', *vi-sār-d-* 'a species of fish'; *sār-d-* 'strength'.

3.3.18 *bhāv-é*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive an action noun (*bhāv-é* = to denote an action).

pac+GHaÑ = *pāk-d-* (cf. 11 above) 'cooking'; *tyaj+GHaÑ* = *tyāg-d-* 'abandonment, renunciation', *rañj+GHaÑ* = *rañj+GHaÑ* (6.4.27) = *rāg-d-* 'coloring, dying'.

3.3.19 *á-kartar-i* ca *kāraḥ-e saṁjñā-yām*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive forms denoting a *kāraḥ* other than the agent (*á-kartar-i*) when the derivative is a (proper) name (*saṁjñā-yām*).

Note: 18 and 19 are governing rules [*adhikāra-s*] heading this section up to 113 below and will recur in all subsequent rules.

prá+as-yanti tām = *prá+as+GHaÑ* = *prās-d-* 'missile'; *prá+siv+GHaÑ* = *prá-sev-d-* 'a sack'; *á-har-anti tā-smāt-rasam* = *á-hār-d-* 'nourishment, food'; but *miṣ-d-ti-asat miṣ-dC* (1.194) = *meṣ-d-* 'ram'.

3.3.20 *parimāṇa=ākhyā-yām sārve-bhyaḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2] all [verbal stems 1.91] (*sārve-bhyaḥ*) to denote a measure of capacity (*parimāṇa=ākhyā-yām*) [and derive an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraḥ* other than the agent 19].

The word [*sarvā-*] in this rule is to block the affixes *āC* and *aP* instead of *āC* alone (cf. 56-57 below).

eka-s taṇḍula-ni-cāy-d-h 'one heaped measure of rice' : = *ni+ci+GHaÑ*; exception to *āC* (58 below); *du-aś śūrpa-niṣ-pāu-aś* (= *niṣ+pā+GHaÑ*) 'two winnowing basketfuls of winnowed grain', exception to *aP* (57 below).

Normally the meta-rule is that a prior exception blocks only the most contiguous general rule; here by employing the word [*sarvā-*] in the sūtra this is modified to include the next general rule also.

3.3.21 iÑ-as=ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] iÑ- (II 37, with adhi-°) 'study' [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than that of the agent 19].

Prior exception to áC (56). *ádhi-te endm* = *adhi+i+GHaÑ* = *adhy-āy-d-* 'lesson'; similarly *up-é-t-ya asmāt=adhī-te* = *upa+ádhi+i+GHaÑ* = *upādhya-āy-d-* 'preceptor, teacher'.

3.3.22 upasarg-é ruv-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ru- 'howl, scream' (II 24), co-occurring with a preverb (upasarg-é) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Prior exception to aP (57). *sam+ru+GHaÑ* = *sarh-rāv-d-* 'clamor'; so also *upa-rāv-d-*, but *ru+aP* = *rāv-a-* 'cry'.

3.3.23 sám-i ¹yu-²dru-³duv-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] yu- 'mix' (II 23), dru- 'run' (I 992) and du- 'burn' (V 10) co-occurring with the preverb sám-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

sām+yu+GHaÑ = *sarh-yāv-d-* 'a kind of cake made of molasses and cumin'; similarly: *sām-drāv-d-* 'a place where people run together'; *sām-dāv-d-* 'conflagration'. Exceptions to aP (57); but *pra+yu+aP* = *pra-yāv-d-* 'mingling, mixing'.

3.3.24 ¹śri-²nī-³bhūv-aḥ=anyatarā-syām

[The kft 1.93 affix GHaÑ 16] is optionally (anyatarā-syām) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śri- 'resort to' (I 945), nī 'lead' (I 950) and bhū- 'become' (I 1) [to derive action nouns 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

śri+GHaÑ = *śrāy-d-* 'shelter'; similarly *nāy-d-* 'guidance, leadership'; (both exceptions to áC 956), but *pra+śri+áC* = *pra-śray-d-* 'respect' and *pra-ṇay-a-* 'love, affection'.

bhā+GHaÑ = *bhāv-d-* 'state, condition, becoming, activity', but *pra+bhā+aP* (57) = *pra-bhāv-d-* 'origin, source'.

3.3.25 v-aú¹kṣu-²sruv-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] kṣu- 'sneeze' (II 27) and śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989) [to form action nouns 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] when co-occurring with the preverb vī-°.

vi-kṣu+GHaÑ = *vi-kṣāu-d-* 'sneezing; cough' *vi-śrāu-d-* 'noise', but *kṣu+aP* (57) = *kṣāu-a-*, *śrāu-a-*.

3.3.26 áva=²úd-or niy-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] nī- 'lead' (I 950), co-occurring with preverbs áva-° or ud-° [to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to áC (56). *áva+nī+GHaÑ* = *ava-nāy-d-* 'depression', and *un-nāy-d-* 'elevation'. But *nī+dC* = *nay-d-* 'conduct'.

3.3.27 pr-é¹drú-²stu-³sruv-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] drú- 'run' (I 91), stu- 'praise' (II 34) and sru- 'flow' (I 987), co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exceptions to aP (57): *pra+dru+GHaÑ* = *pra-drāu-d-* 'flight'; *pra-stāu-d-* 'introductory eulogy or praise'; *pra-śrāu-d-* 'urination'; but *drāu-a(P)/stāu-a-/śrāu-a-* meaning 'fluid/praise/flow' respectively.

3.3.28 'nfs=²abhy-óḥ¹pū-²lv-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pū 'purify' (I 1015, IX 12) and lū- 'cut' (IX 13), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with the preverbs nís-° and abhí-° [to derive action nouns 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to aP (57); *nīs+pū+GHaÑ* = *nīṣ-pāu-d-* 'a species of pulse', but *pū+aP* = *pāu-a-* 'purification'. *abhí-lāu-d-* 'reaping' but *lā+aP* = *lāu-a-* 'cutting'.

3.3.29 ¹ud=²ny-or gr-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] gṛ- 'swallow' (VI 117), 'sound' (IX 28), co-occurring with the preverbs "úd-" or ní-" [to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

ud+gṛ+GHaÑ = *ud-gār-d-* 'roaring'; *ni-gār-d-* 'consuming', but *gar-d(O)* (I 134) 'swallowing'. Exception to aP (57).

3.3.30 kṛ dhāny-è

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛ- 'scatter' (vī 116)[co-occurring with the preverbs úd-" or ní-" 29 to derive an action noun to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] to denote corn or grain (dhāny-é).

ud+kṛ+GHaÑ = *ut-kār-d-* 'piling up (of corn, etc.)'; *ni-kār-d-* 'winnowing (of corn etc.)'. But when corn is not implied: *ut+kṛ+aP* = *ut-kar-d-* 'heap' and *puspa-ni-kar-d-* 'a posy of flowers'.

3.3.31 yajñ-é sám-i stuv-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] stu- 'praise, eulogize' (II 34), co-occurring with the preverb sám-" [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify a sacrificial place (yajñ-é).

sam+stu+GHaÑ = *sam-stāv-d-* = *sam-d-i-ya stuv-anti yā-smin dēse* 'a sacrificial place where Sāman singers chant together'. But *sam+stu+aP* (57) = *sam-stav-d-* 'praising together'.

3.3.32 pr-é str-ah=ś-yajñ-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] str- 'strew, spread, cover' (IX 14), co-occurring with the preverb prá-" [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to designate (something) unconnected with a sacrifice (ś-yajñ-e),

pra+str+GHaÑ = *pra-stār-d-* 'bed, carpet'; as in *śankha-pra-stār-d-* 'a bed of conches' or *puspa-pra-stār-d-* 'a carpet of flowers' but *barhiṣ-pra-stār-d(P)* (57) 'a sacrificial bed of kuśa grass'.

3.3.33 práthan-e v-aú=á-sabd-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 stṛ- 32] co-occurring with the preverb vī- ° [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying an extension (práthan-e) unconnected with (articulated) sound (á-sabd-e).

vi+stṛ+GHaÑ = vi-stār-d- : paṭa-sya vi-stār-d-h 'width of a cloth'; but vācas-ām vi-stār-d(P)-h 'prolixity of speech'.

3.3.34 chando-nāmn-ī ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 stṛ- 32, co-occurring with the preverb vī- ° 33 to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] also (ca) to indicate the name of a metre (chando-nāmn-ī).

vi-stār-d- as a prior member of compounds: *vi-stār-d-pank-ti-/ 'bṛhatī 'n.pr. of two Vedic metres'. Retroflexion by 8.3.94.*

3.3.35 úd-i grah-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring with the preverb úd- ° [to form an action noun denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

úd+grah+GHaÑ = ud-grāh-d- 'the act of lifting up'; By a vārttika the following two derivatives are introduced in the domain of Chāndas with this affix: *ud-grābh-d-* 'the act of lifting up the sacrificial ladle', and *nī-grābh-d-* 'the act of lowering it'.

3.3.36 sám-i muṣṭi-aú

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 grah- 35] co-occurring with the preverb sám- ° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating the fist (muṣṭi-aú).

malld-sya sām-grāh-d-h 'wrestler's fist-hold', but dhānya-sya sām-grah-d(P) 'collection of grain' (58 below).

3.3.37 ¹pári-²ny-ór ¹nī-²iN-or ¹dyūtá-²ābhreṣa-yoh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] nī- 'lead' (I 950) and iN 'go' (II 36), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with preverbs pári-° and ní-° [to form action nouns 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] (respectively 1.3.10) to signify a game of chance (dyūtá-°) and non-infraction (in law) (ā-bhre-ṣay-oh).

pári+nī+GHaÑ = *pari-ñay-d-* 'movement of chessmen on the chess board' but *pari-ñay-d(C)* (56) 'wedding'.

nī+iN+GHaÑ = *nī+ñay-d-* = *ny-ñay-d-* 'non-infraction, propriety', but *ny-ay-d(C)* 'going off, loss, destruction'.

3.3.38 pá-r-au=án-upa=atyay-e=iN-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] iN- 'go' (II 36), co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying regular succession (án-upa=aty-ay-e).

pári+iN+GHaÑ = *pary-ñay-d-* 'turn, privilege, opportunity', but *pary-ay-d(C)* (56) 'passage; lapse'.

3.3.39 ¹vī=²úpaya-oh śete-ḥ pary-āy-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] śr- (11 22), 'lie down, sleep' co-occurring with the preverbs vī-° or úpa-° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating 'turn, privilege, opportunity' (pary-āy-é).

vī+śr+GHaÑ = *vī-śay-d-* = *vī-śay-i-tum pary-ñay-d-* 'turn to sleep'; *upa-śay-d-* = *upa-śay-itum pary-ñay-d-* 'turn to follow in sleep'; but *vī-śay-d(C)* (56) 'doubt', *upa-śay-d-* 'sleeping near'.

3.3.40 hasta=ā-dān-é ce-r á-stey-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ci- 'collect, heap, pile' (V 5) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify 'taking in hand' (hasta=ā-dān-é) excluding 'stealing' (á-stey-e).

puṣpa-pra-cāy-d- 'assembling flowers by hand', but *uṣṣa-śikhar-é phala-pra-cay-dm (+dC)* (56) *kar-ś-ti* 'collects fruit on top of the tree'. Similarly *puṣpa-pra-cay-d-* 'collecting flowers by theft'.

3.3.41 ¹nivāsá-²cítī-³śārīra-⁴upa-sam-ā-dhāne-ṣu ādés=ca ka-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ci- 40] and the phoneme [k] replaces its initial (ādé-ḥ) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to designate: a residence (nivāsá), funeral pyre (cítī), the body (śārīra) and accumulation (upa-sam-ā-dhāna).

ci+GHaÑ = ki+GHaÑ = kāy-d- in : *cikhalli-ni-kāy-d-* 'n.pr. of an inhabited place'; *ā-kāy-d-* (agni-) 'funeral fire'; *a-nitya-kāy-d-* 'impermanent body' *gomaya-ni-kāy-d-* 'accumulation of cow-dung cakes'.

3.3.42 saṁgh-é ca=án-auttarādhary-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ci- 40 and phoneme [k] replaces its initial phoneme 41 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating an orderly assemblage (saṁgh-é) not involving confusion (an-auttarādhary-e).

bhikṣuka-ni-kāy-d- 'an orderly assembly of almsmen', but *sūkara-ni-cay-d-* (dC) (56) 'a herd of hogs'.

Since the rule refers to animate beings, affix áC operates in *pra-māṇa-sam-uc-cay-d-* 'a collection of the means of knowledge'.

3.3.43 karma-vy-ati-hār-é NāC striy-ām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] NāC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form an action noun 18, denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] expressing reciprocity of action (karma-vy-ati-hār-é) and ending in (1.1.72) a feminine affix (striy-ām).

vi+avd+krud+NdC+aÑ (5.4.14)+*ÑIP* (4.1.15) = *vy-āva-krod-I* (6.1.97; 4.148; 7.3 6) 'mutual reproach'.

3.3.44 abhi-vidh-aú bhāv-é=inuÑ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] inuÑ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify a state or condition (bhāv-é) for expressing co-extension (abhi-vidh-aú).

sam+kūṭ+inyN+dN (5.4.15) = *sam-kūṭ-in-dm* (8.4.184) 'total conflagration'.

The repetition of the word [bhāve] here when it is already recurring from 18 above is to block out *GHaÑ*; when [abhi-vidhi] is not expressed: *sam+kūṭ+GHaÑ* = *sam-kot-d-* 'conflagration'.

3.3.45 *ā-kroś-é* = 'āva-²ny-ór grāh-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *GHaÑ* 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *grah-* 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring with the preverbs *āva-*° or *ní-*° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] signifying malediction (*ā-kroś-é*).

ava+grah+GHaÑ = *ava-grāh-d-* 'curse, imprecation' but *ava-grah+d(P)* (58) 'separation (of a *padá* into stem and affix)', similarly *ní-grāh-d-* 'punishment, chastisement', but *ní-grah-d(P)* (58) 'restraining, controlling'.

3.3.46 *pr-é lipsā-yām*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *GHaÑ* 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* 45] co-occurring with the preverb *prā-*° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] when expressing a desire to acquire (*lipsā-yām*).

pra+grah+GHaÑ = *pra-grāh-d-* *pātra-pra-grāh-ēṇa cār-a-ti bhikṣū-h* 'the almsman/mendicant moves around, holding a vessel with the desire to collect food', but *pra-grah-d(P)* 'seizing, grasping'.

3.3.47 *pār-au yajñ-é*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *GHaÑ* 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* 45] co-occurring with the preverb *pāri-*° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] when signifying (something) pertaining to a sacrifice (*yajñ-é*).

pari-grah-GHaÑ = *pari-grāh-d-* : *uttara-pari-grāh-d-* 'northern fencing of the sacrificial altar' but *pari-grah-d(P)* (58) 'surrounding, encircling'.

3.3.48 *n-aú vṛ dhāny-è*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *GHaÑ* 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *vṛ-* 'choose' (IX 38), 'cover' (V 8), co-occurring with the preverb *ní-*° [to form an action noun denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 18-19] to specify (a particular variety of) grain (*dhāny-è*).

nī-uj-ṇo-ti enām = *nī+uj+GHaÑ* = *nī-vār-d-* (8.3.112) 'a kind of wild rice', but
nī-var-d(P) (58) + *ṭāP* = *nī-var-d kanyā* 'unmarried daughter/girl, virgin'.

3.3.49 úd-i¹śráy-a-ti-²yaú-ti-³pū-⁴druv-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 18 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śrí- 'rest, lean on, take refuge in, resort to', yu- 'mix' (II 23), pū- 'purify' (I 1015, IX 12) and dru- 'run' (I 992) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

ud+śri+GHaÑ = *uj-śrāy-d-* (8.4.40) = *uc-chrāy-d-* (8.4.55, 63) 'rising (of a planet)';
 similarly *ud-yāv-d-* 'blending'; *ut-pāv-d-* 'purifying (ghee)'; *ud-drāv-d-* 'flight, running away'.

3.3.50 vibhāṣā=āÑ-i¹ru-²pluv-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ru- 'howl, scream' (II 24) and plu- 'float' (I 1007) co-occurring with the preverb āÑ-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

ā+ru+GHaÑ/aP (57) = *ā-rāv-d-/ā-rav-d* 'howling, screaming'; *ā+plu+GHaÑ/aP* =
ā-plāv-d-/ā-plav-d- 'bathing, ablution'.

3.3.51 áv-e grah-aḥ=varṣa-prati-bandh-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 18 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- 'seize, grasp' (IX 81), co-occurring with the preverb áva-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying obstruction to precipitation (varṣa-pari-bandh-é).

áva+grah+GHaÑ+aP = *ava-grāh-d-/°-grah-d-* (58) 'drought, withholding rain'.

3.3.52 pr-é vañj-ām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- 51] co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] for expressing something relating to merchants or traders (vañj-ām).

By interpretation the item denoted is the string of the balance by which it is held while weighing: *tulā-pra-grāh-d-/pra-grah-d-* = *tulā prá-grhya-te yéna sūtr-ṇa*.

3.3.53 raśm-aú ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* 51, co-occurring with the preverb *prá-*° 52 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying 'rein, bridle' (*raśm-aú*).

prá+grah+GHaÑ/aP = *pra-grāh-a/grah-d-*.

3.3.54 vṛ-ṇó-te-r ā-cchādan-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *vṛ-* 'cover' (V 8) [co-occurring with the preverb *prá-*° 52 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] when expressing a covering (*ā-cchādan-e*).

pra+vṛ+GHaÑ/aP = *prā-vār-d-* /*pra-vār-d-* (6.3.122) 'a coverlet, covering', but *pra-var-d+TāP* = *pra-var-ā gau-h-* 'an excellent cow'.

3.3.55 pār-au bhūv-aḥ=ava-jñān-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū-* 'become'(I 1), co-occurring with the preverb *pāri-*° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] when expressing disrespect (*ava-jñān-e*) [optionally 50].

pari+bhū+GHaÑ/ap = *pari-bhāv-d-* /*-bhāv-d-* 'insult, humiliation, disgrace', but *sarvā-taḥ=bhāv-anam* = *pari-bhāv-d(P)-* 'enclosing, containing, surrounding'.

3.3.56 e-r áC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] áC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [°-i] [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *iN+dC-* = *e+d-* = *ay-d-* 'moving towards the right (in chess)'; similarly: *cay-d-* 'heaping, piling'; *jay-d-* 'victory', etc.

3.3.57 ṛd-o-r aP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] aP is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ṛ] or the phoneme-class [u] [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. **-ṣ : kṣ + aP = kṣr-a-* 'a ray of light; tax' similarly: *śār-a-* 'arrow'; *gār-a-* 'poison'.

**-u : yu + aP = yāv-a* 'barley' *stāv-a-* 'eulogy, panegyric'; *lā + aP = lāv-a* 'reaping'; *pāv-a-* 'winnowing purifying'.

3.3.58 ¹grah-²vṛ-³dḥ-⁴nś=ci-gam-aḥ=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is also introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *grah-* 'seize, grasp' (IX 61), *vṛ-* 'cover' (V 8), 'choose' (IX 38), *dḥ-* 'injure' (V 34), 'honor' (VI 118), *nś+ci-* (V 5) 'ascertain' and *gam-* 'go' (I 1031) [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16 and in the case of [ci-] to śC 56. *grah + aP = grāh-a-* 'holding, grasping, a planet'; *vār-a-* 'choice, boon' or 'enclosing, covering' *dār-a-* 'cave' *ā-dar-d-* 'respect, honor'; *nś+ci-ā-* 'ascertainment'; *gam-a-* 'march'.

3.3.59 upasarg-é ad-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *ad-* 'eat, consume' (II 1), co-occurring with a preverb [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GhaÑ 16. *vi-ad + aP = vi+ghas + aP* (2.4.38) = *vi-ghas-ā-* 'devourer, eater', but *ghās-ā-* 'food'.

3.3.60 n-aú Ná ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] as well as (ca) Ná are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *ad-* 59] co-occurring with the pre-verb ní-° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

ni + ad + aP / Nā = ni-ghas-ā- / ny-ād-d- 'eating, consuming'.

3.3.61 ¹vyadh-²jáp-or án-upasarg-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *vyadh-* 'pierce' (IV 72) and *jáp-* 'mutter' (I 424) when not co-occurring with a preverb (*án-upasarg-e*) [to form action nouns 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *vyadh + aP = vyādh-a-* 'wound', but *ā + vyadh + GHaÑ + TāP* (4.1.4) = *ā-vyādh-ā-* 'the art of piercing'.

jap+aP = jġp-a- 'muttering, murmuring', but *upa+jap+GHaÑ = upa-jġp-d-* 'a kind of sacred hymn'.

3.3.62 ¹svánÁ-²hás-or vā

[The kġt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sván- 'resound' (I 879) and hás- 'laugh' (I 757) [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19 when not co-occurring with preverbs 81].

svan+GHaÑ/aP = svān-d-/svān-a- 'sound, resounding' but *pra+svan+GHaÑ = pra-svān-d-* 'loud noise'.

Similarly: *hās-d-/hās-a-* 'laughter', but *prā-hās-d-* 'irony'.

3.3.63 yam-aḥ ¹sám-²úpa-³ní-⁴ví-ṣu

[The kġt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 82 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yam- 'restrain' (I 1033), (whether) co-occurring with preverbs sám- ", úpa- ", ní- " or ví- ° [or not 81 to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

sám+yam+GHaÑ/aP = sām-yām-d-/°-yam-d- 'control, restraint'; similarly: *upa-yām-d-/°-yām-d-* 'marriage'; *ní-yām-d-/°-yam-d-* 'rule, restriction'; *vi-yām-d-/°-yam-d-* 'patience, forbearance' *yām-d-/yām-a-* 'control'.

3.3.64 n-aú ¹gádÁ-²nádÁ-³paṭhÁ-sván-aḥ

[The kġt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 82 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] gád- 'speak' (I 53), nád- 'resound' (I 551), paṭh- 'recite, read' (I 91) and sván- 'reverberate', co-occurring with the preverb ní- ° [to form action nouns 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

ní+gad+GHaÑ/aP = ní-gād-d-/°-gad-d- 'recitation'; *ní-nād-d-/ní-nad-d-* 'sound'; *ní-pāṭh-d-/ní-paṭh-d-* 'reading'; *ní-svān-d-/ní-svan-d-* 'resounding, reverberation'.

3.3.65 kvāṇ-aḥ=vīṇā-yāñ=ca

[The kġt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 82 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kvāṇ- 'jingle' (I 477) [co-occurring 84 or not 61 with the preverb ní- ° 84 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] when designating the musical instrument (vīṇā 'lute').

By interpretation the musical instrument is designated only when accompanied by the preverb: (a) when co-occurring with [ní-]: *ní-kuṇḍ-ḍ-/ní-kvaṇ-ḍ-* 'musical note (on the vīṇā)'; (b) not co-occurring with any preverb: *kuṇḍ-ḍ-/kvaṇ-ḍ-* 'sound'; (c) designating the lute: *kalyāṇa-pra-kvaṇ-ḍ vīṇā* 'a true-sounding lute'.

3.3.86 nītyam paṇ-aḥ pari-māṇ-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is necessarily (nītyam) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] paṇ- 'barter, exchange, trade' (I 466) [to form an action noun 18 or denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] for designating a measure (pari-māṇ-e).

paṇ+aP = *paṇ-a-* 'handful' in *mālaka-paṇ-ḍ-* 'a handful of radishes', but when not designating a measure: *paṇ+GHaṆ* = *paṇ-ḍ-* 'exchange, trade, barter'.

3.3.87 mād-aḥ=ān=upasarg-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] mād- 'intoxicate, exhilarate' (IV 99), when not co-occurring with any preverb (ān-upasarg-e) [to form an action/or designating a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaṆ 16. *mad+aP* = *mād-a-* 'pride, intoxication' as in *vidyā-mad-ḍ-* 'pride of knowledge', *dhana-mad-ḍ-* 'pride of wealth' etc., but *ud+mad+GHaṆ* = *un-mād-ḍ-* 'insanity'; *pra-mād-ḍ-* 'error'.

3.3.88 ¹pra-mad-ḍ-²sam-mad-ḍ-aú hars-e

(The irregular forms) pra-mad-ḍ- and sam-mad-ḍ- are introduced as derived [with kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 mād- 67] to express 'joy' (hars-é).

This is an exception to the preceding rule which blocks aP when [mād-] co-occurs with preverbs: *kanyā-n-ām pra-mad-ḍ-ḥ* 'the joy of maidens'; *kokilā-n-ām sam-mad-ḍ-ḥ* 'the rejoicing of cuckoos', but *pra-mād-ḍ-* 'error'.

3.3.89 ¹sām-²úd-or áj-aḥ paśú-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] áj- 'go' (I 248) co-occurring with preverbs sām-° or úd-° [to form action nouns 18 or denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] for designating (something) pertaining to beasts (paśú-ṣu).

sam+aj+aP = *sam-aj-d-h pasú-n-am* 'a herd of animals' so also *ud-aja-d-h pasú-n-am* 'driving of cattle'; but *sam-aj-d-h* 'a community (of human beings)' and *ud-aj-d-* 'marching (of human beings, such as warriors, etc.)'.

3.3.70 akṣé-ṣu gláh-aḥ

(The irregular expression) *gláh-a-* is introduced as derived with [kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57, introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* 'seize' (IX 61) to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify 'gambling with dice (*akṣé-ṣu*).

While aP has already been indicated in 58 above after *grah-*, the present rule is meant to indicate the irregular replacement of phoneme [r] by [l]: *grah+aP* = *gláh-a-* 'a throw of dice' but in other senses *grdh-a-* 58.

3.3.71 pra-jan-é sar-te-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *sṛ-* 'flow' (I 982, III 17) [to form an action noun or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify first impregnation (*pra-jan-é*).

gav-ām upa-sar-d-h 'first covering of cows'.

3.3.72 hv-aḥ sam-pra-sāraṇaṁ ca ¹ní=²abhí=³úpa-⁴ví-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *hve-* 'summon, challenge' (I 1057), co-occurring with preverbs *ní-*°, *abhí-*°, *úpa-*° and *ví-*°, and *sam-pra-sāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces [the semi-vowel 1.1.45, to form an action noun or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 18-19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *ní+hve+aP* = *ní-huṭ+aP* = *ní-hav-d-* 'invocation'; similarly: *abhí-hav-d-* 'calling near'; *upa-hav-d-* 'invitation'; *ví-hav-d-* 'invocation', but *pra+hve+GHaÑ* = *pra=hva+yuk+GHaÑ* (6.1.45; 7.3.33) = *pra-hva-y-d-* 'invocation'.

While these derivatives can normally be derived from the verbal stem [hu- III 1] the present rule is to block GHaÑ after [hve-] when co-occurring with these four preverbs.

3.3.73 āñ-i yuddh-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hve- 72 with samprasāraṇa replacement of its semivowel 72] when co-occurring with the preverb āñ- " [to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] for signifying a battle (yuddh-é).

$\bar{a}+hve+aP = \bar{a}+hu\theta+aP = \bar{a}-hav-\bar{a}- = \bar{a}-h\bar{u}-yante\ asm\bar{in}$ 'battle, strife'. In other senses $\bar{a}+hve+GHa\bar{N} = \bar{a}-hva-y-\bar{a}-$ 'invocation'.

3.3.74 ni-pān-am ā-hāv-ā-h

(The irregular form) ā-hāv-ā- is introduced [as derived with kft 1.93 affix aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem hve- 72 to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] for designating a drinking trough (ni-pān-am).

$\bar{a}+hve+aP = \bar{a}+hu\theta+aP = \bar{a}-h\bar{a}v-\bar{a}-$ (with irregular samprasāraṇa and vṛddhi replacement); in other meanings: $\bar{a}-hva-y-\bar{a}-$ (cf. 73).

3.3.75 bhāv-é=ān-upa-sarga-sya

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hve-, with samprasāraṇa replacement of its semi-vowel 72] when not co-occurring with preverbs to form an action noun (bhāv-é).

The use of the word [bhāv-é] here when it already recurs from 18 above is for the purpose of blocking out the recurrence of 19. $hve+aP = hu\theta+aP = h\bar{a}v-a-$ 'calling'. But $\bar{a}-hva-y-\bar{a}-$.

3.3.76 han-as=ca vadh-ā-h

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [not co-occurring with preverbs 75, to form an action noun 75] while the substitute vadh-ā- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem.

$han+aP = vadh-\bar{a}+aP = vadh+\theta+dP$ (6.4.148; 1.161) = $vadh-\bar{a}-$ 'killing, slaying, striking'; when action [bhāvā] is not indicated: $han+GHa\bar{N} = ghat+GHa\bar{N}$ (7.3.32,54) = $ghat-\bar{a}-$ 'a blow'; similarly $pra-ghat-\bar{a}-$ 'combat, battle'.

The expression [ca] in the rule is not related to [vadh-ā] replacement, and consequently permits introduction of the general affix GHa \bar{N} 16 in $ghat-\bar{a}-$.

3.3.77 mūrt-au ghaná-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] and the substitute ghan-á- replaces the (whole 1.1.55) verbal stem [to form an action noun 18] to denote a solid mass (mūrt-au).

han+aP = ghaná+aP = ghan+ḡ+dP (6.4.48; 1.161) = *ghan-d-* in *abhra-ghan-d-* 'a solid mass of clouds'.

3.3.78 antar-ghan-á-ḥ=deś-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76] co-occurring with the indeclinable antár- " [and the substitute ghan-á- replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem 76 to form an action noun or to denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] for designating the name of a region or place (deś-é).

antár+han+aP = antar-ghan-ḡ+dP = antar-ghan-d- 'n.pr. of a region in the Vāhika country', alternating with *antar-ghan-á-*.

While designating a non-region: *antár han-yānte prāṇm-aḥ átra = antár+han+GHaÑ = antar-ghāt-á-* 'slaughter house'.

3.3.79 agāra=eka-deś-é 'pra-ghan-á-²pra-ghāṇ-aú ca

(The irregular expressions) pra-ghan-á- and pra-ghāṇ-á- are introduced [as derived with kft .93 affix 1.1 aP introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] co-occurring with the preverb prá- " [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] for designating a porch or portico before the entrance of a house (agāra=eka-deś-é).

prá+han+aP = pra-ghan-á+aP = pra-ghan-d-/ 'ghāṇ-d- (6.4.48; 1.161; 8.4.2), but *pra+han+GHaÑ = pra-ghāt-d-* (cf. 76).

3.3.80 ud-ghan-á-ḥ aty-ā-dhāna-m

(The irregular form) ud-ghan-á- is introduced [as derived with kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 han- 76], co-occurring with the preverb úd- " [and substitute ghan-á replacing the whole of the verbal stem (1.1.55) 77 to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating a carpenter's bench (aty-ā-dhāna).

úd+han+aP = ud-ghan-d-; ud+han+GHaÑ = ud-ghāt-d- 'striking'.

3.3.81 *apa-ghan-á-h=ánga-m*

(The irregular form) *apa-ghan-á-* is introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem *han-* 76] co-occurring with the preverb *ápa-*° [with substitute *ghan-á* replacing the whole of the verbal stem (1.1.5) 77 to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify a limb (*ánga-m*).

ápa+han+aP = apa+ghan-á+aP = apa-ghan+θ+áP = apa-ghan-á- but
apa+han+GHaŋ = apa-ghāt-á- 'striking off'.

By interpretational restriction [*apa-ghan-á*] denotes either 'hand' or 'foot'.

3.3.82 *kāraṇ-e 'áyas=²vī-³drú-ṣu*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *han-* 76] co-occurring with *áyas-*° 'metal, iron', preverb *vī-*° and *drú-* 'wood' [with substitute *ghan-á* replacing the whole of the verbal stem (1.1.55) 77 to form a derivative denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify an instrument (*kāraṇ-e*).

áyo han-yá-te an-éna = áyas+han+aP = áyas+ghan-á+aP = áyas+ghan-θ+áP =
áyo-ghan-á (8.2.86; 6.1.87,113) 'hammer' similarly: *vī-ghan-á-* 'mallet' and
dru-ghan-á-/°ghan-á- 'hoe or sickle for cutting grass'.

3.3.83 *stamb-é Ká ca*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] as well as (ca) *Ká* are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *han-* 76 with substitute *ghan-á* 77 replacing the whole of it 1.1.55] when co-occurring with the [nominal *padá* 1.4] *stambá-* 'a clump of grass' [to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19 to signify an instrument 82].

stambá-h han-yá-te an-éna = stamba+han+aP/Ká = stamba+ghan-á+aP/Ká =
stamba-ghan-θ+áP = stamba-ghan-á-/stamba-han+Ká = stamba+hθn+Ká
(6.4.98) = stamba-ghn-á- (6.3.54) 'a hoe or sickle for cutting grass'.

3.3.84 *pár-au ghá-h*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *han-* 76] co-occurring with the preverb *pári-*°, and the substitute *ghá-* replaces the whole (1.1.55) of the verbal stem [to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19, designating an instrument 82].

páři-han-ya-te an-éna = *pári+han+aP* = *pari+ghá+aP* = *pari-ghØ+aP* = *pari-gh-á-/pali-gh-á-* (3.2.22) 'iron bar or beam used for locking doors'.

3.3.85 *upa-ghn-á-h ā-śray-é*

(The irregular expression) *upa-ghn-á-* is introduced [as derived with kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *han-* 76, (with irregular replacement of the stem vowel) to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify a contiguous resting place or support (*ā-śray-é*).

úpa+hán+aP = *upa+hñn+a* = *upa-ghn-á-* as in *parvatopa-ghn-á-* 'mountain slope' or *grāmopa-ghn-á-* 'bordering the village'.

3.3.86 ¹*sam-gh-á*=²*ud-gh-aú* ¹*gaṇá*-²*pra-śamsáy-oh*

(The irregular expressions) *sam-gh-á-* and *ud-gh-á-* are introduced, respectively (1.3.10) denoting 'herd, drove or flock' (*gaṇá-*) and 'praise' (*pra-śamsá*) [as derived with kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem *han-* 76] co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with the preverbs *sám-*° and *úd-*° [with irregular replacement of the syllable beginning with the final vowel by Ø and of *h* by *gh* to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19].

sam-hán-ana-m = *sám+hán+aP* = *sam-hñ¹Ø+aP* = *sam-gh-á-* (*bhāv-é*) 'a herd (of cattle, etc.)'; *úd+han-ya-te* = *ud-gh-á-* 'excellent, praiseworthy'. In other meanings: *sam-/ud+han+GHaÑ* = *sam-ghāt-á-* 'union', *ud-ghāt-á-* 'the act of striking'.

3.3.87 *nī-gh-á-h=ñfimita-m*

(The irregular expression) *nī-gh-á-* is introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem *han-* 76, with irregular replacement of its syllable beginning with the last vowel and of /*h*/ by /*gh*/] when co-occurring with the preverb *nī-*° [to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] signifying 'as high as broad' (*nī-mi-tam*).

nī+hán+aP = *nī-ghØØ(regular)+aP* = *nī-gh-á-*, but in other senses *nī+han+GHaÑ* = *nī-ghāt-á-* 'a blow'.

3.3.88 ɖU=IT=aḥ=Ktrí-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktrí is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker ɖU as IT (in-the Dhp.) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

ɖU-pac-A-Ṣ pākē (Dhp. I 1033): *pac+ktrí* = *pak+trí+maP* (4.4.10; 8.1.30) = *pak-trí-ma* = *pāk-éna nír-ṽt-ta-m* 'matured, ripened'; similarly *vap-: up-trí-ma-* (6.1.15) 'sown', and *kṛ-trí-ma-* 'artificial'.

3.3.89 ʈU-IT-aḥ=athúC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] athúC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker ʈU as IT (in the Dhp.) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

ʈU-vep-R kámpaṇ-e (Dhp. I 391): *vep+athúC* = *vap-athú-* 'trembling, shaking';
ʈU-O-ṣvī gāti-vṛddhy-oh (Dhp. I 1059)+*athúC* = *ṣvay-athu-* 'edema, swelling';
ʈU-kṣu śābd-e (II 27)+*athúC* = *kṣav-athú-* 'sneezing'.

3.3.90 ¹yajA-²yācā-³yātā-⁴vichĀ-⁵prachĀ-⁶rākṣ-aḥ=náÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] náÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *yaj-* 'sacrifice' (I 1051), *yāc-* 'beg, solicit' (I 916), *yāt-* 'exert' (I 30), *vich-* 'go, move' (VI 129), *prach-* 'ask' (VI 120), *rākṣ-* 'protect' (I 688) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

yaj+ndÑ = *yaj-ñd-* 'sacrifice' *yāc+naÑ+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *yac-ñā* 'request, plea';
similarly: *yāt-nd-* 'attempt, exertion'; *vich+nd-* = *viś-nd-* (6.4.19) 'luster, splendor'; *prāś-nd-* 'question'; *rākṣ-ñd-* 'protection, guard'.

Since Pāṇini himself uses the form [*praśná-* in 3.2.117: *praśn-e ca=ā-sanna-kāl-é*] it is inferred that vocalization (*saṃ-pra-sāraṇa*) replacement does not take place before affix náÑ despite 6.1.16.

3.3.91 svap-aḥ=naN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] naN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *svap-* 'lie down, sleep' (II 59) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

svap+naN = *svāp-na-* 'dream'.

3.3.92 upa-sarg-é GH0-h Kí-h

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Kí is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), co-occurring with preverbs (upa-sarg-é) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

pra+da+Kí = *pra+dθ+f* (6.4.64) = *pra-d-f* 'gift, present'; similarly: *pra-dh-f* 'the felly of a wheel'; *antar-dh-f* 'disappearance'.

3.3.93 kārmaṇ-i=adhi-kāraṇ-e ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Kí 92 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 denoted by the t.t. GHU 92 when co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as their direct object (kārmaṇ-i) [to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] to indicate a substratum or locus (adhi-kāraṇ-e).

jala-m dhī-yá-te asmín = *jala+θ+dhā+Kí* = *jala-dh-f* 'ocean, sea'; similarly *sara-dh-f* 'a quiver'.

3.3.94 striy-ām KtiN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KtiN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] in the feminine gender (striy-ām).

kṛ+KtiN = *kṛ-ti-* 'action, work, performance'. Exception to GHaÑ 16. Similarly *cī-ti-* 'layer, pile'; *stú-ti-* 'praise'.

3.3.95 ¹sthā-²gā-³pā-pac-ām bhāv-é

[The kft 1.1 affix 1.1] KtiN 94 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *sthā-* 'stay, remain, stand' (I 975), *gā* (=gai- I 965) 'sing', *pā-* 'drink' (I 972) and *pac-* 'cook' (I 1045) to form action nouns (bhāv-é) [in the feminine gender 94].

sthā+KtiN = *sthā-ti-* (7.4.40) f. 'standing, remaining'; *pra-sthā-ti-* 'departure, journey'; similarly: *ud+gai+KtiN* = *ud+gā+KtiN* = *ud-gf-ti-* (6.4.66) 'chanting aloud'; *pra-pf-ti-* 'cistern', *sam-pf-ti-* 'carousal', *pac+KtiN* = *pāḥ-ti-* 'cooking'.

This rule blocks out the operation of 106 below as well as 19.

3.3.96 mántr-e ¹vṛṣa=²iṣA-³pacA-⁴manA-⁵vidĀ-⁶bhū-⁷vī-⁸rā-ḥ udātta-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KtiN 94] with high-pitch (udātta) accent is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vṛṣ- 'rain' (I 738), iṣ- 'desire' (VI 59), pac- 'cook' (I 1045), man- 'think' (IV 47), vid- 'know' (II 55), bhū- 'become' (I 1), vī- 'go' (II 39), and rā- 'give' (II 48) [to form action nouns 95 in the feminine gender 94] in the domain of Mántra.

The affix KtiN, by virtue of its marker N, places the udātta accent on the initial syllable of the verbal stem (6.1.197) but in these instances in the Mántra portion of the Veda, it is shifted to the affix itself.

vṛṣ+KtiN = vṛṣ-*ti*- (8.4.1) 'rain, precipitation'; iṣ-*ti*- 'wish, desire, request' (besides *icchā*/*īṣ*-*ti*- 101); pak-*ti*- 'cooking'; man+KtiN = maṭṭ-*ti*- (8.4.37) = ma-*ti*- 'thinking, thought'; vit-*ti*- 'knowledge'; bhā-*ti*- 'becoming'; vī-*ti*- 'enjoyment'; rā-*ti*- 'giving, bestowing'.

Other than in the Mántra, the accent falls on the initial syllable of the derived form.

3.3.97 ¹ū-*ti*-²yū-*ti*-³jū-*ti*-⁴sā-*ti*-⁵he-*ti*-⁶kīr-tāy-as=ca

(The irregular expressions) ū-*ti*- 'help', yū-*ti*- 'junction', jū-*ti*- 'speed', sā-*ti*- 'destruction', he-*ti*- 'missile' and kīr-*ti*- 'renown' are introduced [as derived with kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KtiN 94 bearing the udātta accent 96 and form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

av+KtiN = ā-*ti*- (6.4.20); yu/yu+KtiN = yā-*ti*-, jū-*ti*-, so+KtiN = sā-*ti*- (6.4.42) without replacement of semi-vowel by vocalization as required by 7.4.40, or alternately: san+KtiN = sā-*ti*- (6.4.42) = sā-*ti*-, han+KtiN = ha-i-KtiN = he-*ti*- (irregular replacement of /n/ by /i/ or hi+KtiN with irregular replacement of stem vowel by guṇa contra 1.1.5) = he-*ti*-, kṛt+KtiN = kṛt+KtiN = kṛt-*ti*- (7.1.101), whereas by 107 below affix [yuC] is to be introduced.

3.3.98 ¹vṛájĀ-²yaj-or bhāv-é KyáP

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KyáP [bearing the udātta accent 96 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vṛáj- 'march' (I 272) and yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) to form an action noun (bhāv-é) [in the feminine gender 94].

vṛáj+KyáP+TāP (4.1.4) = vṛaj-yá+ā = vṛaj-yá (6.1.161) 'roaming, wandering'; similarly yaj+KyáP+TāP = ij-yá (6.1.15,1616) 'worshipping, sacrificing'.

The marker [P] has no relevance here but is required for the following sūtras for insertion of augment [tṷK] (6.1.71).

3.3.99 *saṁjñā-yām* ¹*sám-ajÁ-* ²*ní-ṣada-* ³*ní-páta-* ⁴*manA-* ⁵*vidÁ-* ⁶*ṣuñ-* ⁷*śīñ-* ⁸*bhṛñ-* ⁹*iñ-aḥ*

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KyáP 98 bearing the udátta accent 96 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *sám+aj-* (I 248) 'collect together', *ní+ṣad-* (I 907, VI 135) 'sit down', *ní+pat-* (I 898) 'fly or settle down, alight', *man-* 'think' (IV 87), *vid-* 'know' (II 55), *su-* 'press, extract or distil soma juice' (V 1), *śī-* 'lie down, sleep' (II 27), *bhṛ-* 'bear' (III 5) and *iñ-* 'go' (III 36) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] to derive names (*saṁjñā-yām*) [in the feminine gender 94].

sam+aj+KyáP+TāP = *sam-aj-yá* 'assembly'; likewise: *ní-ṣad-yá* 'a small bed or couch'; *ní-pat-yá* 'slippery ground'; *man-yá* 'nape of the neck' (cf. Vedic *mán-yá*); *vid-yá* 'knowledge'; *su-t-yá* (6.1.71) 'day for pressing soma juice'; *śay-yá* (7.4.12) 'bed, bedstead'; *bhṛ-t-yá* 'service for wages' *i-t-yá* 'palanquin'.

Because of the use of the expression [*saṁjñā*] here, the allomorph [vi] does not replace the verbal stem [aj-] before affix [KyáP] as required by 2.4.56.

3.3.100 *kṛñ-aḥ Śá ca*

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KyáP 98 with udátta accent 96] as well as (ca) *Śá* are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *kṛñ-* 'do, make, perform' (VIII 10) [to form a derivative in the feminine gender 94].

This sūtra is split into two parts by interpretation: *kṛñ-aḥ* and *Śá ca* in order that with the first part [KyáP] is introduced and with the second part both *KtiN* (94) and *Śá* are introduced, yielding three derivatives: *kṛ+KyáP+TāP* = *kṛ-t-yá* / *kṛ+Śá+TāP* = *kṛi-d+a* (7.4.28) = *kṛiy-d* (6.1.77) / *kṛ+KtiN* = *kṛ=ti* 'act, action, activity, performance'.

3.3.101 *icch-ā*

(The irregular form) *icch-ā* is introduced [as derived with the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *Śá* 100 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *iṣ-* 'wish, desire' (VI 59) in the feminine gender 94].

iṣ-yá-le = *iṣ+yaK+Śá+TāP* = *icch+θ* (irregular *θ* replacement of *yaK*)+*d+a* = *icch-d* 'desire, wish'. The derivation is under the governing rule 18 only.

3.3.102 á praty-ay-āt

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] á is introduced [after 1.2] a derived [verbal stem 1.91] (praty-ay-āt) [to form an action noun 18 in the feminine gender 94].

Exception to KtiN 94. $kṛ+saN+ā = ci-kṛ-sa+ā+TāP = ci-kṛ-s-ā$ 'a desire to perform' = *kār-tum icch-ā* similarly: $putrī-yā(1.8)+ā+TāP = putrīy-ā$ 'desire for having a son' or (1.10) 'desire to be like a son'; $putra-kām-y-ā$ 'desire for having a son'; $lo-lū-y-ā$ (1.22) 'repeated or intensive cutting'; $kaṇḍa-y-ā$ 'itch' [Of. 1.7-30 for derived verbal stems].

3.3.103 guró-s=ca haL-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 á 102] also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-ah) and containing a heavy syllable (guró-s) [to form a derivative action noun 18 in the feminine gender 94].

$kuṇḍ+ā+TāP = kuṇḍ-ā$ 'adulteress'; similarly $hund-ā$ 'tigress'; $m-ā$ 'striving'; $āh-ā$ 'filling out an ellipsis', but $bhāj+KtiN = bhāk-ti-$ 'devotion' and $nā-ti-$ 'polity'.

3.3.104 ¹Ṣ-IT=²bhid-ā=^ādi-bhyaḥ=^āN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] āN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker [Ṣ] as IT (in the Dhṛp.) and the class of stems beginning with bhid- 'break' (VII 2) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

The class of stems beginning with [bhid-] is to be inferred not from the Dhātu-pāṭha, but from the Gaṇa-pāṭha where the derived forms are listed in the feminine gender beginning with [bhid-ā].

Verbal stems with marker Ṣ: $jñṣ(vayo-hān-aú IV 22)+āN+TāP = jar-ā$ (7.4.16) 'old age, senility'; $trapU-Ṣ(lajjā-yām I 399): trap-ā$ 'bashfulness, shyness'.

$bhid+āN+TāP = bhid-ā$ 'breaking'; $chid-ā$ 'cleaving'; $guh-ā$ 'cave'; $ā-r-ā$ 'bore, probe'.

3.3.105 ¹cint-í-²pūj-í-³kath-í-⁴kumb-í-⁵carc-as=ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 āN 104] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] cint-í- (X 2) 'recollect', pūj-í- 'honor' (X 101), kath-í- 'relate, narrate' (X 307), kumb-í- 'cover, envelope' (X 113) and carc- 'study, discuss' (X 172) [to derive feminine 94 action nouns 18].

$cint+NIC+āN+TāP = cint-ā +ā+ā$ (6.4.51) = $cint-ā$ 'anxious thought, care, anxiety';

similarly: *pūj-ā* 'worship'; *kath-ā* 'narrative'; *kumb-ā* 'thick petticoat' and *carc-ā* 'discussion'.

Normally this would have been a prior exception to 107 below, but by interpretation of the particle [ca] here, this rule will not block the operation of affix [yuC]:
cint+yuC+TāP = *cint-and* = *cint-ā*.

3.3.106 $\bar{a}T=as=ca=upa-sarg-é$

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 a 104] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1 91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme [°-ā] co-occurring with preverbs (*upa-sarg-é*) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

Exception to KtiN 94: *pra+dā+dñ+TāP* = *pra+dθ+d+ā* = *pra-d-ā* 'giving'; *upa-d-ā* 'an offering to the king'; *pra-dh-ā* 'offering'; *upa-dh-ā* 'test of honesty' (and in Ast. t.t. for 'penultimate phoneme' 1.1.85)

3.3.107 ${}^1N_i={}^2\bar{a}sA-{}^3sranth-aḥ=yuC$

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *yuC* is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] *NiC* and *ās-* 'sit down' (II 11) and *sranth-* 'loosen, release' (IX 39) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

1. *NiC*: *kṛ+NiC+yuC+TāP* = *kār-i+and+ā* (6.4.51; 7.1.1) = *kār-aṇ-ā* (8.4.2) 'instigation', and similarly *hār-aṇ-ā* 'causing to take or seize'.
2. *ās+yuC* = *ās-an-ā* 'sitting'; *sranth-an-ā* 'loosening, releasing'. Exceptions to KtiN 94,102,103.

3.3.108 *roga=ākhyā-yām NvuL bahulām*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *NvuL* is variously (*bahulām*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote the name of a disease (*roga-ākhyā-yām*).

pra+chṛd+NvuL+TāP = *pra-echārd-aka+ā* (7.1.1) = *pra-echārd-ik-ā* (7.3.44) 'vomiting, throwing up'; *pra-uḥh-ik-ā* 'diarrhoea, loose motions'; *vi-cārc-ik-ā* 'itch, scabies'.

Does not occur: *śiras+ard+KtiN* = *śiras+art+ti* (8.4.55) = *śirō-rṭh-ti* (8.4.65) 'headache'.

3.3.109 samjñā-yām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NvuL 108 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote a name (samjñā-yām).

uddālaka-sya pūṣpā-ṇ-i bhaj-yānte yā-syām kriḍā-yām sá =
uddālaka-puṣpa-bhānj+NvuL+TāP = uddālaka-puṣpa-bhānj-ik-ā 'a game
played in the eastern districts in which the flowers of the Uddālaka tree are
broken'. This is an obligatory Tatpuruṣa compound (2.2.17).

3.3.110 vibhāṣā=¹ākhyāna=²pari-praśná-yor iÑ ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NvuL 108] as well as (ca) iÑ are introduced optionally (vibhāṣā) [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] when it relates to a question (pari-praśná) and response (ākhyāna).

The word [vibhāṣā] 'optionally' provides for introduction of other affixes also occurring in this section.

Q. kām tvām kār-i-m (iÑ) / kār-ikām (NvuL) / kṛ-ti-m (KtiN) / kriy-ā-m (Śá) /
kṛ-t-yā-m (KyāP 100) á-kār-s-ṛ-h? 'What work have you done?'

R. sáruā-m kār-i-m/kār-ik-ā-m/kṛ-ti-m/kriy-ā-m/kṛ-t-yā-m á-kār-s-am 'I have
done everything'.

3.3.111 ¹pary-āyá=²ārha=³ṛṇá=⁴ut-pátti-su NvuC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] NvuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote (a) regular succession (pary-āyá-°), (b) worthiness (°-ārha-°), (c) debt (°-ṛṇá-°) and (d) something that is produced (°-ut-pátti-su).

1. śī+NvuC+TāP = śāy-akā+ā (4.1.4; 7.1.1) = śāy-ik-ā (7.3.34) : bhāvat-ah śāy-ik-ā
'your turn to sleep'.

2. drh-a-ti bhāvaṇ ikṣu-bhaks-ik-ā-m 'you deserve (= are worthy of) to have a meal
of sugar cane'.

3. ikṣu-bhaks-ikā-m me dhār-āy-a 'you owe me a meal of sugar cane'.

4. odana-bhoj-ik-ā me ud-ā-pād-i 'a meal of rice has been produced for me'.

3.3.112 ā-kroś-é náñ-i=áni-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] áni is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the privative particle náñ-° [to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] for denoting an imprecation (ā-kroś-é).

Exception to KtiN 94. *nañ+kr+áni-* = *a-kar-āni-s* to *upsala bhā-yāt* 'O sinner! May failure happen to thee'.

3.3.113 ¹kṛtya-²Lyuṭ-aḥ=bahulám

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the cover term kṛtya (3.1.95ff.) and Lyuṭ are variously (bahulám) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] (to denote various meanings other than those specified = bahulám).

The governing rules 18 and 19 are no longer recurring from this rule onwards. By 3.4.70 kṛtya affixes are generally introduced to denote [bhāv-é] 'impersonal' and [kārmaṇ-i] 'passive' constructions, but this rule provides for their introduction with other kārakas: *dī-yā-te a-smat* = *dā+anīyaR+sU* = *dānīya-s* = *dā-nīy-o brāhmaṇā-ḥ* 'a brahmin to whom a donation is to be made'.

Lyuṭ is normally introduced under 115-17, but can also occur under other conditions: *āpa-sic-ya-te tād* = *apa-sic+Lyuṭ* = *apa-sic-ana-* (functioning as an object) 'sprinkling'; *āva-srāv-ay-a-te tād* = *ava-srāv-ana-* 'causing to flow (something) down'; *prā-skand-a-ti a-smāt* = *pra-skānd-ana-* 'leaping over (from)'; similarly *prā-pāt-a-ti a-smāt* = *pra-pāt-ana-* 'falling (from)'.

3.3.114 nápuṁsak-e bhāv-é Ktá-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktá is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive a neuter (nápuṁsak-e) action noun (bhāv-é).

has+Ktá = *has+iṭ+Ktá* = *has-i-tā-m* 'laughter'; similarly *jālp-i-tā-m* 'prattle'.

3.3.115 Lyuṭ ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktá 114] as well as (ca) Lyuṭ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a neuter action noun 114].

has+Lyuṭ = *has-ana-m* 'laughter'; similarly *śobh-ana-m* 'shining, beauty, luster, brilliance'; *jālp-ana-m* 'prattling' *śāy-ana-m* 'lying down'; *kār-aṇa-m* 'doing, performing, instrument'.

3.3.116 *kármaṇ-i ca y-éna saṁ-spraś-āt kart-ūḥ* *śārīra-sukhā-m*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *Lyuṭ* 115 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [a nominal *padá* 1.4] functioning as its direct object (*kármaṇ-i*), contact with which (*y-éna saṁ-spraś-āt*) results in physical pleasure (*śārīra-sukhā-m*) experienced by the agent (*kart-ūḥ*).

cāndana-m ānu-limp-a-ti = *candana+θ¹+anu+lip+Lyuṭ* = *candanānu-lēp-ana-m sukhā-m* 'pleasure arising from anointing with sandal-wood paste'; *pāyaḥ pib-a-ti* = *payah-pāna-m sukhā-m* 'satisfaction arising from drinking milk'; but *tālikā-yāḥ utthāna-m* 'getting up from the bed of down is pleasant', since the upapadā is not the direct object. Similarly *agni-kunḍā-sya-upā-sana-m sukhā-m* 'it is pleasant to sit near the fire-place' since there is no physical contact; *gurō-ḥ śāś-p-ana-m sukhā-m* 'bathing of the preceptor is a pleasure', since the preceptor is not the agent of the action.

The purpose of this rule is in connection with the obligatory formation of nominal compounds, as otherwise the derivative is already provided for by the preceding rule 115.

3.3.117 ¹*kāraṇa-²adhi-kāraṇay-os=ca*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *Lyuṭ* 115 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote an instrument (*kāraṇa-*¹) or a locus (²-*adhi-kāraṇa*).

prā-vraśc-a-ti an-éna = *pra+vrāśc+Lyuṭ* = *pra-vrāśc-ana-* 'instrument for cutting wood', in the genitive Tatpuruṣa compound *idhma-pra-vraśc-and-* 'axe/wood-cutter'. Similarly: *śad+NiC+Lyuṭ* = *śāt-θ+ana-* (7.3.42) 'lopper, cutter' in *palāśa-śāt-and-* 'an instrument for lopping the foliage of P. tree'.

duh-yā-te a-syām = *duh+Lyuṭ+NP* (4.1.15) = *dōh-an-I* in the Tatpuruṣa compound *gō-r dōh-an-I* = *go-doh-an-I* (6.1.113) 'a pail in which the cow is milked, a receptacle for milk'; likewise *saktu-dhā-nf* 'a vessel in which rice gruel is kept'.

3.3.118 *pūms-i saṁjñā-yām GHā-ḥ prāy-éṇa*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *GHā* is generally (*prāy-éṇa*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote an instrument or locus 117] to form a masculine (*pūms-i*) noun denoting a name (*saṁjñā-yām*).

1. *kāraṇa* : *chād-yā-te an-éna* = *chad+GHā* = *chad-d-* (8.4.51,96) 'covering' in the compound *danta-ccad-d-* 'a lip'.

2. *adhi-kāraṇa-e* : *ā+f-t-ya* (*LyaP*) = *ē-t-ya tā-smīn ku-rv-ānti* = *ā+kr+GHā* = *ā-kar-d-* 'a mine' in *ratnā-kar-d-* 'a mine of jewels (the ocean)'.

Counter-examples: when not masc.: *pra-sādh-ana-m* 'a comb' (with *Lyuṭ*); when not a name: *pra-hār-aṇa-ḥ daṇḍā-ḥ* 'a staff or stick for beating'.

3.3.119 ¹go-car-á-²sam-car-á-³vah-á-⁴vraj-á=⁵vyaj-á=⁶ā-pan-á-⁷ni-gam-á=ca

(The irregular expressions) go-car-á- 'domain', sam-car-á- 'pasturage', vah-á- 'conveyance', vaj-á- 'cow-pen', vyaj-á- 'fan', ā-pan-á- 'market place' and ni-gam-á- 'Vedic passage' are introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHá 118, signifying an instrument or a locus 117 to form a masculine name 118].

This is a prior exception to 121 below. *gāu-as=cd-anti a-smín des-é = go+θ¹+car=GHá = go-car-á- : indriya-go-car-á-h 'within the domain of perception by the sense organs'; sam-car-ante an-éna = sam-car-á-h; vah-anti t-éna = vah-á-h; vaj-anti t-éna = vaj-á-h; vy-áj-anti t-éna = vy-aj-á-h; é-t-ya id-smín ā-pan-anti = ā-pan-á-h.*

3.3.120 áv-e ¹tṛ-²str-or GHaÑ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] GHaÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] tṛ- 'cross over, traverse' (I 1018) and str- 'cover, spread' (IX 14), co-occurring with the preverb áva-° [to form a masculine noun denoting a name 117-118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

Exception to GHá 118. *áva-tar-a-ti a-smín = ava+tṛ=GHaÑ = ava-tār-á-h 'descent, especially of a divinity, incarnation'; similarly ava-stār-á-h 'screen of cloth round a tent, a curtain in general'.*

The word [prāy-éna] in 118 extends the use of these expressions to cover such cases as *ava-tār-ó nady-á-h 'the descent or fall of a river' = ava-tār-aṇa-m* where it is not a proper noun or name (samjñā).

3.3.121 haL-as=ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [to form a masculine noun 118 denoting a name 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

Exception to GHá 118. *likh-á-ti an-éna = likh+GHaÑ = lēkh-a-h/likh-á-ti a-smín vā = likh+GHaÑ = lēkh-a-h 'writing instrument/document'; vēt-ti=an-éna = vid+GHaÑ = vēd-a-h 'Vēda, source of all knowledge'; vēṣṭ-a-te an-éna/a-smín vā = vēṣṭ-a-h 'covering, cloth'; āpa-mṛj-ya-te an-éna vy-ā-dhīḥ = āpa+mṛj+GHaÑ = apā-mārg-á-h (3.3.112) 'the plant Achyranthus Aspera'*

3.3.122 ¹adhy-āy-á-²ny-āy-á-²ud-yāv-á-⁴sañ-hār-á= ⁵ā-dhār-á=⁶ā-vayās=ca

(The irregular expressions) adhy-āy-á- 'lesson, chapter', ny-āy-á- 'rule, law', ud-yāv-á- 'mixture', sañ-hār-á- 'destruction', ā-dhār-á- 'support', ā-vā-y-á- 'cloth mill' are introduced [as derived with kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120, forming masculine nouns denoting names 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

*adhf-ya-te a-smñ = adhi+tiN+GHaÑ = adhy-āy-d-h; nī-yā-te an-éna = ny-āy-d-h;
úd-yuv-anti a-smñ = ud-yāv-d-h; sañ-hri-yan-te sañ-hār-d-h; ā-dhri-ya-te
a-smñ = ā-dhār-d-h; ā-vay-anti a-smñ = ā-vāy-d-h. Exceptions to GHá 118*

3.3.123 ud-añk-á-ḥ=án-udak-e

(The irregular expression) ud-añk-á- is introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120 to form a masculine noun denoting a name 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117], when not co-occurring with udaka-.

While the form [ud-añk-á-] is derivable by 121 above, the irregularity lies in the fact that it is blocked out when co-occurring with [udaka- *]: *taila-m úd-ac-ya-te = úd-dhri-ya-te a-smñ = taila+ḥ+ud+anc+GHaÑ = tailodank-d-h* 'a leather bag for storing oil', but *udakod-éna-ana-ḥ* 'water jar'.

3.3.124 jāl-am ā-nāy-á-ḥ

(The irregular expression) ā-nāy-á- is introduced to denote a net (jāla-m) [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120 to derive a masculine noun signifying a name 118 denoting an instrument 117].

ā-nṛyante an-éna (māteyāḥ/mṛgāḥ vā) = ā-nāy-d-h 'a net to catch fish or animals'.
The irregularity lies in restricting the meaning.

3.3.125 khān-aḥ=GHá ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 GHaÑ 120] as well as GHá are [introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] khān- 'dig, excavate' (I 927) [to form a masculine noun denoting a name 118 indicating an instrument or locus 117].

*ā+khan+GHá/GHaÑ = ā-khan-d-/ā-khān-d-h = ākhan-a-ti/ā-khan-ya-te vā
an-éna* 'a spade'.

3.3.126 ¹ṛśád-²dús-³sú-ṣu ¹kṛcchrá=²ákṛcchra=artheṣu KHaL

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KHaL is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles ṛśát-°, dús-° or sú-° [to form an action noun 18 (cf. 3.4.70)] expressing the sense of 'difficult' (kṛcchrá-°) or 'easy' (á-kṛcchra-arthe-ṣu).

[kṛcchrá] qualifies [dús-°] while [á-kṛcchra-] qualifies the other two: *ṛśát-kṛ+kHaL* = *ṛśát-kár-a* 'easily made or produced', and similarly *su-kár-a*; *duṣ-kár-a* 'made, produced or done with difficulty'; *suṣṭhú bhuj-yá-te* = *su+bhuj+KHaL* = *su-bhóḡ-a* 'easy to eat'.

The marker [KH] of the affix is for the purpose of inserting the augment [m̐M] (6.3.87) in the succeeding rules below.

3.3.127 ¹kartṣ-²kárman-os=ca ¹bhū-²kṛÑ-oh

[The kft 1.9 affix 1.1 KHaL 126] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhū- 'become' (I 1) and kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) [with nominal padás 1.4] functioning as agent (kartṣ-°) and direct object (kárman-) [and with the particles ṛśát-°, dús-° or sú-° 126].

án-ādhy-ena bhávat-ā sukhéna ādhy-éna bhū-yá-te = *ṛśad+ādhyā + 0¹+m̐M+bhū+KHaL* = *ṛśad-ādhyā-bhāv-a-m bhávat-ā* 'it is easily possible for you who are poor to become a little richer'.

Similarly *án-ādhyā-ḥ devadattā-ḥ sukh-éna ādhayá-ḥ kri-yá-te* - *ṛśad-ādhyā-m-kāra-ḥ devadattā-ḥ* 'poor D. can be made rich'.

3.3.128 āT-aḥ=yuC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [-ā] [co-occurring with the particles ṛśát-°, dús-° or sú-° to form action nouns 18 signifying 'easy' or 'difficult' 126].

Exception to KHaL 126. *ṛśat+pā+yuC* = *ṛśat+pā+and* (7.1.1) = *śat-pānd-ḥ sōma-h=bhāvat-ā* 'Sōma can be easily drunk by you'; similarly *duṣ-pān-ā-ḥ* / *su-pān-ā-ḥ* 'drunk with difficulty/drunk with ease'.

3.3.129 chāndas-i gāty-arthe-bhyaḥ

In the domain of Chāndas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 128 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting the sense of 'movement' (gāty-arthe-bhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the particles ṭsāt-°, dús-° or sú-° 126 to form action nouns 18 signifying 'difficult' or 'easy' 126].

su+upa+sad+yuC = *su-upa-sad-and-* in *sāpa-sad-and-ḥ=agnī-ḥ* 'Agni who is easy to be approached' (T.S. 7.5.20.1); *sāpa-sad-and-m antārikṣa-m* 'the intermediate region which is easy to be approached'.

3.3.130 anyé-bhyaḥ=āpi drś-yá-te

[In the domain of Chāndas 129 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 128 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting (a sense other than 'movement' : anyé-bhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the particles ṭsāt-°, dús-° or sú-° 126 to form action nouns 18 signifying 'difficult' or 'easy' 126].

su+vid+yuC+TāP = *su-ved-and+ā* : *su-ved-and-m a-ḥṛ-ṇo-r brāhmaṇ-e gām* (RV 10.112.8) 'thou hast made the cow easy to be found'.

3.3.131 vartamāna-sāmīpy-é vartamāna-vát=vā

When the action refers to (a past or future time) proximate to the present time (*varta-m-āna-sāmīpy-é*), operations apply optionally (*vā*) which would apply when the action refers to the present time (*varta-m-āna-vát*).

In other words, an action taking place in the past or future time proximate to the present can be followed by *l*-substitutes specific to those times or alternately by those of the present time. To the question *ka-dā ā-ga-tā-ḥ=ā-si* 'When have you arrived?' the response could be: *ayám ā-gacch-ā-mi/āgacch-ant-am mām vīd-dhi* (+*ṢatR* 2.134) 'I have arrived just now/know that I have arrived just now'. Similarly for Q. *ka-dā gam-i-syā-si* 'When will you go?' R. would be: *eṣā gacch-ā-mi* 'I will be going shortly' or alternately *eṣā gam-i-syā-mi/gantās-mi*.

3.3.132 ā-sāmsā-yām bhūta-vát=ca

When a wish (*ā-sāmsā-yām*) is expressed (that something will happen, necessarily referring to the future) [*l*-substitutes proper to the present and future 131] as well as (*ca*) of the past (*bhūta-vát*) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

upādhyāyās=céd ā-gam-at (IUN) / *ā-ga-tā-ḥ* (Ktā) / *ā-gacch-a-ti* (LAT) /

ā-gam-i-ṣya-ti (IṚṬ) *et-ē vyākāraṇa-m adhy-ā-gī-ṣ-mahi* / *ādhi-ta-vant-aḥ* / *ādhi-mahe* / *ādhy-e-ṣyā-mahe* 'if the teacher were to come today we would study grammar'. Only the Aorist is possible among the past tenses since it represents the general past. When a wish is not expressed, only the future forms occur.

3.3.133 kṣipra-vacan-é IṚṬ

(The l-substitutes of) IṚṬ (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with *kṣiprá-* or its synonyms (*kṣipra-vacan-é*) 'quickly' [when a wish is expressed 132].

upādhyāyāś=ced ā-gam-i-ṣya-ti kṣiprām vyākāraṇa-m ādhy-e-ṣyā-mahe 'if the teacher were to come soon we will soon study grammar'.

3.3.134 ā-śaṁsā-vacan-é IIN

(The l-substitutes of) IIN (Optative or Potential Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the expression *ā-śaṁsā* 'hope' or its synonyms [when a wish is expressed 132].

upādhyāyāś=ced ā-gacch-et, ā-śaṁs-e /āvapkalp-ay-e/yuk-tā-h/kṣi-prā-m ādhy-nya 'if the teacher will come I hope I will study with zeal'.

3.3.135 ná=an-adya-tana-vát 'kriyā-prabandhá-²sāmīpyay-oḥ

When there is continuity of action (*kriyā-prabandhá-*) or proximity in the time of action (*-sāmīpyay-oḥ*) (l-substitutes of l-members="tenses and moods") not pertaining to the current day (*an-adya-tana-vát*) [= IAN 'Imperfect' and IUT 'Periphrastic Future'] are not (*ná*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

1. *kriyā-prabandh-ā: yā-vad=iva-m bhṣā-m ānna-m dā-ṣyā-ti/d-dā-t* 'throughout his life he will be continuously giving food/has continuously given food' where IṚṬ 'Sigmatic Future' and IUN 'Aorist' alone are introduced.
2. *sāmīpy-e: yā=iyām purnamāś=ati-tā, etā-syām upādhyāyā-ḥ agnī-m ā-dhi-ta, sōm-ena=d-yaṣ-ṭa, gām ā-di-ta* 'during the full-moon which has just passed, the teacher consecrated the fire, performed a Soma sacrifice and donated a cow', introducing the l-substitutes of IUN; similarly: *yā=iyām purnamāś=ā-gām-īn-i, etā-syām upādhyāyā-ḥ agnī-m ā-dhā-ṣya-te, sōm-ena yak-ṣyā-te, gām dā-ṣyā-te* 'introducing the l-substitute of IṚṬ'.

3.3.136 bhav-i-syāt-i maryādā-vacan-é=ávāra-smin

When the action refers to the future time (bhav-i-sy-āt-i) and there is indication of a limit (maryādā-vacan-é) on this side (ávāra-smin) of a place the future tense [not pertaining to the current day (= IUT 15 above) is not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

yā-h=ayām ddhvā gan-tāvya-h=ā pāṭaliputrā, tā-sya yād dvāra-m kauśāmbī-āh, tā-tra=odand-m bhok-syā-mahe 'on this side of the road from K to P. we will eat rice'. If this limit is not indicated, l-substitutes of IUT can also be introduced after verbal stems, and so also when the other side is indicated.

3.3.137 kāla-vi-bhāg-é ca=ān-aho-rātrā-ṇām

[When the action refers to the future time and there is indication of a limit on this side 136] with reference to a division of time (kāla-vi-bhāg-é) excluding day and night (ān-aho-rātrā-ṇām) [the future tense 136 not pertaining to the current day 135 (=IUT) is not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

yā-h=ayām sarhvatśard-h=ā-gā-mī, tā-tra yād dvāram āgra-hāyany-āh tā-tra yuk-tā-h=ādhy-e-syā-mahe 'in the year which is to come, in the month of Caitra (= March-April) we shall study with zeal' (IUT). This restriction does not apply if the time division is day or night, or refers to a period other than the future, or there is no indication of limit, or this side is not denoted (cf. 138 below).

3.3.138 pára-smin vibhāṣā

[When the action refers to the future time and there is an indication of a limit 136] on the other side (pára-smin) [of a place 136 or of a division of time, excluding day or night 137, the l-substitutes of the future tense 136 not pertaining to the current day 135] are optionally (vibhāṣā) [not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

In the examples cited under 136-7, the Periphrastic Future Tense [IUT] forms can occur by this option.

3.3.139 IIN-nimitt-é IṚÑ kriyā=ati-patt-aú

(The l-substitutes of) IṚÑ (Conditional) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, when the action refers to the future time 136] under conditions prescribed for IIN (156 below: that one action is cause and the other an effect or result), provided that the action which is the result does not actually come about (kriyā=ati-patt-aú).

ddkṣiṇ-ena céd ā-yā-syat, nā śākata-m pary ā-bhav-i-sya-t 'if he had gone on the right side (of the road) the carriage would not have turned upside down'.

3.3.140 bhūt-é ca

When the action refers to the past time (bhūt-é) also (ca) [the l-substitutes of IṚÑ 139 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, under conditions prescribed for IIN provided that the action which is the result does not actually come about 139].

yādi surabhī-m dvāp-sya-s tan-mukhocchvāsa-gandhā-m tāva rāti-m ā-bhav-i-syad punḍarik-s kīm a-smīn? 'If you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus?'

3.3.141 vā=ā=¹utā=²āpy-oh

Prior to the sūtra 152 [¹utā=²āpy-oh sám-arthay-oh] the expressions [when the action refers to the past 140 the l-substitutes of IṚÑ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 under conditions prescribed for IIN, provided the action which is the result does not actually come about 139 will recur in the subsequent statements] optionally (vā).

This is a governing rule or adhikāra.

3.3.142 garhā-yām IAT=¹āpi=²jātv-oh

(The l-substitutes of) IAT (Present Tense) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with āpi-° 'is it?' and jātu-° 'perhaps' to express censure (garhā-yām).

This rule extends the scope of IAT, which by 2.123 was restricted to the present time only, to a general or common time (kāla-sāmānya).

āpi tatra-bhavaṇ vṛśalā-m yājāy-a-ti? 'is it possible that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra?' / *jātu tatra-bhavaṇ vṛśalā-m yāj-āy-a-ti? garh-ā-mahe* 'perhaps you will officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra, we censure (you)'.

Since this is not covered by the conditions prescribed for IIN, IṚÑ does not operate.

3.3.143 vibhāṣā kathām-i IIN ca

[The l-members of IAT 142] as well as (ca) of IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with kathām-° 'how?' [to denote censure 141] optionally (vibhāṣā).

Since there is option (141 above), l-substitutes of other l-members as required can also operate.

kathám náma táttra-bhāvan vṛśalā-m yāj-āy-a-ti/yāj-ay-i-sya-ti/yāj-āy-i-ta/yāj-āy-et/d-yāj-ay-a-t/yāj-ay-ām+ca-kā-ra? 'how can you officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra? (we censure you)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the resulting action does not come about IRÑ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future.

3.3.144 *kīm-vṛtt-é* ¹IIÑ-²IRṬ-au

(The l-substitutes of) IIÑ and IRṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with declined forms of (the pronominal stem) *kīm-* 'what, who, which?' (*kīm-vṛtt-é*) [to denote censure 142].

Exception to all other l-members: *kā náma vṛśalā-h yā-m táttra-bhāvan yāj-āy-et/yāj-ay-i-syā-ti* 'who indeed is the śūdra for whom you will officiate at a sacrifice? (we censure you)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the action which is the result does not actually take place, IRÑ will occur optionally: *kā-h=nāma vṛśalā-h yām táttra-bhāvan yāj-ay-i-syā-ti?*

3.3.145 ¹an-ava-kṛpti=²á-marṣay-or á-kīm-vṛtt-e=ápi

[The l-substitutes of IIÑ and IRṬ 144 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with 144] as well as without the declined forms of (the pronominal stem) *kīm-* 'who, what, which?' to denote an impossibility (*án-ava-kṛpti-*) or intolerance (*°-á-marṣay-oḥ*).

Exception to all other l-members.

1. *án-ava-kṛpti-au: ná edm-bhāv-ay-ā-mi/śrād-da-dhe táttra bhāvan náma vṛśalā-m yāj-āy-et/yāj-ay-i-syā-ti* 'I do not believe it is possible for you to officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ. (an outcast)' (i.e., there is none).
2. *á-marṣ-e: na marṣ-āy-ā-mi táttra-bhāvan vṛśalā-m yāj-āy-et/yāj-ay-i-syā-ti* 'I cannot tolerate you officiating at a sacrifice for a vṛ.'; or *kā-h=nāma vṛśalā-h-yām táttra-bhāvan yāj-āy-et/yāj-ay-i-syā-ti?*

When the action refers to the past time and the action which is the result does not actually come about, IRÑ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future: *nā=dua-kalp-ay-ā-mi táttra-bhāvan náma vṛśalā-m d-yāj-ay-i-sya-t.*

3.3.146 ¹kím=kíla=²asti=arthé-ṣu lṛṭ

(The l-substitutes of) lṛṭ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with *kím-kíla* and expressions denoting the sense of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) (= as-, kṛ-, bhū- and vid- IV 62) [denoting improbability or intolerance 145].

Exceptions to lṛṆ.

1. *kím-kíla náma tátra-bhāvān vṛśalá-m yāj-ay-i-śyá-ti* 'what a pity you are officiating at a sacrifice for a vṛ.''
2. *bhāv-a-ti / vid-ya-te náma tátra-bhāvān vṛśalá-m yāj-ay-i-śyá-ti* 'is it possible that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ?' (I think it is improbable, I cannot tolerate it)'.

3.3.147 ¹jātu=²yád-or lṛṆ

(The l-substitutes of) lṛṆ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with *jātu* 'perhaps' and *yád-* 'which, what' [to denote improbability or intolerance 145].

Exception to lṛṭ; *jātu tátra-bhāvān vṛśalá-m yāj-áy-et* 'perhaps you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ?' (I do not think it probable)'; *yád=náma tátra-bhāvān vṛśalá-m yāj-áy-et* 'that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ' (I cannot tolerate it)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the resulting action does not actually come about lṛṆ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future.

3.3.148 ¹yát=ca=²yátray-oḥ

[The l-substitutes of lṛṆ 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with *yát=ca* 'and which' and *yátra* 'where' [to denote improbability or intolerance 145].

yát=ca / yátra tátra-bhāvān vṛśalá-m yāj-áy-et 'I don't think it probable / I cannot bear to think that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ.'

If the resulting action is not realized (*kriyā-atipatt-aú* 139,141) lṛṆ will optionally occur when it refers to the past and necessarily if the action refers to the future.

3.3.149 garhā-yām ca

[The l-substitutes of IIN 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with yāt=ca and yātra 148] to denote censure (garhā-yām) also.

Exception to all l-members. *yāt=ca/yātra tātra-bhāvaṁ vṛṣalā-m yāj-āy-et, ṛddhā-h vṛddhā-h sām brāhmaṇā-h, gārha-mahe, aha dnyāyā-m etāt* 'we censure you, an elderly, prosperous brahmin, that you would officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ; it is entirely unbecoming'.

If the action is not realized (149,151) and refers to the past, IRÑ is optionally introduced.

3.3.150 citrī-kāraṇ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of IIN 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with yāt=ca and yātra 148] to denote wonder (citrī-kāraṇ-e).

yāt=ca/yātra tātra-bhāvaṁ vṛṣalā-m yāj-āy-et āścārya-m etāt 'it is a wonder that you should officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ.' When [kriyā-ati-pattī 145] occurs IRÑ is optionally used.

3.3.151 śeṣ-e IRṬ=ā-yad-au

In the remaining cases (śeṣ-e : excluding co-occurrence with yāc-ca and yātra 148) (the l-substitutes of) IRṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] not co-occurring with yādi 'if' [to express wonder 150].

Exception to all other l-members. *āścārya-m/citrā-m/adbhuta-m andhā-h=nāma pāruata-m ā-rok-āya-ti, badhirā-h=nāma vy-ā-kāraṇa-m dāhy-e-āya-te* 'it is verily wonderful/strange/astonishing that a blind man should climb a mountain (or) a deaf person should study grammar'. But with [yādi] *āścārya-m yādi sa bhunj-īdā* 'it will be a wonder if he will eat'.

3.3.152 ¹utā-²āpy-oḥ sām-arthay-oḥ=IIN

(The l-substitutes of) IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with utā and āpi denoting the same sense (sām-arthay-oḥ) (= 'doubtless, certainly').

Exception to all other l-members. *utā/āpi kur-yāt* 'assuredly he does/will do'. *utā/āpi dāhy-īta* 'certainly he will study', but in other senses: *utā dandā-h pat-i-syā-ti?* 'will the staff fall down?' and *āpi dvāra-m dhā-syā-ti* 'hope he shuts the door'.

3.3.153 *kāma-pra-vedan-é=á-kaccit-i*

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] except when co-occurring with *káccid* (a particle of interrogation) to make known one's desire (*kāma-pra-vedan-é*).

Exception to all other l-members: *kāma-h-me bhuñj-ntā bhūvañ* 'it is my wish that you should eat', but *káccid jīva-ti te mātā káccid jīva-ti te pitā* 'is your mother alive, is your father alive?'

3.3.154 *sam-bhāvan-e=ālam iti cēt siddha=a-prayog-é*

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ 152 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the expectation (*sam-bhāvan-e*) (that someone is capable of performing the action), provided the implied word *ālam* 'capable' (or its synonym) is not actually used (*siddha=a-prayog-é*).

āpi pārvata-m śtras-ā bhind-yāt '(it seems) that he is capable of breaking the hill with his head'; *āpi droṇa-pāka-m bhuñj-ntā* '(it seems) that he is capable of eating a whole droṇa measure of cooked food'; but *videśa-sthāḥ devadattā-h prāy-ēṇa gam-i-śyā-ti grāma-m* 'it is expected that D., who has gone abroad, will return (some day) to his (original) village', and *dlam devadattā-h hastin-am han-i-śyā-ti* 'D. has the capacity to kill an elephant'. When the action which is the result does not actually come about, IIN̄ is necessarily introduced to denote the past and future times.

3.3.155 *vibhāṣā dhāt-au sam-bhāvana-vacan-é=á-yadi*

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ 152] are optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with a verbal stem (*dhāt-au*) denoting expectation (*sam-bhāvana-vacan-é*) but not with *yád-* 'which'.

sām-bhāv-ay-ā-mi / āva-kalp-ay-ā-mi bhuñj-ntā/bhok-śyā-te bhūvañ 'I expect that you are capable of eating', but *sām-bhāv-ay-ā-mi yád bhavān bhu-ñ-j-ntā*.

3.3.156 ¹hetú-²hetu-mát-or IIN̄

[The l-substitutes of] IIN̄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] which is the cause (*hetú*) and (another verbal stem 1.91) which is the effect (*hetu-mát-oh*).

Exception to all other l-members: by repeating the word [IIN̄] here when it already recurs from 152 above, this usage is restricted to the future time only.

dāksin-ena cēd yā-yāt dākaṭa-m nā pary-ā-bhav-e 'if he goes by the right side (of the road), the cart will not turn upside down'. The Optative forms are derived thus: $yā+IIN = yā+ŚaP+tiP$ (1.68; 4.78) = $yā+θ^1+yāeuT+euT+tθ$ (4.100,103,107) = $yā-yāθ+θ+t = yā-yā-t$; $pary-ā+bhā+IIN = pary-ā-bhā+ŚaP + yāe+euT+t = pary-ā-bhav-a+yāθ+θ+i = pary-ā-bhav-a+iy+i$ (7.2.80) = $pary-ā-bhav-e-t$ (8.1.87).

By interpretation the expression [vibhāsā 155] recurs here so as to provide for introduction of $IR\ddot{T}$ to denote the future time: *dāksin-ena cēd yā-sūy-ti dākaṭa-m nā pary-ā-bhav-i-sya-ti*.

3.3.157 icchā=arthé-ṣu $IIN-^2IO\ddot{T}$ -au

(The l-substitutes of) IIN and $IO\ddot{T}$ (Optative and Imperative Moods) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with another verbal stem 155] denoting the sense of 'desire, wish' (icchā=arthé-ṣu).

icch-ā-mi/kām-āy-e/prā-rth-ay-e bhuñj-ānā/bhuk-tām bhāvān 'I wish you would eat'; the modal forms are derived thus: $bhuj+IIN = bhuj+ŚnaM+eṇyT+euT+tā$ (1.78; 4.102,107) = $bhu-na-j+θṇy+θ+tā$ (7.2.79) = $bhu-nθ-j+ty+tā$ (6.4.111) = $bhuñj-θ+tā$ (6.1.66) = $bhuñj-tā$; $bhuj+IO\ddot{T} = bhuj+ŚnaM+tām$ (4.90) = $bhu-nθ-j+tām$ (6.4.111) = $bhuk-tām$ (8.2.30).

3.3.158 samānā-kartṛke-ṣu tumyN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] $tumyN$ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with another verb 155 denoting the sense of 'wish' 157] provided the two (or more) actions are performed by the same agent (samānā-kartṛke-su).

icch-d-ti/kām-āy-a-te/vāṣ-ti/vāñch-a-ti bhōk-tum (= $bhuj+tumyN = bhōj+tum$ 7.3.84 = $bhōk-tum$ 8.2.30) 'desires to eat'; but *devadattā-m bhuñj-ānā-m icch-d-ti yajñadattā-h* 'Y. desires D. to eat (something)', the two agents being not identical.

3.3.159 IIN ca

(The l-substitutes of) IIN are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with another verb 155 meaning 'wish, desire' 157, provided both actions are performed by the same agent 158].

bhuñj-tyā=iti-icch-d-ti = bhōk-tum icch-d-ti 'wishes to eat (lit. I will eat, he wishes)'. When [kriyā-ati-pat-ti 139] is indicated, IRN is introduced.

3.3.160 icchā-arthe-bhyaḥ=vibhāṣā vārt-a-m-ān-e

When the action refers to the present time (vart-a-m-ān-e) [the l-substitutes of IIN 159 are introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] optionally (vibhāṣā) when they denote 'desire, wish'.

This is an alternative to IAT 2.123. *icch-ē-t/icch-ā-ti; uś-yā-t/uś-ā-ta*
kām-āy-e-ta/kām-āy-a-te 'desires, wishes'.

3.3.161 ¹vidhī-²nī-māntr-aṇa-³ā-māntr-aṇa=⁴ādhi=iṣṭa- ⁵sam-praś-nā-⁶pra=ārth-ane-ṣu IIN

(The l-substitutes of) IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote (a) a command (vi-dh-ī), (b) summons (nī-māntr-aṇa), (c) invitation (ā-māntr-aṇa), (d) respectful command (ādhi-iṣ-ṭa), (e) deliberation (sam-praś-nā) and (f) request (pra-tārth-ana).

The repetition of [IIN] here when it already recurs from 159 is to block the recurrence of [vibhāṣā] from 160.

1. vidhī: *kāta-m-kur-yā-t* 'he shall/must make a mat'; *grāma-m bhāvān gacch-ē-t* 'you shall/must go the village'.
2. nī-māntr-aṇa: *i-hā bhāvān bhuñj-I-tā* 'here you will eat'.
3. ā-māntr-aṇa: *i-hā bhāvān ās-I-tā* 'please sit here'.
4. ādhiṣṭa: *mānavakā-m bhāvān ūpa-nay-e-t* 'kindly initiate the lad'.
5. sam-praś-nā: *kim nū khālu vy-ā-kār-aṇa-m ādhī-ṛy-a?* 'should/must I indeed study grammar?'.
6. prārthana: *vy-ā-kār-aṇa-m ādhī-ṛy-a* 'please, I would like to study grammar'.

3.3.162 IOT ca

(The l-substitutes of) IOT (Imperative Mood) also (ca) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote a command, summons, invitation, respectful command, deliberation and request 161].

The splitting of this from the preceding statement is for restricting the following sūtra-s only to IOT.

1. vidhī: *grāma-m bhāvān gacch-a-tu.*
2. nī-māntr-aṇa: *i-hā bhāvān bhuñk-tām.*
3. ā-māntr-aṇa: *i-hā bhāvān ās-tām.*
4. ādhiṣṭa: *mānavakā-m bhāvān ūpa-nay-a-tām.*
5. sam-praś-nā: *kim nū khālu vy-ā-kār-aṇa-m ādhy-ay-ai.*
6. prārthana: *vy-ā-kār-aṇa-m ādhy-ay-ai.*

The meanings correspond to those cited in the preceding sūtra.

3.3.163 ¹praiśá=²ati-sargá=³prāpta-kāle-ṣu kṛtyās=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.2] denoted by the t.t. kṛtya (1.95ff.) in addition to (ca) [l-substitutes of IOT 162 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote an order (praiśá °), permission (atisargá) and appropriate time or opportunity (prāpta-kālá).

[praiśá] differs from [vidhi] in that it is an order given to a hired servant, while [vidhi] is a general rule applicable to all. More specifically it is an act of sending or commission.

bhāvat-ā kṛta-h kar-tavya-h/kar-tavyā-h/kar-añya-h/kṛ-t-ya-h/kāryā-h = kar-ō-tu bhāvan kṛta-m i-hā prēṣ-i-ta-h/ātieṣṣa-h/bhāvat-aḥ prāpta-kālā-tā kṛta-karaṇ-ē 'you must/you may/it is the proper time to make a mat'.

3.3.164 IIN ca=ūrdhva-mauhurtik-e

(The l-substitutes of) IIN (Optative or Potential Mood) in addition to (ca) [those of IOT 162 and the kṛt 1.93 affixes denoted by the t.t. kṛtya 163 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to express a directive, permission and appropriate time or opportunity 163] when the action takes place in the future within a muhūrtā (ūrdhva-mauhūrtik-e).

ūrdhva-m muhūrt-āt / upāri muhūrtā-sya bhāvat-ā khālu kṛta-h kar-tavya-h / kar-tavyā-h / kar-añya-h / kṛ-t-ya-h / kāryā-h = bhāvan kṛta-m kur-yā-t / kar-ō-tu 'you must / you may / it is the proper time to make a mat within the hour'.

3.3.165 sm-e IOT

(The l-substitutes of) IOT are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma [to denote a directive, permission or proper time 163 when the action takes place within a muhūrtā 164].

Exception to IIN and kṛtya affixes 163-4. *bhāvan ūrdhva-m muhūrt-āt kṛta-m kar-ō-tu sma* 'you must/you may/it is the proper time for you to make a mat within the hour'.

3.3.166 ādhīṣṭ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of IOT 165 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with the particle sma 165] also (ca) to express a respectful command or request (ādhīṣṭ-e).

Exception to IIN 161. *bhāvan sma mā-m ādhy-āp-ay-a-tu* 'please instruct me'.

3.3.167 ¹kāla-²samaya-³velā-su tumuN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] tumuN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [nominal padās 1.4] kālā-, samayā- 'time' and velā 'moment, time'.

kālā-h/samayā-h/velā bhōk-tum 'it is time to eat'.

3.3.168 IIN yād-i

(The l-substitutes of) IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yād [and the nominal padās 1.4 kālā-, samayā- and velā 167].

kālā-h/samayā-h/velā yād bhāvaṇ bhuñj-i-tā 'it is the time for you to eat'.

3.3.169 arh-é ¹kftya-²tḥC-as=ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kftya (1.95ff.) and tḥC in addition to [l-substitutes of IIN 168 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to express (that the agent is) deserving of the action (arh-é).

bhāvat-ā khālu kanyā vo-dhavyā/vo-dhavyā/vāh-yā/vah-anfya 'you are fit/worthy to marry the girl' or *bhāvaṇ khālu kanyā-yāh* = *vah+tḥC* = *vadh+tḥ-* (8.2.31) - *vadh+tḥ-* (8.3.112) = *vadh+dhḥ-* (8.3.40) = *vadh+dhḥ-* (8.4.41) = *vo-ḥ+dhḥ+eU* (8.3.13) = *vo-dhā* (7.3.94; 8.1.68; 4.8; 8.2.7)/ = *bhāvaṇ khālu kanyām vāh-e-t*.

3.3.170 ¹āvaśyaka=²ādhamarṇyay-oḥ=Nīnī-h

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Nīnī is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote that the (agent) performs the action as a necessity (āvaśyak-e) or as an obligation (ādhamarṇy-e).

1. necessity: *avaśya-m+kṛ+Nīnī* = *avaśya-m+kār-īn-* 'performing as a necessity' (2.1.72).
2. obligation: *śatā-m+dā+Nīnī* = *śatā-m dā-y-īn-* (7.3.33) 'obliged to pay a hundred pieces'.

3.3.171 kftyaś=ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kftya (1.95ff.) are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote that the agent performs the action as a necessity or obligation [170].

1. necessity: *ávaśya-n kar-tavya-h / kar-tavyā-h / kar-aṇṇya-h / kār-yā-h / kṛ-t-ya-h* 'must necessarily be done',
2. obligation: *sahśra-n dā-tavya-am/dā-tavyā-m/dē-yam* 'obliged to pay a thousand pieces'.

3.3.172 śak-i IIN̄ ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 denoted by the t.t. kṛtya 171] as well as (ca) (l-substitutes of) IIN̄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93] to denote (the agent's) capacity (śak-i) to perform the action.

bhāvat-a khālu bhārā-h vo-dhāvya-h/vo-dhavyā-h/vah-aṇṇya-h/vah-yā-h = bhāvān khālu bhārā-n vāh-e-t 'you are able to carry the load'.

3.3.173 śśīṣ-i ¹IIN̄-²IOṬ-au

(The l-substitutes of) IIN̄ and IOṬ (Optative and Imperative Moods) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93] to express benediction (śśīṣ-i).

sirām jñu-yā-t/jñu-a-tu bhāvān 'may you live long'. The specific IIN̄ here is the Benedictive or Precative Mood and is derived as follows: *jñu+¹IIN̄(āśīṣi) = jñu+yāśuṭ+suṭ+t* (4.100,103,107) = *jñu+yāś +s +t = jñu-yāś +θ +t* (8.2.29) = *jñu-yā-t*. *jñu+IOṬ = jñu+ŚaP+tu* (4.86) = *jñu-a-tu*.

3.3.174 ¹KtiC=²Kt-aú ca samjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] KtiC and Ktá are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to express benediction 173] to derive a name (samjñā-yām).

1. *tan-u-tāt = tan+KtiC = tan-tf* (6.4.39) 'a weaver'; *san-u-tāt = san+KtiC = sāt-tf / san-tf / sāt-tf* (6.4.42,45) 'gift'; similarly: *bhā-tf* 'existence'; *man-tf* 'respect'.
2. Ktá: *dev-ās=enam de-yās-uḥ = deva-dattā-h* (cf. 6.2.148)

3.3.175 māN̄-i IUN̄

(The l-substitutes of) IUN̄ (Aorist) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the privative particle māN̄.

Exception to all other l-members. *mā kṛ+IUN̄ = mā ā-kār+siC+s* (1.44; 4.100; 7.2.1) = *mā+ā-kār+s+iṭ+s* (7.3.96) = *mā θ-kār-ṣ-I-h* (6.4.74; 8.4.1) 'don't do (it)'.

3.3.176 sma=uttar-e lAÑ ca

[The l-substitutes of lUÑ 175] as well as (ca) of lAÑ (Imperfect) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma following [particle mǎÑ 175] (sma=uttar-e).

mǎ sma+kr+lAÑ/lUÑ = mǎ sma kar-o-h (6.4.74/kār-ṣ-ī-h).

3.4.1 dhātu-sam-bandh-é praty-ayāḥ

Affixes (praty-ayāḥ) [which are introduced under specific conditions of time such as past (bhūṭ-é 2.84), present (vārt-a-m-āne 2.128) or future (bhav-i-syāt-i 3.3)] occur also when their verbal stems are connected with other verbal stems (dhātu-sam-bandh-é) [and the actions denoted are related to other actions referring to different times].

In the sentence *agni-ṣṭoma-yājī-f=a-syā putrā-h-jan-i-tā* 'to him a son will be born who will have performed the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice' the word *agni-ṣṭoma-yājīn-* denotes one who has actually performed that sacrifice in the past (bhūṭé 2.84ff.) while the word *jan-i-tā+Dā* represents the future (IRṬ 3.13). The reference to *jan-i-tā-* gives *agni-ṣṭomā-yājīn-* (basically applying to the past) a future meaning. The main verb with personal l-substitutes (tiN=antas) determines the general trend of other affixes despite their time differences.

3.4.2 kriyā-sam-abhi-hār-é IOṬ, IOṬ-aḥ=¹hi-²sv-aú vā ca ¹tā-²dhvām-oḥ

(The l-substitutes of) IOṬ (Imperative Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote all times 1] when the action is repetitive (kriyā-sam-abhi-hār-é) and the substitute affixes "-hí and "-svá replace (the l-substitutes of) IOṬ (IOṬ-aḥ), but optionally (vā) the affixes "ta and "dhvām (of IOṬ).

lu-ni-hi lu-ni-hi iti=eṣṭ-ayām lu-nāti/lav-i-syā-ti/d-lāv-i-t 'he cuts/will cut/has cut repeatedly or intensively (as if some one said: "cut, cut")'; instead of *ay-ām lu-nā-ti* the string can have: *im-aú lu-ni-tāh / im-é lu-n-āti* with an alternative *lu-ni-tā lu-ni-tā* or *lu-ni-dhvām lu-ni-dhvām* and similarly *lu-ni-ṣvā lu-ni-ṣvā* for *lu-ni-hi lu-ni-hi*.

ádhi-ṣva ádhi-ṣva/ádhi-dhvām ádhi-dhvām ity eṣṭ-ayām/im-é ádhi-te/ádhi-ate 'he studies/they study repeatedly or intensively (as if some one said: "study, study")'.

3.4.3 sam-uc-cay-é=anya-tará-syām

[The l-substitutes of IOṬ 2] are optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] when there is an accumulation (sam-ut=cay-é) of many verbal stems [to denote all times 1 when the action is repetitive or intensive and substitute affixes "-hí and "-svá replace the l-substitutes of IOṬ, but optionally the affixes "tā and "-dhvām 2].

1. accumulation of a single verbal stem: *bhrāstra-m āt-a, matha-m dī-a, khadūra-am dī-a* ity *evā=ayām dī-a-ti/aṭ-i-syāti/āt-i-i* 'roams continuously (lit. 'go to the fireplace, go to college, go to the inner apartment', thus thinking he roams/will roam/has roamed continuously)'.
 2. accumulation of different verbal stems: *saktū-n pīb-a, dhānāḥ khād-a* ity *evā=ayām abhy-ḍva-har-a-ti* 'consumes without stopping (lit. 'drink barley meal, eat fried rice', thus thinking he eats continuously)'.
 3. *chāndaḥ ādhi-ṣva, vy-ākār-ana-m dāhi-ṣva/ādhi-dhuam* ity *evā=ayām dāhi-te/ime dāhi-y-ate* 'continuously he studies/they study (lit. 'study metrics, study grammar', thus thinking he studies/they study continuously)'.

3.4.4 yathā-vidhī=anu-pra-yog-ā-ḥ pūrva-smin

In the first case (pūrva-smin = referred to in 2 above) the subsequent clause employs (the same verbal stem) as the one (after which the l-substitutes of IOṬ are introduced) (yathā-vidhī anu-pra-yogāḥ).

The examples have been cited accordingly under 2 above.

3.4.5 sam=ut=cay-é sāmānya-vacanā-sya

In the case of accumulation (of verbal stems: sam-ut=cay-é as in 3 above) [the subsequent clause employs a verbal stem] which denotes the sense common (to all the verbal stems: sāmānya-vacanā-sya) [after which the l-substitutes of IOṬ are optionally introduced 3].

The examples are cited accordingly under 3 above.

3.4.6 chāndaś-i ¹IUN-²IAÑ-³IIṬ-aḥ

In the domain of Chāndaś (the l-substitutes of) IUN (Aorist), IAÑ (Imperfect) and IIṬ (Perfect) are [optionally 3 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote all times in relation to other verbal stems 1].

1. IUN: *ahām té-bhyaḥ=ā-kar-am nāmaḥ* = *ahām té-bhyaḥ kar-ā-mi nāmaḥ* 'I make obeisance to them'. The Aorist form is derived thus: *kr+IUN* = *kr+Ch+am* (1.43; 4.101) = *ā-kr+aÑ+am* (1.59) = *ākar-am* (7.4.16), the accent being dropped by 8.1.28.
 2. IAÑ: *agnī-m adya hotār-am ā-vṛ-nī-ta=ayām yāj-a-m-āna-ḥ* 'this sacrificer chooses today Agni as the Priest' *vṛ+IAÑ* = *vṛ+Śnā+ta* (1.81) = *ā-vṛ-nī-ta* (6.4.113) = *āvṛ-nī-ta* (8.4.1) for *vṛ-nī-té*.
 3. IIṬ: *adyā ma-mār-a* = *mṛ+IIṬ* = *ma-mṛ+NaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.66); = *ma-mār-a* (7.2.115) = *adyā mri-yā-te* 'dies today'.

3.4.7 IIN=arth-e IET

(The I-substitutes of) IET (Subjunctive Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 in the domain of Chándas 6] to denote the meanings of IIN (Optative or Potential Mood 3.156,161).

$jus+IET = jus+siP+ti$ (1.34; 4.97) = $jos+tiT+s+ti$ (7.2.35; 3.98) = $jos-i-s+aT+ti$ (4.94) = $jds-i-s-a-t$ (8.3.59) 'let him take pleasure in' (RV 2.35.1) for the regular current form: $jus+IIN = jus+Sa+siyut+syut+td$ (1.77, 4.102,107) = $jus+a+siy+td$ (7.2.79) = $jus+a+si+td$ (8.1.86) = $jus-e-td$ (8.1.87).

Similarly $tár-i-sa-t$ 'let him stretch forth'; $né-s-a-t$ 'may he lead'; $pát-ā-ti vi-dyāt$ 'may lightning fall' [= $pāt+SaP+dT+ti$ (94)].

3.4.8 ¹upa-sam-vāda=²ā-sāṅkay-os=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the I-substitutes of IET are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote a mutual accord (upa-sam-vādā) or apprehension (ā-sāṅk-ā).

upa-sam-vādā: *ahám evā padā-nām śā ai* 'as for me, I shall control the cattle' [$śā+IET = śā+e$ (79) = $śā+ai$ (93)].

3.4.9 tum=arth-é ¹sé-²seN-³śe=⁴aseN-⁵Ksé-⁶KaseN+ ⁷ádhyai=⁸ádhyaiN-⁹Kádhyai-¹⁰KadhyaiN-¹¹Śádhyai- ¹²ŚadhyaiN-¹³tavaí-¹⁴táveN-¹⁵taveN-ah

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] (beginning with) sé and (ending with 15) taveN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the sense (of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 tumyN).

- (1) sé: $vac+se = vak-se$ (8.2.30; 3.57) = $vak-tum$: $vak-se rāy-ah$ 'to speak of wealth'.
- (2) seN: = ²se: $iN+seN = e-se = e-tum$ 'to go'.
- (3) śe: $jñu-śe = jñu-i-tum$ 'to live'.
- (4) aseN = ⁴ase: $jñu-ase$.
- (5) Ksé: $pra+iN+Kse = pra+i-se = pre-se = pra-tum$ 'to send'.
- (6) KaseN = ⁶ase: $śri+KaseN = śrit+ase = śrity-ase$ (8.4.77) 'to find support'.
- (7) ádhyai: $upa+a+car+ádhyai = upā-car-ádhyai$ 'to approach'.
- (8) adhyaiN = ⁸adhyai: $upā-car-adhyai$.
- (9) Kádhyai: $ā+huv+Kádhyai = ā-huv-ádhyai$ 'to sacrifice'.
- (10) KadhyaiN = ¹⁰Kadhyai: $śri+KadhyaiN = śrity-adhyai$ 'to find support'.
- (11) Śádhyai: $mad+Nic+ŚaP+Śádhyai = mād-ay-ádhyai$ 'to cause exhilaration'.
- (12) ŚadhyaiN = ¹²Sadhyai: $pā+ŚaP+adhyai = pāb-adhyai$ (8.1.97) = $pā-tum$ 'to drunk'.
- (13) távai = ¹³tavaí (8.1.200): $pā-tavaí = pā-tum$.

(14) táveN: *sūtāve* = *sōtum* 'to give birth to'.

(15) taveN = **tave*; *kār-tave* = *kār-tum* 'to drink'.

3.4.10 prayai rohiṣyai a-vyathīṣyai

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expressions] prayai 'to advance', roh-īṣyai 'to ascend' and a-vyath-īṣyai 'for not trembling' are introduced [to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN].

By interpretation the forms are derived as follows: *pra+yā+KaI* = *pra-yā+ai* (6.4.64) = *pra-y-ai* = *pra-yā-tum* 'to advance, go forward'.

ruh+īṣyai = *roh-īṣyai* 'to mount, ascend'. *naN+vyath+īṣyai* = *a-vyath-īṣyai* 'not to torment'.

3.4.11 dṛśé vikhyé ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expressions] dṛś-é 'to see' and vikhy-é 'to consider, behold' are introduced [to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN 9].

dṛś+Ké = *dṛś-é* = *drāṣ-tum*; *vi+caḥs+Ké* = *vi-khya+Ké* = *vi-khyé+é* (6.4.64) = *vi-khy-é* = *vi-khyā-tum*.

3.4.12 śak-i ¹NamuL-²KamuL-au

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] ¹NamuL and ²KamuL are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN 9] when co-occurring with the verbal stem śak- 'be able' (V 15).

agnīm vai devā vi-bhāḥ-am nā-śak-nuv-an 'the gods were incapable of dividing Agni': *vi+bhāj+¹NamuL* = *vi-bhāḥ-am* (7.2.116; 6.1.193).

apa-lūp-am nā-śak-nuv-an 'were unable to cut off' = *apa-lōp-tum*.

3.4.13 śvar-e ¹toṣuN-²KaṣuN-au

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] ¹toṣuN and ²KaṣuN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN 9] co-occurring [with the nominal padá 1.4] śvara.

śa-vara-h=abhi-cār-i-toḥ/vi-līkh-aḥ/vi-tīd-aḥ 'capable of enchanting/scratching/piercing'. *abhi+car+it+toṣuN* = *abhi-cār-i-toṣ* = *abhi-cār-i-toḥ* (8.3.15).
vi+līkh/tīd+KaṣuN = *vi-līkh-as/vi-tīd-as* = *vi-līkh-aḥ/vi-tīd-aḥ*.

3.4.14 kṛtya=arth-é ¹tavaí-²Ken-³Kénya-⁴tvaN-ah

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] tavaí, KeN, Kénya and tvaN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the sense of kṛtya 1.95 affixes (1.1).

anu+tiN+tavaí = *anu-e-tavaí* (6.1.200) = *anu-e-távya-* 'to go along, follow';
ava+gáh+KeN = *ava-gáh-e* = *ava-gáh-i-tavyáT* 'to be plunged'; *dyé+saN+Kénya* = *di-dyé+sa+Kénya* = *di-dyé-sa-énya* (8.2.36) = *di-dyē-sē-énya* (8.2.41; 8.4.48; 8.3.59) = *di-dyē-ē-i-távya-* 'deserving of being seen'; *kṛ+tvaN* = *kdr-tva-* = *kar-távya-* 'to be accomplished'.

3.4.15 ava-cákṣ-e ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expression] *ava-cákṣ-e* 'to be perceived' is also (ca) introduced [with the meaning of kṛtya 14 affixes 1.1].

ava+cakṣ+eŚ = *ava-cákṣ-e* (with irregular accent) = *ava-khyā-távya-* 'to look down upon'.

3.4.16 bhāva-lákṣaṇ-e ¹sthā=²iN-³kṛ-⁴vádī-⁵cári-⁶hu-⁷tami-⁸jáni-bhyas tosyN

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] tosyN is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] *sthā-* 'remain, stand' (I 975), *iN-* 'go' (II 36), *kṛ-* 'do, perform' (VIII 10), *vád-* 'speak' (I 1058), *cár-* 'move; graze' (I 591), *hu-* 'offer an oblation' (III 1), *tám-* 'grow tired' (IV 93) and *ján-* 'be born' (IV 41) when expressing verbal action (*bhāva-lákṣaṇ-e*) [to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix tumyN 9].

ā sam-sthā-toḥ = *sam-sthā-tum* 'up to the end or finish'; *purá sūrya-ya ud-é-toḥ* [= *ud+tiN+tosyN*] 'before the rising of the sun'; *apa-kár-toḥ* = *apa-kar-tum* 'to remove, for removing'; *pra-vád-i-toḥ* = *pra-vád-i-tum* 'for uttering'; *pra-cár-i-toḥ* = *pra-cár-i-tum* 'for proceeding'; *ho-toḥ* = *hó-tum* 'for offering an oblation'; *tám-i-toḥ* 'for becoming tired'; *vi-ján-i-toḥ* 'for originating'.

3.4.17 ¹sṛpi-²tṛd-oḥ KasuN

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KasuN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *sṛp-* 'creep' (I 1032) and *tṛd-* 'pierce' (VII 9) [to express verbal action 16 in the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix tumyN 9].

vi-sfp+KasvN = *vi-sfp-ah* 'to be scattered'; similarly *a-tfd-ah* 'for piercing'.

3.4.18 ¹alam=²khálv-oh prati-ṣedháy-oh prācām Ktvā

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktvā is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles *alam* and *khálu* expressing a prohibition (prati-ṣedháy-oh) according to Eastern Grammarians (prācām).

The reference to [prācām] is to indicate that this rule is optional.

alam/khálu kṛ+Ktvā = *kr-tvā* = *na kar-tvayam* 'do not do'. *alam bāle rud-i-tvā* 'do not cry, little girl'; alternately *alam rōdan-ena* 'enough of crying'

3.4.19 udīc-ām māÑ-ah=vy-atīhār-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktvā 18 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *māÑ-* 'exchange, barter' (I 1010) for expressing reciprocity (vy-atīhār-é) according to Northern Grammarians (udīc-ām).

The verbal stem involved here is [māÑ] but is represented by [x] replacement of the stem vowel before [Ktvā] by 6.1.45 and indicates a general metarule that such a replacement with a marker in the stem includes the original stems, as in the rule 1.1.20 [dā-dhā=GHU=a-dāP] where the stem [dāP] includes [daiP] also.

apa+me+Ktvā = *apa+mā+Lyap* (6.1.45; 4.70) = *apa-mi-t-ya* (6.1.71); *yāc-i-tvā āpa-may-a-te* = *apa-mi-t-ya yāc-a-te* 'demands an exchange'.

3.4.20 ¹para=²āvara-yog-é ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktvā 18 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote what is situated on that side (*pāra-°*) or this side (*°-āvara-yoge*) (of some object).

The particle [ca] here is for the recurrence of [Ktvā] from 18 above.

1. *pāra: ā-prāp-ya nadī-m pāruata-h sthi-tā-h* 'the hill is on that side of the river'.
2. *āvara: atī-kram-ya tu pāruata-rh nadī sthi-tā* 'the river lies beyond the hill', i.e., the hill is situated on this side of the river, whereas in (a) the river is on the far side away from the hill.

3.4.21 samānā-kartṛkay-oh pūrva-kāl-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktvā 18 is introduced after 1.2] that one of two [verbal stems 1.91] having the same agent (*sa-mānā-kartṛkay-oh*) whose action precedes that of the other (*pūrva-kāl-é*).

bhuj+Ktvā = bhuk-tvā vṛj-a-ti 'having eaten (= after eating) he goes'. This rule is applied even when there are more than two verbs having the same agent: *śnā-tvā pī-tvā bhuk-tvā vṛj-a-ti* 'goes out after having bathed, drunk and eaten'.

3.4.22 ābhīkṣy-e ṆamūL ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā 18] and (ca) ṆamūL are introduced [after 1.2 that one of two verbal stems 1.91 having the same agent, whose action precedes that of the other 21] when that action is repeated (ābhīkṣy-e).

bhuj+ṆamūL = bhōj-am bhoj-am / bhuk-tvā bhuk-tvā vṛj-a-ti 'goes after repeatedly eating'. The expressions are doubled to indicate [ābhīkṣya] (8.1.4) and the second repetition does not bear the udātta accent (8.1.3).

3.4.23 nā yād-i=ān-ā-kāṅkṣ-e

[The kft 1.93 affixes Ktvā 18 and ṆamūL 22] are not (nā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yād 'when', provided [the two verbs having the same agent and whose actions follow one another 21] do not require a third one to complete the sense (ān-ā-kāṅkṣe).

yād ayām bhuk-tē tā-taḥ pāṭh-a-ti 'he eats and then studies', but *yād ayām bhuk-tvā vṛj-a-ti dāhī-te=evā tā-taḥ pāra-m* 'having eaten, he goes out and then reads'.

3.4.24 vibhāṣā=¹āgr-e=²prathamā=³pūrve-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā 18 and ṆamūL 22] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 that one of the two verbal stems 1.91 having the same agent whose action precedes that of the other 21] co-occurring with [nominal padās 1.4] āgr-e, prathamā- and pūrva- 'before, first'.

āgr-e/prathamā-m/pūrva-m bhōj-am/bhuk-tvā vṛj-a-ti 'having first eaten, he goes', alternating with *āgr-e/prathamā-m/pūrva-m bhuk-tē, tā-taḥ=vṛj-a-ti*.

3.4.25 kārmaṇ-i=ā-kroś-é kṛÑ-aḥ KḤamūÑ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KḤamūÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with [a nominal padā 1.4] functioning as its direct object (kārmaṇ-i) to denote censure (ā-kroś-é).

cora-sābdā-m uc-cār-ya krós-a-ti 'he abuses: "you are a thief, you are a robber"' =
cora+θ=kṛ+KHamāñ = cora+myM+kār-am (6.3.67; 7.2.115) *krós-a-ti*.

3.4.26 svādu-m-i NamuL

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] NamuL is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛñ- 25 whose action precedes that of another verbal stem having the same agent 21] co-occurring with [the nominal padā 1.4] svādu-m (and its synonyms) 'tasty, delicious' (with a final increment m).

svādu-m+kṛ+NamuL = svādu-m-kār-am bhuk-té 'eats, after sweetening the food';
 similarly *lavaṇa-m-kār-am bhuk-té* 'having added salt (to the food), eats'.

3.4.27 ¹anyāthā=²evām=³kathām=⁴itthām-su siddha=a=prayogā-s=cét

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛñ-25] co-occurring with [indeclinable padās 1.4] anyāthā 'otherwise', evām 'thus', kathām 'how' and itthām 'thus', if the non-introduction of the verbal stem yields the same meaning (siddha=a-prayogā-s=cét).

anyāthā+kṛ+NamuL = anyāthā-kār-am bhuk-té ~ anyāthā bhuk-té 'eats otherwise', both expressions being identical in meaning.

Similarly: *evām-kār-am/katham-kār-am/ittham-kār-am bhuk-té* 'eats in this manner/which manner?/in this manner', equivalent to *evām/katham/itthām bhuk-té*.

3.4.28 ¹yāthā=²tāthay-or asūyā-prati-vacan-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛñ- 25] co-occurring with the indeclinable [padās 1.4] yāthā 'in what manner, how?' and tā-thā 'in that manner' for expressing an indignant response (to a question: asūyā-prati-vacan-é) [if the non-introduction of the verbal stem yields the same meaning 27].

yāthā-kār-am/tāthā-kār-am bhok-sy-é kīm tāva=an-éna 'I will eat in this/that manner, what is it to you?' = *yāthā/tāthā bhok-sy-é, kīm tāva=an-éna?*

3.4.29 kārman-i 'drśī-²vid-oh sākaly-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] drś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) and vid- 'know' (II 55) co-occurring with [a nominal padā 1.4] functioning as their direct object (kārman-i) to denote a totality (sākaly-e).

kanyā+drś+NamūL = *kanyā-darś-am var-āy-a-ti* = *yāḥ yāḥ kanyāḥ pśśy-a-ti tās tā var-āy-a-ti* 'he woos each girl he sees'.

brāhmaṇā+vid+NamūL = *brāhmaṇa-ved-am bhoj-āy-a-ti* = *yām yām brāhmaṇām velti* = *jā-nā-ti/lābh-a-te/vi-cār-āy-a-ti vā tān sāvān bhoj-āy-a-ti* 'feeds each and every brahmin he knows'.

3.4.30 yā-vat-i 'vinda-²jīva-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vind- 'gain' (VI 138) and jīva- 'live' (I594) co-occurring with the indeclinable [padā 1.4] yā-vat 'as much as, as long as'.

yā-vat+vind+NamūL = *yāvad-ved-am bhuk-tē* 'one eats as much as one gets' = *yā-vat-vind-ā-te tā-vat=bhuk-tē*.

yā-vat+jīva+NamūL = *yāvaj-jīva-am* (8.4.40) *ādhi-te* = *yāvāt-jīva-ti tā-vat=ādhi-te* 'learns throughout his life'.

3.4.31 'cārma(n)=²udāray-oh pūr-é-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pūr-ī- 'fill up' (X 261) co-occurring [with the nominal padās 1.4] cārman- 'skin' and udāra- 'stomach' [functioning as its direct objects 29].

cārma pūr-ay-an stṛ-ṇā-ti = *cārma⁰+pūr-i+NamūL* = *cārma-pūr-ḥ+am* (6.4.51) = *cārma-pūr-am stṛ-ṇā-ti* 'he spreads (some thing) so as to cover the whole skin'.

Similarly: *udāra-pūr-am bhuk-tē* = *udāra-m pūr-āy-an bhuk-tē* 'he eats so as to fill his stomach fully'.

3.4.32 varṣa-pra-māṇ-é=ū-lpa-s=ca=asyā=anyātarāśyam

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 pūr-ī 31] with optional replacement by lopa (ḥ) of phoneme [ū] when expressing the amount of rainfall (varṣa-pra-māṇ-é).

goṣ-padd-m pūr-āy-an = *goṣ-pada+ḥ¹+pūr-i+NamūL* = *goṣ-pada-pūr-ḥ+am/goṣ-pada-pr-ām vṛ-ṣā-ḥ devd-ḥ* 'it rained as much as to fill a cow's hoofmark' i.e., 'as much as a cow's footprint can hold'.

The significance of the expression [asyá] in the rule is to limit the Ø replacement to the verbal stem: *māṣikā-bīla-pūr-am/māṣikā-bīla-pr-ám* = 'as much as to fill in a rat-hole'.

3.4.33 cel-e knop-é-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamYL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *knop-i-* (= *knūy+ṆIC* I 514) 'make wet', co-occurring with [the nominal *padá* 1.4] *cela-* 'cloth' [functioning as its direct object 29 to denote the amount of rainfall 32].

cela-m kno-p-áy-an = *cela+Ø¹+knop-i+ṆamYL* = *cela-knóp-Ø-am vṛṣṭá-h devd-h* 'it has rained enough to wet the cloth'. Similarly *vastra-knóp-am/vasana-knóp-am*

3.4.34 ¹ní-mūla-²sá-mūlay-oh *kāṣ-ah*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamYL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *kāṣ-* 'scrape' (I 716) co-occurring with [nominal *padás* 1.4] *ní-mūla-* 'down to the roots' and *sá-mūla-* 'along with the roots' [functioning as its direct objects 32].

nímūla-m/sámūla-m kāṣ-a-ti = *ní-mūla-kāṣ-am kāṣ-a-ti* 'scrapes down to the roots' and similarly *sa-mūla-kāṣ-am kāṣ-a-ti* 'totally uproots'.

3.4.35 ¹śuṣ-ká-²cūrṇá-³rūkṣé-ṣu *piṣ-ah*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamYL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *piṣ-* 'grind' (VII 15) co-occurring with [the nominal *padás* 1.4] *śuṣ-ká-* 'dry', *cūrṇá-* 'flour' and *rūkṣá-* 'dry' [functioning as its direct objects 29].

śuṣ-ká-m pi-na-ṣ-ti (3.1.78; 8.4.41) = *śuṣ-ka+Ø¹+piṣ+ṆamYL* = *śuṣ-ka-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ti* 'grinds it dry'; similarly *cūrṇa-péṣ-am/rūkṣa-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ti* 'grinds into meal/grinds it dry'.

3.4.36 ¹sá-mūla=²á-kṛta-³jīvé-ṣu ¹han-²kṛñ-³gráh-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamYL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *han-* 'kill, strike' (II 2), *kṛñ-* 'do, perform' (VIII 10) and *gráh-* 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring [respectively 1.3.10] with [nominal *padás* 1.4] *sá-mūla-* 'along with the roots', *á-kṛta-* 'not made' and *jīvá-* 'life' [functioning as their direct objects 29].

sá-māla-m han-ti = *sa-māla+θ¹+han+NamyL* = *sa-māla+ghan+NamyL* (7.3.54)
 = *sa-māla+ghat+NamyL* (7.3.32) = *sa-māla-ghāt-am* (7.2.116) *hán-ti* 'destroys
 everything including the roots'.

Similarly: *a-kṛ-ta-kār-am kar-ó-ti* 'does what has not been done before';
jīva-gráh-am grh-ná-ti jīva-ant-am grh-ñá-ti 'captures alive'.

3.4.37 kár-aṇ-e han-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *han-* 'strike, kill' (II 2), co-occurring [with a nominal *padá* 1.4] denoting an instrument (*kár-aṇ-e*).

pāñi-ná hán-ti = *pāñi+θ¹+han+NamyL* = *pāñi-ghāt-am hán-ti* 'strikes with the hand'

3.4.38 snéh-an-e piṣ-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *piṣ-* 'grind' (VII 15) co-occurring with [the nominal *padá* 1.4] having the sense of 'lubricating' (*snéh-an-e*) [to indicate an instrument 37].

udak-éna pi-ná-s-ti = *udaka-pēs-am pi-ná-s-ti* 'grinds with water'; likewise
taila-pēs-am/ghṛta-pēs-am pi-ná-s-ti 'grinds with oil/clarified butter'.

3.4.39 hást-e ¹várt-i-²gráh-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *vart-i* (= *vṛt-* I 795+N[C]) 'cause to turn or revolve' and *gráh-* 'seize' (IX 61), co-occurring with [the nominal *padá* 1.4] *hást-* 'hand' (and its synonyms) [denoting an instrument 37].

hást-ena vart-dy-a-ti = *hasta+θ¹+vart-i+NamyL* = *hasta-várt-θ-am vart-dy-a-ti*
 'turns or revolves with the hand'; similarly *kara-várt-am/pāñi-várt-am vart-dy-a-ti*.

hást-ena grh-ná-ti = *hasta-gráh-am/kara-gráh-am/pāñi-gráh-am grh-ñá-ti* 'grasps or seizes with the hand'.

3.4.40 sv-é puṣ-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *puṣ-* 'nourish' (IX 57), co-occurring with (synonyms of) [the nominal *padá* 1.4] *svá-* 'one's own' [denoting an instrument 37].

sv-éna puṣ-ñá-ti = *sva+θ¹+puṣ+NamyL* = *sva-pós-am puṣ-ñá-ti* 'nourishes by one's self'; similarly *go-pós-am puṣ-ñá-ti* 'gav-á puṣ-ñá-ti'.

3.4.41 adhi-kár-aṇ-e bandh-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bandh- 'bind' (IX 37) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] denoting a locus or substratum (adhi-kár-aṇ-e).

cakr-é badh-ñá-ti = *cakra+θ¹+bandh+NamyL* = *cakra-bándh-am badh-ñá-ti* 'ties to a wheel'.

3.4.42 saṁjñā-yām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 bandh- 41] to denote a name (saṁjñā-yām).

krauñcām iva badh-ñá-ti = *krauñca+bandh+NamyL* = *krauñca-bandh-am badh-ñá-ti* 'ties a knot in the shape of a heron'. Formation according to 45 below. Similarly *mayūrikā-bándh-am/attālikā-bándh-am bad-dhā-h*. These are names of special formations.

3.4.43 kartr-ór 'jīvá-²pūruṣay-or 'náśi-²vah-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] náś- 'disappear' (IV 850) and vah- 'bear' (I 1051), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) [with nominal padas 1.4] jīvá- 'life' and pūruṣa- 'person' denoting agents (kartr-oḥ).

jīvā-h náś-ya-ti = *jīva+náś+θ¹+NamyL* = *jīva-náś-am náś-ya-ti* 'life disappears, dies'; so also *pūruṣa-h vdh-a-ti* = *puruṣa-vdh-am vdh-a-ti* 'a person (becoming a servant) carries (another person)'.

3.4.44 ūrdhv-é 'śuṣi-²pūr-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.92] śuṣ- 'become dry' (IV 74) and pūr- 'fill up' (IV 43) co-occurring with [the nominal padá 1.4] ūrdhvā- 'upright' [as agent 43].

(vykṣādi-h) ūrdhvā-h (tīṣṭh-an) śuṣ-ya-ti = *ūrdhva-śuṣ-am śuṣ-ya-ti* 'dries up/withers while still upright'. Similarly: *ūrdhva-pūr-am pūr-ya-te* 'fills up while still upright'.

3.4.45 upa-mān-e kārmaṇ-i ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring [with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as a direct object (kārmaṇ-i) and also (ca) serving as an object of comparison (upa-mān-e).

- 1 upamāne: *ghṛtā-m iva nī-hi-ta-h* = *ghṛta+θ¹+nī-dhā+NamyL* = *ghṛta+nī-dhā+yuK+am* = *ghṛta-nī-dhā-y-am nī-hi-ta-h* 'preserved like clarified butter'. Cf. 42 above.
2. *ajakā-nāś-am naś-tā-h* = *ajakā iva naś-tā-h*.

3.4.46 kās-ādi-ṣu yathā-vidhī=anu-pra-yogā-h

In the case of [verbal stems 1.91] beginning with kās- 'scrape' (34 above) the subsequent verbal stem is the same [as the one after 1.2 which the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced].

Examples cited under 34-45 on this basis.

3.4.47 ūpa-damś-as tṛtīyā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ūpa+damś- 'eat as a relish or side dish' (I 1038), co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā-yām).

mūlak-ena upa-dāś-ya = *mūlaka+θ¹+upa+damś+NamyL* = *mūlaka+upa-dāś-am* = *mūlakopa-dāś-am bhuk-té* 'he eats radish as a side dish' where *mūlaka-* functions as the direct object of *upa-damś-*, but as an instrument of the second verbal stem *bhuj-*.

3.4.48 himśā=arthānām ca sa-mānā-kartṛkāṇām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting 'strike, hurt, injure' (himsā=arthānām), having the same agent (sa-mānā-kartṛkāṇām) [as the subsequent verbal stem 46, co-occurring with a nominal padá (1.4 ending in 1.1.72) the third sUP triplet 47].

daṇḍ-ena upa-hāt-ya = *daṇḍa+θ¹+upa+han+NamyL* = *daṇḍopa-ghāt-am gāh kāl-āy-a-ti* 'herds the cattle by striking with a stick'.

3.4.49 saptamy-ām ca=úpa-¹pīḍA-²rudha-³karṣ-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *Namyl* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *úpa+pīḍ-* 'press down, hurt' (X 11), *úpa-rudh-* 'block' (VII 1) and *úpa+krṣ-* 'draw towards one's self' (I 1039), co-occurring with [a nominal *padá* 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*saptamyām*) as well as (*ca*) [the third 47].

pārśváy-oh/pārśvā-bhyām upa-pīḍ-ya = *pārśva+θ¹+upa-pīḍ+Namyl* = *pārśvopa-pīḍ-am śé-te* 'sleeps, pressing down his sides'

vrajopa-ródh-am = *vraj-é vraj-éna vā upa-rúdh-ya gáḥ sthā-p-dy-a-ti* 'herds the cattle into the cow-pen'.

pāṇy-upa-kāṣ-am = *pāñś-nā/pāñś-ai vā upa-kṛṣ-ya dhānāḥ sātṇ-gṛh-nā-ti* 'he collects the fried rice with his hand, drawing it towards him'.

3.4.50 sam-ā-sátt-au

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *Namyl* 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal *padá* 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh 49 or the third sUP triplet 47] to denote an immediate contiguity (*sam-ā-sát-t-au*).

kéś-su/kéś-aiḥ gṛh-ī-tvā yúdh-y-ante = *keśa+θ¹+grāh+Namyl* = *keśa-grāh-am yúdh-y-ante* 'they fight each other, taking hold of each other's hair'; similarly *hasta-grāh-am yúdh-y-ante*.

3.4.51 pra-māṇ-e ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *Namyl* 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal *padá* 1.4 ending in 1.1.71 the seventh 49 or the third sUP triplet 47] to denote a measure (of length: *pra-māṇ-e*).

dvyaṅgul-é/dvyaṅgul-éna ut-kṛṣ-ya = *dvyaṅgula+θ¹+ut-kṛṣ+Namyl* = *dvyaṅgulot-kāṣ-am khaṇḍikām chi-nā-t-ti* 'he cuts a piece of the length of two fingers'.

3.4.52 apa=ā-dān-e parīpsā-yām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *Namyl* 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal *padá* 1.4] functioning as a stable point of separation (*apādān-é* 1.4.24) to denote haste (*parīpsā-yām*).

śayyā-yāḥ ut-thā-ya = *śayyā+θ¹+ut+sthā+NamyL* = *śayyot-tthā-y-am* (7.3.33)
dhāv-a-ti 'rising from the bed he runs immediately'.

3.4.53 dvitīyā-yām ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet also [to denote haste 52].

yaṣṭi-m grh-ī-tvā = *yaṣṭi+θ¹+grah+NamyL* = *yaṣṭi-grāh-am yūdh-y-ante* 'they fight, having hastily grabbed sticks'.

3.4.54 sva=aṅg-é=ā-dhruv-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] denoting a non-vital (ā-dhruv-e) member of one's body (svāṅg-é).

akṣi-ṇ-ī ni-kān-ya = *akṣi+θ¹+ni-kaṇ+NamyL* = *akṣi-ni-kāṇ-am jālp-a-ti* 'he speaks after closing his eyes'. Similarly *bhrū-vi-kṣep-am* = *bhrūv-au vi-kṣep-ya kath-āy-a-ti* 'he speaks after raising his eyebrows'; but *ut-kṣep-ya śraḥ kath-āy-a-ti* 'he speaks bending his head to one side', since it is a vital member of the body.

3.4.55 pari-kliś-yā-m-ān-e ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] totally afflicted by that action (pari-kliś-yā-m-āne).

ūrah piṣ-ṭvā = *urāṣ+piṣ+NamyL* = *urāḥ-pṛṣ-am yūdh-y-ante* 'they fight, crushing chests'; similarly *śīrah-pṛṣ-am yūdh-y-ante* 'they fight, crushing heads'.

3.4.56 ¹viśī-²pāti-³padī-⁴skand-ām ¹vy-āp-yā-m-āna- ²ā-sev-yā-m-ānay-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NamyL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] viś- 'enter' (VI 130), pāt- 'fly, fall' (I 898), pad- 'go' (IV 60) and skand- 'leap' (I 1028) [co-occurring with nominal padās 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] to denote complete pervasion (vy-āp-yā-a-āna-¹) or total absorption (ā-sev-yā-m-ānay-oḥ).

1. *gehá-m anu-pra-viś-ya* = *geha+θ¹+anu-pra-viś+ṆamuL* = *gehānu-pra-véś-am āś-te* 'entering (each) house he sits down' = *geháṁ gehám anu-pra-véś-am āś-te*. *gehám anu-pra-véś-m anu-pra-véś-am āś-te*. *gehānu-pra-pāt-am/gehá-m gehá-m anu-pra-pāt-am āś-te*, *anu-pra-pāt-am anu-pra-pāt-am - gehám anu-pra-pāt-ya āś-te*. *gehānu-pra-pād-am/gehá-m gehá-m anu-pra-pād-am/gehá-m anu-pra-pād-am anu-pra-pād-am āś-te*. *gehāva-skānd-am/gehá-m gehá-m ava-skānd-am/gehá-m ava-skānd-am ava-skānd-am āś-te* = *gehá-m ava-skānd-ya āś-te* 'jumping from house to house, he sits down'.

Reduplication introduced by 8.1.4 does not apply to the compound which conveys the meaning, but when no composition takes place, the substantive is reduplicated when indicating pervasion and the verbal form to denote absorption.

3.4.57 ¹ās-ya-ti-²tṛṣ-aḥ kriyā=antar-é kālé-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *as-* 'toss' (IV 100) and *tṛṣ-* 'be thirsty' (IV 118) to express an interruption in the action (*kriyā=antar-é*), co-occurring with a nominal *padá* 1.4 denoting expressions of time (*kālé-ṣu*) [ending in 1.1.71 the second sUP triplet 53].

dvy-ahá-m aty-ās-ya = *dvy-aha+θ¹+aty-as+ṆamuL* = *dvy-ahāty-ās-am gāḥ pā-y-āy-a-ti* 'makes the cattle drink at an interval of two days'.

Similarly: *dvy-ahá-m tṛṣ-i-tvā* = *dvy-aha-tāṛṣ-am gāḥ pā-y-āy-a-ti* 'makes the cattle drink, after making them thirsty for two days'.

3.4.58 nāmn-i=¹ā-diśi-²gráh-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *ā+diś-* 'announce' (VI 3) and *gráh-* 'seize, grasp' (IX 61) [co-occurring with the nominal *pada* 1.4] *nāman-* 'name' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53]

nāma ā-diś-ya = *nāman+θ¹+ā-diś+ṆamuL* = *nāmā-déś-am* (8.2.7) *ā-caṣ-te* 'he speaks after announcing his name'. Similarly *nāma-gráh-am* = *nāma grh-i-tvā ā-caṣ-te*

3.4.59 avyay-é=á-yathābhipreta=ākhyān-e kṛñ-aḥ ¹Ktvā-²ṆamuL-au

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] *Krvā* and *ṆamuL* are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *kṛñ-* 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with an indeclinable (*avyay-e*) [nominal *padá* 1.4] to express some thing in an undesirable or improper manner [*á+ya-thā+abhi+pra+i-ta+ā-khyān-e*].

The expression [á-yathābhi-preta=akhyān-e] refers to a loud announcement of an unpleasant item of news or a low announcement of a pleasant one.

uccaiḥ kṛ-tvā / *uccaiḥ-kār-am* (= *uccaiḥ+kr+ṆamūL*) *ā-priya-m ā-caṣ-ṭe* 'announces an unpleasant item of news in a loud voice'; likewise *nīcaiḥ kṛ-tvā/ nīcaiḥ-kār-am priyā-m ā-caṣ-ṭe* 'announces a pleasant item of news in a low voice'.

3.4.60 *tiryāc-i=apa-varg-é*

[The *kṛt* 1.93 affixes 1.1 *Ktvā* and *ṆamūL* 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *kṛ-Ṇ-* 'do, perform' 59] co-occurring with [the indeclinable 59 nominal *padā* 1.4] *tiryāc* 'obliquely' to denote the sense of completion (*apa-varg-é*).

tiryāk kṛ-tvā = *tiryāk-kṛt-ya/tiryāk-kār-am ga-tā-h* 'he left, after having finished (something . . .)' but *tiryāk kṛ-tvā kṣāṭhā-m ga-tā-h* 'he left, after placing the piece of wood obliquely'.

3.4.61 *sva=aṅg-é tas-pratyay-é* ¹*kṛ*-²*bhv-óḥ*

[The *kṛ* 1.93 affixes 1.1 *Ktvā* and *ṆamūL* 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *kṛ-* 'do, perform' (VIII 10) and *bhū-* 'become (I 1)' [co-occurring with nominal *padās* 1.4] denoting members of one's body (*svāṅg-é*) [ending in 1.1.72] the affix ¹*tās* (5.4.45).

mukha-tāḥ kṛ-tvā = *mukha-tāḥ-kṛt-ya/mukha-tāḥ-kār-am ga-tā-h* 'he left facing (something . . .)'.

prāṭha-tó bhū-tvā = *prāṭha-to-bhū-ya/prāṭha-to-bhāv-am ga-tā-h* 'he left, turning back'.

3.4.62 ¹*nā*-²*dhā*-*artha-pratyay-e* *Cv*[=*arth-e*]

[The *kṛt* 1.93 affixes 1.1 *Ktvā* and *ṆamūL* 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 *kṛ-* and *bhū-* 61, co-occurring with an indeclinable 59 nominal *padā* 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affixes (¹*-pratyay-é*) having the sense of *nā* (5.2.27) or of *dhā* (5.3.42) when they denote the meaning of affix *Cv* (5.4.50).

1. ¹*-nā*: *nānā kṛ-tvā* = *nānā-kṛt-ya/nānā-kār-am ga-tā-h* = *ā-nānā nānā kṛ-tvā ga-tā-h* 'he left, after making manifold what was not so before'. Similarly *nānā bhū-tvā* = *nānā-bhūya/nānā-bhāv-am ga-tā-h* 'having become manifold he left'.
2. ²*-dha*: *dvi-dhā kṛ-tvā* = *dvi-dhākṛt-ya/dvi-dhā-kār-am ga-tā-h* 'he left, after making (something) two-fold'; likewise *dvi-dhā bhū-tvā* = *dvi-dhā-bhūya/dvi-dhā-bhāv-am ga-tā-h* 'becoming double he left'.

3.4.63 *tūṣṇīm-i bhūv-aḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā and NamyL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū-* 'become' (I 1) co-occurring with [the indeclinable 59 nominal *padā* 1.4] *tūṣṇī-m* 'silently'.

tūṣṇīm bhū-tvā = *tūṣṇīm-bhū-ya/tūṣṇīm-bhūv-am* 'having become silent'.

3.4.64 *anv-ác-i ānu-lomy-e*

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā and NamyL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū-* 63, co-occurring with the indeclinable 59 nominal *padā* 1.4] *anv-ác* 'friendly' to denote a friendly disposition (*ānu-lomy-e*).

anvág bhū-tvā = *anvág-bhū-ya/anvág-vhūv-am ās-te* 'he remains well-disposed'; but
anvág bhū-tvā tísāh-a-ti 'he remains a follower or servant'.

3.4.65 ¹*śaka-*²*dhṛṣ-*³*jñā-*⁴*glā-*⁵*ghāt-*⁶*rabh-*⁷*labh-*⁸*krām-*⁹*sāh-*¹⁰*ār-*¹¹*asti=arthe-ṣu tumuN*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *tumuN* is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with (verbal stems) *śak-* 'be able' (V15), *dhṛṣ* 'dare' (V 22), *jñā-* 'know' (IX 36), *glā* (= *glā-*) 'weary, tire' (I 868), *ghāt-* 'strive' (I 800), *rabh-* 'begin' (I 1023), *labh-* 'obtain' (I 1024), *krām-* 'march' (I 502), *sāh-* 'be capable of' (I 905), *ār-* 'merit, deserve' (I 776) and verbal stems having the meaning of *as-* 'be' (II 56).

śak-nó-ti bhók-tum 'is able to eat'; *dhṛṣ-nó-ti bhók-tum* 'dares to eat'; *jñā-ná-ti bhók-tum* 'knows how to eat'. *glāy-a-ti bhók-tum* 'tires of eating'; *ghāt-a-te bhók-tum* 'strives to eat'; *ā-rabh-a-te bhók-tum* 'begins to eat'; *lābh-a-te bhók-tum* 'gets (something) to eat'; *prā-kram-a-te bhók-tum* 'proceeds to eat'; *sāh-a-te bhók-tum* 'is capable of eating'; *ār-h-a-ti bhók-tum* 'deserves to eat'; *ás-ti/bhāv-a-ti/víd-ya-te bhók-tum* 'there is (something) to eat'.

3.4.66 *pary-āpti-vacané-ṣu=alam-arthé-ṣu*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *tumuN* 65 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with the indeclinable 59 nominal *pada* 1.4] *ālam* 'sufficient' and its synonyms (*alam-arthé-ṣu*) to denote competence (*pary-āpti-vacané-ṣu*).

pāry-āp-ta-h/ālam bhōk-tum = *bhōk-tum pār-dy-a-ti* 'is competent to eat' or 'is in a proper condition to eat'. But *ālam kṛ-tvā* 'enough of eating' (18 above), and *pāry-āp-ta-m bhuk-tē* 'eats sufficiently'.

3.4.67 kartār-i kṛt

[The affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛt (1.93ff.) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the agent (kartār-i).

kṛ+ṆvuL = *kār-aka-* 'doer, agent' = *kṛ+tiC* = *kar-ti-* (1.133).

3.4.68 ¹bhāv-ya-²gé-ya-³pra-vac-anfya=⁴upa-sthān-fya- ⁵jān-ya=⁶āplāv-ya=⁷ā-pāt-yā vā

[The irregular expressions] *bhāv-ya-* to *ā-pāt-yā* are introduced to denote [the agent 67] optionally (*vā*).

All these derivatives are generated with kṛtya affixes [*yāT*, *ṆyāT* or *anfyaR*] and by 70 below denote either the abstract action itself (*bhāv-é*) or the direct object (*kārman-i*). The irregularity lies in the fact that these optionally denote the agent also.

bhāv-a-ty asau/bhūyā-te an-éna = *bhū+yaT* *bhāv-ya-* (7.3.84) 'who exists (agent)/existence' (*bhāv-é*) (Accent by 6.1.113). Similarly: *gé-ya-* 'singer' or 'to be sung'; *pra-vac-anfya-* 'explicator' or 'to be explained'; *upa-sthā-p-anfya-* 'waiter' or 'to be waited upon'; *jān-ya-te asau/jān-yam an-éna vā* 'producer' or 'produced'; *ā-plāv-yā-* = *ā-plav-a-te asau* 'immerser or dipper' and *ā-plāv-ya-te an-éna* 'to be dipped or immersed'; *ā-pāt-yā* = *ā-pat-a-ti asau* 'assailant' or *ā-pāt-yam an-éna* 'to be assailed'.

3.4.69 l-aḥ kārman-i ca bhāv-é ca=ā-karmake-bhyaḥ.

l-members [= *lAT*, *lIT*, *lUT*, *lRT*, *lET*, *lOT*, *lAN*, *lIN*, *lUN* and *lRN*] are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote [the agent 67] as well as (ca) the direct object (*kārman-i*) and [after 1.2] intransitive [verbal stems 1.91 (*ā-karmake-bhyaḥ*)] to denote the abstract action (*bhāv-é*) in addition to (ca) [the agent 67].

[1] is the cover-term for all l-members denoting tenses and moods, differentiated from one another by specific markers: *lAT* 'Present Indicative', *lIT* 'Perfect', *lUT* 'Periphrastic (or non-Sigmatic) Future', *lRT* 'Sigmatic Future', *lET* ('Subjunctive Mood'), *lOT* 'Imperative Mood', comprise one sub-class denoted by *T-IT* (with marker *T*); and *lAN* 'Imperfect', *lIN* 'Optative (or Potential) Mood', *lUN* 'Aorist' and *lRN* 'Conditional' forming a second sub-class denoted by *Ñ-IT* (with marker *Ñ*).

By introducing the t.t. [á-karma-ka] for 'intransitive verbal stems' the inference is to be drawn that active and passive constructions are associated with transitive verbal stems while active and impersonal constructions are associated with intransitive stems: (a) Transitive: *deva-dattā-aḥ grāma-m gacch-a-ti* 'D. goes to the village' (active construction); (b) Intransitive: *deva-adattā-h ās-te* 'D. is sitting' (active construction). But (a) *deva-datt-ēna grāma-h gam-yā-te* 'the village is reached by D.' (passive) and (b) *ās-yā-te deva-datt-ēna* 'sitting by D. is taking place' (impersonal).

3.4.70 *táy-or evá* ¹kṛtya-²Ktá-³KHáL-arthāḥ

[The affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. *kṛtya* (I 95ff.), *Ktá* and those having the meaning of affix *KHáL* are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote them alone (*táy-or evá*) [= *kárman-i ca bhā-vé ca* 69].

1. *kṛtya*: *kṛ+tdvya-* = *kar-tdvya-h kṛta-h* 'the mat must be made' (*kárman-i*); *ās-i-tdvya-m* 'sitting must take place' (*bhāv-é*).
2. *Ktá*: *kṛta-h kṛ-tā-h* 'the mat is made' (passive); *ās-i-tā-m bhāvat-ā* 'sitting by you has taken place' (*bhāv-é*).
3. *KHáL+artha*: *su+kṛ+KHáL* = *su-kār-a-h kṛta-h* 'the mat is easily made' (passive); *īṣad-ādhyā-m-bhāv-am bhāvat-ā* 'becoming rich by you is easily (taking place)' (*bhāv-é*).

3.4.71 *adi-karmāṇ-i Ktá-h kartár-i ca*

[The affix 1.1] *Ktá* is also (*ca*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the agent in addition to (*ca*) [the direct object and abstract action (*kárman-i bhāv-é ca*) 69] when referring to the first moment of an action (= incipient action).

- pra-kṛtā-h kṛta-m deva-dattā-h* 'D. began to make a mat' (active construction);
prā-kṛta-h kṛta-h deva-datt-ēna 'the mat was being made by D.' (passive);
pra-kṛtā-m deva-datt-ēna 'making by D. began to take place' (impersonal).

3.4.72 ¹gáty=artha²á-karma-ka=³śliṣ-⁴śīN=⁵sthā=⁶āsA-⁷vas-⁸jān-⁹ruh-¹⁰jīr-ya-ti-bhyaḥ

[The affix 1.1 *Ktá* 71 is introduced after 1.1 a verbal stem 1.91] denoting 'movement' (*gáty-artha-*) and those which are intransitive (*á-karma-ka-*) as well as *śliṣ-* 'embrace, clasp' (IV 77), *śīN-* 'lie down' (II 22), *sthā-* 'remain' (I 975), *ās-* 'sit down' (II 11), *vas-* 'dwell, reside' (I 1054), *jān-* 'be born' (IV 41), *ruh-* 'climb, ascend; germinate' (I 912) and *jīr-* 'grow old' (IV 22) [to denote the agent 71 in addition to the direct object and abstract action 69].

gatā-h deva-dattā-h grāmam (agent) 'D. went to the village'; *gatā-h grāma-h deva-datt-ēna* 'the village was reached by D.' (direct object); *ga-tā-m deva-datt-ēna* 'going by D. took place' (abstract action).

Similarly: *ās-i-tā-h bhāvān* (*kārtar-i*) 'you sat down'; *ās-i-tā-m bhavat-ā* (*bhāv-ē*) 'sitting by you (took place)'.

upa-śliṣṭā-h gurū-m bhāvān (*kārtar-i*) 'you contacted the teacher'; *upa-śliṣṭa-h gurū-h bhavat-ā* (*kārman-i*) 'the teacher was contacted by you'; *upa-śliṣṭā-m bhavat-ā* (*bhāv-ē*) 'contact by you took place'.

upa-śay-i-tā-h gurū-m bhāvān (*kārtar-i*) 'you slept after the teacher'; *upa-śay-i-ta-h gurū-h bhavat-ā* (*kārman-i*) 'the teacher was followed by you in sleeping'; *upa-śay-i-tā-m bhavat-ā* 'sleeping after by you took place' (abstract action).

upa-sthītā-h gurū-m bhāvān (*kārtar-i*) 'you approached the teacher'; *upa-sthī-ta-h gurū-h bhavat-ā* (*kārman-i*) 'the teacher was approached by you'; *upa-sthī-tā-m bhavat-ā* (*bhāv-ē*) 'approaching by you took place'.

upās-i-tā-h gurū-m bhāvān (*kārtar-i*) 'you served the teacher'; *upās-i-ta-h gurū-h bhavat-ā* (*kārman-i*) 'the teacher was served by you'; *upās-i-tā-m bhavat-ā* (*bhāv-ē*) 'serving by you took place'.

anūṣ-i-tā-h gurū-m bhāvān (*kārtar-i*) 'you dwelt near the teacher'; *anūṣ-i-ta-h gurū-h bhavat-ā* (*kārman-i*), *anūṣ-i-tā-m bhavat-ā* (*bhāv-ē*).

anu-jātd-h mānavakā-h mānavikā-m (*kārtar-i*) 'the boy came to birth after the girl'; *anu-jāt-ā mānavikā mānavak-ēna* (*kārman-i*); *anu-jātd-m mānavak-ēna* (*bhāv-ē*).

ā-rū-dhā-h vṛkṣā-m bhāvān (*kārtar-i*) 'you climbed the tree'; *ā-rūdhā-h vṛkṣā-h bhavat-ā* (*kārman-i*); *ā-rūdhā-m bhavat-ā* (*bhāv-ē*).

anu-ṣṛṇā-h vṛṣālī-m deva-dattā-h (*kārtar-i*) 'D. destroyed the Vṛ.'; *ānu-ṣṛṇā vṛṣālī deva-datt-ēna* (*kārman-i*); *anu-ṣṛṇā-m deva-datt-ēna* (*bhāv-ē*).

3.4.73 ¹dāśā-²goghn-aú sam-pra-dā-e

(The irregular expressions) *dāśā-* and *goghnā-* are introduced [as derived from verbal stems 1.91] to denote the indirect object (*sam-pra-dān-e*).

dāś-anti tāmāi = *dāś+āC* = *dāś-ā-* recipient'; normally the *kṛt* affix is agent-oriented, but in this case represents the *sampradāna kāraka* (1.4.21).

Similarly *ā-ga-tā-ya tāmāi gā-m hān-ti* = *go+θ¹+han+TaK* = *go-hθn+d* (6.4.98) = *go-ghn-d* (7.3.54) 'a guest for whom the host slaughters a cow'.

3.4.74 *bhīmá=āday-aḥ=apa=ā-dān-e*

(The irregular class of expressions) beginning with *bhīmá-* 'fierce' are introduced [as derived from verbal stems 1.91] to denote the *apādāna kāraka* (1.4.24 = ablative).

Exception to 67 above. *bī-bhe-ti a-smāt* = *bhī+maK* (*Unādi*) = *bhī-mā* 'one from whom fear arises'.

3.4.75 tá-bhyām anyā-tra=úN=āday-aḥ

[The class of affixes 1.1] beginning with úN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 in kárakas 1.4.23] other than (anyā-tra) those two (tá-bhyām) [= sam-pra-dāna 73 and apā-dāna 74].

The uN-ādi-sūtra-s which list these affixes do not constitute an integral part of the Aṣṭ, but are included in the kṛt section (3.1 above); as such they should normally denote the agent, but by this general rule they are introduced to denote other kárakas as well: *kṛṣ-i-tá-h as-au* = *kṛṣ-f* (direct object) 'agriculture, cultivation'; *tan-yá-te an-éna* = *tán-tu(N)* 'thread' (instrument) and *car-i-tá-m a-smín* = *cār-man-* 'skin' (locus, substratum).

3.4.76 Ktá-ḥ=adhi-kár-aṇ-e ca ¹dhraúvya-²gáti-³prati=ava-sāna=arthe-bhyaḥ

[The affix 1.1] Ktá is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] denoting a static action (dhraúvya) or movement (gáti) or eating (praty-ava-sāna=arthe-bhyaḥ) [to derive nominal stems] denoting a locus (adhi-kár-aṇ-e) also.

The force of particle [ca] in the sūtra is to indicate that in addition to adhi-kár-ana káraka, others applicable by previous rules are also optionally introduced.

1. static action (dhraúvye): *ās-i-tá-h deva-dattá-h (kartár-i)*; *ās-i-tá-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é)*; *idám e-ṣám ās-i-tám* = *ās-te a-smín* 'this is their place of sitting' (locus).
2. gáti-arthe: *yā-tá-h deva-dattá-h grāma-m (kartár-i)*; *yā-tá-h grāma-h deva-datt-éna (kárman-i)*; *yā-tá-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é)*; *idám e-ṣám yā-tám* = *yā-nti a-smín (adhikáran-e)*.
3. pratyavasāna=arthe: *bhuk-tá-h odaná-h deva-datt-éna (kárman-i)*; *bhuk-tá-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é)*; *idám e-ṣám bhuk-tám* = *bhuj-yá-te a-smín*.

3.4.77 lḡ-sya

In the place of l-members.

This is a governing rule extending up to the end of this chapter. The cover term for l-members is either l (69 above) or lḡ. The expression [lḡ-sya] will recur in each of the following sūtras in this section.

3.4.78 ¹tiP-²tás-³jhi=⁴siP-⁵thás-⁶thá=⁷miP-⁸vás-⁹más=¹⁰tá=¹¹ātām=¹²jha=¹³thás-¹⁴āthām-¹⁵dhvám=¹⁶ṭ-¹⁷váhi-¹⁸máhiN

[The eighteen substitute affixes 1.1] beginning with tiP and ending with máhiN replace [the l-members 77 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

Literally speaking, these are replacements [= in the place of 77 above] of l-members. All these eighteen substitute affixes are designated by the siglum (praty-*ṣ*-hārā) *tiṆ* (1.4.101). Parasmaipadā (active voice) is assigned to all l-members by 1.4.99, modified by the next following sūtra 100 whereby the siglum *taṆ* denotes members constituting the Ātmanepadā (middle voice). Thus the first nine are Parasmaipadā endings and the second nine are Ātmanepadā endings. They are further classified into three triplets each (1.4.101) constituting three persons: third, second and first. In that order, and within each triplet they constitute the three numbers: singular, dual and plural (1.4.102). The t.t. vibhākti applies to them (1.4.104).

3.4.79 Ṭ-IT-aḥ=ātmanepadā-nām ṬE-r e

The phoneme [e] is the substitute for the syllable commencing with the last vowel of Ātmanepadā l-substitutes (*taṆ*) [of l-members 77] with marker Ṭ as IT (= *IAṬ*, *IIṬ*, *IUṬ*, *IRṬ*, *IEṬ* and *IOṬ*).

tā, *ātām*, *jha*; *thās*, *āthām dhvām* and *IIṬ- vāhi* and *māhi* are respectively replaced by *t-é*, *āt-e*, *ā(n)k-e*; *sé*, *āth-e*, *dhv-é*; *é*, *vāh-e*, *māh-e* of l-members having Ṭ as an IT marker.

IAṬ: *pac+IAṬ* = *pac+ŚaP*(1.88)+*ta* = *pāc-a-te* 'cooks'; *pac+yaK+ta* (1.67) = *pac-yā-te* 'is cooked', etc. The Present Indicative conjugation of this stem: *pāc-a-te*, *pāc-e-te*, *pāc-ante*; *pāc-a-se*, *pāc-ethe*, *pāc-a-dhve*; *pāc-e*, *pāc-ā-vahs*, *pāc-ā-mahs*. The morpho-phonemic changes involved will be explained at the proper places.

3.4.80 thā-aḥ=sé

[The substitute affix 1.1] *sé* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] *thās* [of l-members 77 with marker Ṭ 79 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

pāc+IAṬ = *pāc+ŚaP+thās* = *pāc-a-se* 'thou dost cook/art cooking'.

3.4.81 IIṬ-as ¹tā-²jhay-or ¹éŚ-²iréC

[The substitute affixes 1.1] *éś* and *iréC* replace (respectively 1.3.10) l-substitutes *tā* and *jha* of [l-member 77] *IIṬ* 'Perfect'.

pac+IIṬ = *pac+ta* = *pac-pac+ta* (6.1.8) = *paθ-pac+ta* (7.4.60) = *θθ-pec+é* = *pec-é* (6.4.120); *pac+jha* = *pec-iré* 'he, she/they have cooked'.

3.4.82 *parasmaipadā-nām* ¹NaL-²átus-³ús-⁴thaL-⁵áthus-⁶á-⁷NaL-⁸vá-⁹máh

[The substitute affixes 1.1] NaL, átus, ús, thaL, áthus, á, NaL, vá and má [respectively 1.3.10] replace (the nine) Parasmaipada' [l-substitutes 78 tiP, táś, jhi, siP, thás, thá, miP, vás and más of l-member 71 IIṬ 81].

pac+IṬ+tiP = *pa-pac+NaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.80) = *pa-pác-a* (7.2.116) 'he/she has cooked';
pa-pac+tda = *pec-átuh* (8.3.15) 'they two have cooked'; *pa-pac+jhi* = *pec-tih* 'all of them have cooked'; *pa-pac+siP* = *pa-pac+thaL* = *pa-pák-tha* (7.2.62)/*péc-i-tha* (7.2.63); *pa-pac+thá* = *pec-d pap-pac+miP* = *pa-pac+NaL* = *pa-pác-a/pa-pác-a* (7.1.91); *pa-pac+vda* = *pec-i-vá* (7.2.35); *pa-pac+má* = *pec-i-má*.

3.4.83 *vid-ah=IAṬ-ah=vā*

[The nine substitute affixes 1.1 beginning with NaL] optionally (*vā*) replace [the Parasmaipadā 82 l-substitutes of l-member 77] IAṬ introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *vid-* 'know' (II 55).

vid+IAṬ = *vid+Ø¹+tiP/vid+NaL* = *vét-ti* (7.3.86; 8.4.55)/*véd-a*; *vit-idh/vid-átuh*; *vid-ánti/vid-úh* *vét-as/vét-tha*; *vit-tháh/vid-áthuh*; *vit-thá/vid-á*; *véd-mi/véd-a*; *vid-vdh/vid-vá*; *vid-mda/vid-má*.

3.4.84 *bruv-ah pañcā-nām ādi-táh=āhḡ-ḥ=bruv-ah*

[The substitute affixes 1.1 NaL, átus, ús, thaL and áthus 82 optionally 83] replace the first (*ādi-táh*) five (*pañcā-nām*) [Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 82 of l-member 77 IAṬ 83 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *brū-* 'speak' (II 35) with the substitute morpheme *āh-* replacing (the whole of 1.1.55) *brū*.

brū+Ø¹+tiP = *brav-i-ti* (7.3.93)/*āh+NaL* = *āh-a*; *brū-táh/āh-átuh*; *bruv-anti/āh-úh*; *brav-ṅi/āh+thaL* = *dt-tha* (8.2.35); *brū-tháh/āh-áthuh* (* -s → * -ḥ 8.3.15).

3.4.85 *IoT-ah=IAÑ-vát*

[The l-substitutes of l-member 77] IoT 'Imperative Mood' are like those of [l-member 77] IAÑ 'Imperfect',

By the recurrence of [*vā*] from 83 above, interpretation limits this equivalence to a few substitutes only, introduced by 99 and 101 below; 99 refers to the Ø replacement of final ['s] of *vás* and *más*, and 101 refers to the replacement of *tás-thás-thá-miP* respectively by *tám-tám-tá-am*. Thus *pac+IoT* =

$pác+\acute{S}aP+tás = pác-a-tām$; similarly $pác+a+thas=pác-a-tam$; $pác-a+tha = pác-a-ta$.

3.4.86 e-r u-ḥ

The phoneme [u] replaces the phoneme [i] [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOT 85].

The affixes subject to this replacement are tiP, jhi, siP and miP; of these siP is replaced by hí (87) and miP by nī (89) and this rule is not applicable there as they are subsequent rules (1.4.2). $pác+\acute{S}aP+tiP = pác-a-tu$; $pác-a+jhi = pác-a-anti = pác-a+antu = pác-antu$ (6.1.97; 7.1.3).

3.4.87 se-r hí=a-P-IT=ca

[The substitute affix 1.1] hí, without IT-marker P, replaces siP [of the l-substitute 78 of l-member 77 IOT 85, introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$pác+\acute{S}aP+si = pác-a+hí = pác-a+\theta^1$ (6.4.106). The recurrence of marker P of siP which would apply to its substitute (1.1.56) is specifically blocked out by this rule. Thus $iN+IOT = iN+\theta^1+siP = i-hí$, since without marker P the substitute [hi] is considered a \dot{N} -IT (1.2.4) which automatically blocks guṇa replacement of the stem-final vowel (1.1.5).

3.4.88 vā chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute affix 1.1 hi 87 for l-substitute siP 78 of l-member 77 IOT 85] is optionally (vā) [not marked by P as IT 87].

$yu-$ (II 23 'mix') $+IOT = yu+\acute{S}tu+hi$ (2.4.76) = $yu-yu+hi=yu-yo-dhi$ (6.4.103) where this affix is minus marker P 87 above, but in $prī-$ (IX 2) $+IOT = prī-ṇī$ (6.4.113) $+hi = prī-ṇī-hí$ this affix is associated with marker P (by 1.1.56) and being a \dot{N} -IT (1.2.4) does not operate guṇa replacement of the class-marker-final of '-nī-.

3.4.89 me-r nī-ḥ

[The substitute affix 1.1] nī replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [l-substitute 77 of IOT 85] mi(P) [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$pác+IOT+miP = pác+\acute{S}aP+miP = pác-a+nī = pác-a+\acute{S}T-nī = pác-ānī$ (92).

3.4.90 ām eT-ah

The syllable *ām* replaces phoneme e(T) [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOṬ 85].

By 79 above [e] is the substitute for the syllable beginning with the last vowel of all Ātmanepadā l-substitutes of l-members with marker Ṭ, and by this rule this [e] is now replaced by the syllable [ām]: $pac+IOṬ = pac+ṢaP+te(79) = pāc-a-tām$; similarly the remaining forms of this paradigm are: $pāc-e-tām$ (7.2.81), $pāc-antām$, $pāc-e-ihām$.

3.4.91 ¹ś²vā-bhyām ¹va=²am-au

The elements *va* and *am* (respectively 1.3.10) replace [the substitute vowel e of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOṬ 85] co-occurring after phonemes [s, v].

Exception to [ām] 90 above. l-substitutes of IOṬ where [e] occurs after [s, v] are respectively [sé], [dhvé], the singular and plural of the second person: [sé] is replaced by [svá] and [dhvé] by [dhvám]: $pac+IOṬ = pac+ṢaP+sé/dhvé = pāc-a-sva/pāc-a-dhvam$.

3.4.92 āṬ=uttamā-sya P-IT=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] ā(Ṭ) constitutes the beginning of l-substitutes of the first person (uttamā-sya) [of l-member 77 IOṬ 85] and it functions as though it were marked with P as IT.

By the marker P or āṬ it functions as though it were not marked with Ṇ as IT so that it operates guṇa replacements by 7.3.84,86: $kṛ+IOṬ = kṛ+ū$ (1.79)+ni/va/ma = $kar-ō+āni/āva/āma$ $kar-āu-āni/kar-āu-āva/kar-āu-āma$ (7.3.84; 8.4.2).

3.4.93 eT-ah=ai

The phoneme *ai* replaces the phoneme e(T) [of the first person 92 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOṬ 85].

This has reference to Ātmanepadā l-substitutes of the first person: $kṛ+IOṬ = kṛ+ā+āṬ+e$ (1.9) = $kar-ō+ā-e = kar-āu+ā+ai = kar-āu-ai$ (6.1.88); $kar-āu-āvahi$, $kar-āu-āmahi$. Exception to [ām] 90.

3.4.94 IET-ah 'aT-²ET-au

[The initial increments 1.1.46] aT and ET are [inserted at the beginning of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] IET 'Subjunctive Mood'.

$jus+IET = jús+siP(1.94)+tiP = jós+tiT+siP+ti\emptyset$ (97; 1.34; 7.2.35) = $jós-i-s-aT-t =$

$jós-i-s-a-t$ (8.3.59) 'may he/she be pleased'.

$pat+IET = pát+ŠaP+āT + tiP = pāt-ā-ti$ 'may (one) fall/fly'.

3.4.95 ET-ah=ai

The phoneme [ai] replaces phoneme ā(T) [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94].

The affixes in question are *ātām/āthām* the dual of the third and second person

Ātmanepadā l-substitutes. $mantr+Nic+IET = mantr-I+ŠaP+āte =$

$mantr-ē+a+āte = mantr-āy-āite$; similarly $mantr-āy-āithe$.

3.4.96 vā=eT-ah=anyā-tra

[The phoneme /ai/ 95] optionally (vā) replaces the phoneme [e] [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94] elsewhere (anyā-tra: i.e., other than that prescribed in 95 above).

$īe+IET = īē+e = īē-ai/īē-e$; $ēT+e = ēe+ai$ (7.4.21) = *say-ai*, but $mantr-āy-āite/'-āithe$.

3.4.97 iT-as=ca lopa-h parasmaipadé-ṣu

The substitute lopa (= \emptyset) [optionally 96] replaces phoneme [i(T)] of Parasmaipadā [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94].

The l-substitutes in question are tiP, jhi, siP and miP; $jós-i-s-a-t/pat-ā-ti$ (cf. 94 above).

3.4.98 e-ah=uttamā-sya

[Substitute lopa (\emptyset) 97 optionally 96 replaces] the phoneme [s] of the first person (uttamā-sya) [Parasmaipadā 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94].

The l-substitutes concerned are vas/mas: $kr+IET = kr+ū+āT+vas/mas =$
 $kar-o+ā+vas/mas = kar-āv-ā-va/kar-āv-ā-vah$ (8.3.15);
 $kar-āv-ā-ma/kar-āv-ā-mah$.

3.4.99 nítyam Ñ-IT-aḥ

[The substitute lopa (0) 97] necessarily (nítyam) replaces [the phoneme /s/ of the first person 98 Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-members 77] having marker Ñ as IT.

$pac+IA\dot{N} = pac+\acute{S}aP+vas/mas = d\dot{T}+pac+\acute{S}aP+va/ma$ (6.4.71; 7.3.101).
 $pac+II\dot{N} = pac+\acute{S}aP+y\acute{d}su\dot{T}-vas/mas$ (103) = $pac-a-y\acute{d}\theta-va/ma$ (7.2.79) =
 $pac-a-iy-va/ma$ (7.2.80) = $pac-a-i\theta-va/ma$ (6.1.66) = $p\acute{d}c-e-va/p\acute{d}c-e-ma$.
 $pac+IU\dot{N} = d\dot{T}+pac+s\acute{i}O+vas/mas$ (1.44) = $\acute{d}-p\acute{a}k-\acute{s}-va/\acute{d}-p\acute{a}k-\acute{s}-ma$ (7.2.3; 8.2.30; 3.59).
 $pac+IR\dot{N} = d\dot{T}+pac+sya+vas/mas = \acute{d}-pak-sy\acute{a}-va/'-ma$ (7.3.101; 8.3.59).

3.4.100 iT-as=ca

[The substitute lopa (0) 97 necessarily 99] replaces the phoneme [i(T)] of the [Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-members 77 having marker Ñ as IT 99].

The l-substitutes involved are tiP, jhi, siP and miP: for miP a separate rule provides for its complete replacement by am (101 below).

$pac+IA\dot{N} = \acute{d}-pac-a-t\theta, \acute{d}pac-an\theta\theta$ (8.2.23), $\acute{d}-pac-a-s\theta$.
 $pac+II\dot{N} = pac-e-t\theta; pac-e-s\theta$.
 $pac+IU\dot{N} = \acute{d}-p\acute{a}k-\acute{s}-i-t\theta; \acute{d}-p\acute{a}k-\acute{s}-i-s\theta$.
 $pac+IR\dot{N} = \acute{d}-pak-sya-t\theta, \acute{d}-pak-sya-s\theta$.

3.4.101 ¹tás-²thás-³thá-⁴miP-ām ¹tām-²tām-³tá=⁴am-aḥ

[The substitute affixes 1.1] tām, tām, tá and am (respectively 1.3.10) replace the l-substitutes tás, thás, thá and miP [of Parasmaipadá 97 of l-members 77 having marker Ñ as IT 99].

$pac+IA\dot{N} = \acute{d}-pac-a-t\acute{a}m/'-t\acute{a}m/'-t\acute{a}/\acute{d}-pac-am$ (6.1.97).
 $pac+II\dot{N} = p\acute{d}c-e-t\acute{a}m/p\acute{d}c-e-t\acute{a}m/p\acute{d}c-e-t\acute{a}, p\acute{d}c-ey-am$.
 $k\dot{y}+IU\dot{N} = \acute{d}-k\acute{a}r-\acute{s}-t\acute{a}m/\acute{d}-k\acute{a}r-\acute{s}-t\acute{a}m/\acute{d}-k\acute{a}r-\acute{s}-t\acute{a}/\acute{d}-k\acute{a}r-\acute{s}-am$.
 $pac+IR\dot{N} = \acute{d}-pak-sya-t\acute{a}m/'-t\acute{a}m/'-t\acute{a}/\acute{d}-pak-sy-am$ (6.1.97).

3.4.102 IIÑ-aḥ siyuṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] siyuṭ constitutes the beginning of [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] IIÑ 'Optative/Potential Mood'.

$pac+II\dot{N} = pac+\acute{S}aP+ta = p\acute{d}c-a+s\acute{y}y+su\dot{T}-ta$ (107) = $pac+a+\theta\dot{y}y+\theta+ta$ (7.2.79) =
 $pac+a+\theta+ta$ (6.1.66) = $p\acute{d}c-eta; p\acute{d}c-ey-\acute{a}t\acute{a}m; p\acute{d}c-eran$ (105), $p\acute{d}c-eth\acute{a}h,$
 $p\acute{d}c-ey-\acute{a}th\acute{a}m, p\acute{d}c-edh\acute{v}am; p\acute{d}c-eyam, p\acute{d}c-evahi, p\acute{d}c-emahi$.

3.4.103 yāsuṭ parasipadé-ṣu=udātta-ḥ=Ñ-IT=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yāsuṭ with high-pitched accent (udātta-ḥ) [constitutes the beginning of] Parasmaipadā [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IIÑ 102] and functions as though marked with Ñ as IT.

Exception to [siyuṭ] 102. Being considered as marked with Ñ it does not operate guṇa replacements under 7.3.84,86 (1.1.5).

$kṛ+IIÑ = kṛ+u+yāśa-tḥ = kur-u-yāśa-syṭ-t$ (107; 6.4.110) = $kur-ḥ-yāśa-ḥ-t$ (6.4.109; 7.2.79) = $kur-yāś$, $kur-yāśam$, $kur-yāśḥ$ (108; 6.1.96); $kur-yāś$, $kur-yāśam$, $kur-yāśa$, $kur-yāśma$.

3.4.104 K-IT=āśīṣ-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yāsuṭ with udātta accent 103 constituting the beginning of Parasmaipadā 103 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IIÑ 102] is deemed to be marked with K as IT and denotes benediction (āśīṣ-i).

This is the Precative or Benedictive Mood. The difference in the IT-marker is with reference to samprasāraṇa replacement (6.1.15).

$yaj+IIÑ āśīṣi = yaj+yāśsyṭ+syṭ-tḥ = iaj+yāśa-s-t$ (6.1.15) = $ij-yāśa-s-t$ (6.1.108) = $ij-yāśa-ḥ-t$ (8.2.29); $ij-yāśa-tām$, $ij-yāśa-uḥ$.

$jāgr+IIÑ āśīṣ-i = jāgar+yāśa-s+t$ (107; 7.3.85) = $jāgar-yāśa-ḥ-t$ (8.2.29) = $jāgar-yāś$, $jāgar-yāśa-tām$, $jāgar-yāśuḥ$, but in the Optative forms [yāsuṭ] being deemed a Ñ-IT prevents guṇa replacement by 7.3.85: $jāgr-yāś$, $jāgr-yāśḥ$.

3.4.105 jha-sya raN

[The substitute affix 1.1] raN replaces [the Ātmanepadā 102 l-substitute 78] jha [of l-member 77 IIÑ 102].

Exception to 7.1.3. $pac+IIÑ = pac+ŚaP+jha = pac+a+siyuṭ+jha = pac-a+ḥiy+raN = pāc-a+ḥ-raN$ (6.1.66) = $pāc-eran$.

3.4.106 iṭ-aḥ=áT

(The substitute element) á(T) replaces [the l-substitute 78] iṭ 'first person singular Ātmanepadā' [of l-member 77 IIÑ 102].

$pāc+IIÑ = pāc+ŚaP+siyuṭ+iṭ = pāc-a+ḥiy+á = pāc-eya$.

3.4.107 suṬ 'ṭi-²th-oh

[The initial increment 1.1.46] suṬ constitutes the beginning of phonemes [t], [th] contained in [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IIN̄ 102].

This is not an exception to 102-3 above and there is no competition between these two increments, since [ṣiyṭ, ỵāṣyṭ] are the general increments of all l-substitutes of IIN̄ while the present increment applies only to such of them as contain the two phonemes [t, th]. The affixes in question are ti, tás, thá of Paramaipada and tá, thás, átam and átham of Ātmanepada'. The actualization of the phoneme [s] of these increments is realized only in the Precative Mood (IIN̄ áśis-i) since they are replaced by Ø in the Optative by 7.2.79.

bhā+IIN̄ áśis-i = bhā+yās+s+iØ = bhā-yāØ-Ø-i (8.2.29) = bhā-yāt, bba-yās-tam, bhā-yāsuh.

3.4.108 jhe-r Jús

[The substitute affix 1.1] Jús replaces [the l-substitute 78] jhi [of l-member 77 IIN̄ 102].

Exception to 7.1.3. pác+IIN̄ = pác+ŚaP+yāṣuṬ+jhi = pác-a-yāØ+us (7.2.79) = pác-a-ry+us (7.2.80) = pác-ryuh.

3.4.109 ¹ṣiC=²abhyàsta-³ṿidi-bhyas=ca

[The substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-members 77 with IT marker N̄ 99 introduced after 1.2] the Aorist marker ṣiC, reduplicated [verbal stems 1.91 and the verbal stem] vid- 'know' (II 55).

áṬ+ḳṛ̣+ṣiC+jhi = á-kār-ṣ-Jus = á-kār-ṣ-uh (6.4.75; 7.2.1).

á-da-dā+jhi = a-da-duḥ (6.1.96).

á-vid+jhi = ávid-uh.

3.4.110 āT-ah

[The substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 introduced after 1.2 the Aorist marker ṣiC 109 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T).

dhā+IUN̄ = á-dhā+ṣiC+jhi = á-dhā+Ø¹+Jus (2.4.77) = á-dhuḥ (6.1.96).

3.4.111 $l\dot{A}\dot{N}$ -aḥ śākaṭāyanā-sya=evā

According to the grammarian Śākaṭāyanā only, [the substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-member 77] $l\dot{A}\dot{N}$ 'Imperfect' [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme "ā 110].

This is an optional rule. $yā+l\dot{A}\dot{N} = d\dot{T}+yā+\theta^1+jhi = d-yā+Jus = d-yuh$ according to Ś. but $d-yā+ant = d-yān\theta$ (3.2.23) according to other grammarians.

3.4.112 $dviṣ$ -as=ca

[According to the grammarian Śākaṭāyanā 111 the substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-member 77 $l\dot{A}\dot{N}$ 111 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] $dviṣ$ - 'hate' (II 3).

$dviṣ+l\dot{A}\dot{N} = d\dot{T}+dviṣ+\theta^1+jhi = d-dviṣ+Jus = d-dviṣ-uh$ according to S. only, but $d-dviṣ-an$ according to others.

3.4.113 ${}^1ti\dot{N}$ - ${}^2\dot{S}$ -IT sārva $\dot{d}h\dot{a}tuka$ m

The t.t. sārva $\dot{d}h\dot{a}tuka$ denotes the l-substitute [affixes 1,1] implied by the siglum $ti\dot{N}$ (78) and those marked with \dot{S} as IT.

Besides the eighteen l-substitutes designated by the siglum $ti\dot{N}$ affixes with IT marker \dot{S} are: $KH\dot{a}\dot{S}$, $\dot{S}\dot{A}$, $\dot{S}\dot{a}tR$, $\dot{S}\dot{a}dhyai$, $\dot{S}\dot{a}dhyaiN$, $\dot{S}\dot{a}P$, $\dot{S}\dot{a}n\dot{A}C$, $\dot{S}\dot{a}naN$, $\dot{S}\dot{a}y\dot{A}C$, $\dot{S}\dot{n}\dot{A}M$, $\dot{S}\dot{n}\dot{A}$, $\dot{S}\dot{n}\dot{U}$, $\dot{S}\dot{y}aN$, $\dot{S}\dot{l}u$ and $C\dot{a}n\dot{A}\dot{S}$.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.2.4; 3.1.87; 6.1.188; 4.87,110; 7.2.76; 3.8r,87,95; 4.21,25.

3.4.114 $\dot{a}rdha$ - $\dot{d}h\dot{a}tuka$ -m śéṣa-ḥ

The t.t. $\dot{a}rdha$ - $\dot{d}h\dot{a}tuka$ denotes the residue ($\dot{śéṣa}$ -ḥ) [of affixes 1.1 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

These are (a) affixes which generate verbal stems (1.5-30) (b) verbal and (c) primary nominal affixes comprising the whole of the $kṛt$ section (1.93ff.).

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.4; 2.4,35-56; 3.1.31; 6.4.46-68; 7.2.35; 3.84; 4.49.

3.4.115 $l\dot{I}\dot{T}$ ca

[The t.t. $\dot{a}rdha$ - $\dot{d}h\dot{a}tuka$ 114] also denotes (ca) [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] $l\dot{I}\dot{T}$ 'Perfect Tense'.

Exception to 113 above. This rule blocks out the introduction of class-markers (vi-kar-āṇa-s) to build up the theme of the Present System in the first place, and secondly makes applicable the operation of 7.2.35 whereby initial increment $i\bar{T}$ may constitute the beginning of some of these l-substitutes: $pac + i\bar{T} = pa-pac-i\bar{T} = vd/md = \emptyset\emptyset-pec-i-vd/md$ (8.4.120).

3.4.116 $l\bar{I}\bar{N}$ āśīṣ-i

[The t.t. ārdhadrhātuka 114 also 115] denotes [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] $l\bar{I}\bar{N}$ when denoting benediction (āśīṣ-i) 'Precative or Benedictive Mood'.

Exception to 113 above. Consequently class-markers are not introduced after verbal stems before these l-substitutes. Precative of $bhā\ sattiā-yām$ (I 1): $bhā+yās+s+t = bhā-yāt, bhā-yāstām, bhā-yāsuḥ$ contra Optative $bhāv-et, bhāv-etām, bhāv-eyuḥ$.

3.4.117 $chāndas-i=ubhayā-thā$

In the domain of Chāndas both ($ubhayā-thā$) [= sārva-drhātuka 113 and ārdhadrhātuka 114] denote the l-substitutes 78 implied by the siglum $ti\bar{N}$ and affixes with marker \acute{S} as IT 113 as well as residual affixes 114 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$vrdh+N\bar{I}C+\acute{S}aP+antu / vrdh+\emptyset+antu = vrd-antu/vardh-āy-antu$. \emptyset replacement of $[N\bar{I}C]$ occurs by virtue of $[antu]$ being considered as ārdhadrhātuka (8.4.51). $su+as+Kti\bar{N} = sv-ās-ti$ where the verbal stem is not replaced by $[bhū-]$ by virtue of $[Kti\bar{N}]$ being considered as sārva-drhātuka.

4.1.1 ¹Ni-²āP-³prātipadik-āt

[After 3.1.2] expressions [ending in 1.1.72 (feminine 4) affixes 3.1.1] ¹Ni and āP and nominal stems (prātipadik-āt 1.2.45-48).

This is a governing rule heading this section, extending up to the end of the fifth chapter, and will recur in the following sūtras as required in each individual case. [¹Ni] is the cover term for [¹NiN, ¹NiP and ¹NiS] which are introduced in the following rules; and similarly [āP] is the cover term for [CāP, TāP and DāP]. While items ending in these affixes are also prātipadikās, their inclusion in this governing rule is for the purpose of fixing the relative position of these affixes with reference to others introduced in this large section.

Three classes of affixes are included in this major section: (a) declensional affixes (2); (b) feminine affixes (3-91); (c) secondary nominal affixes denoted by the t.t. taddhitā (76ff. which is a very large group). Certain classes of affixes must follow feminine affixes, like the declensional affixes which necessitates their inclusion in the governing rule.

4.1.2 ¹sU=²au-³Jas=⁴am-⁵auT=⁶Śas=⁷Tā-⁸bhyām-⁹bhis=¹⁰Ne-
¹¹bhyām-¹²bhyas=¹³NasI-¹⁴bhyām-¹⁵bhyas-¹⁶Nas-¹⁷os-¹⁸ām=
¹⁹Ni-²⁰os-²¹suP

[The affixes 3.1.1] sU, au, Jas; am, auT, Śas; Tā, bhyām, bhis; Ne, bhyām, bhyas; NasI, bhyām, bhyas; Nas,os, ām and Ni, os, suP are introduced [after 3.1.2 expressions ending in 1.1.72 (feminine affixes) ¹Ni and āP and (other) nominal stems 1].

These twenty-one affixes constitute the declensional endings, divided into seven triplets (1.4.103) denoted by the t.t. [vibhakti 1.4.104], and in the order in which they appear have the appropriate ordinals denoting them: [prathamā] 'nominative' (with vocative as a sub-class) (sU-au-Jas); [dvitīyā] 'accusative' (am-auT-Śas); [tṛtīyā] 'instrumental' (Tā-bhyām-bhis); [caturthā] 'dative' (Ne-bhyām-bhyas); [pañcamā] 'ablative' (NasI-bhyām-bhyas); [ṣaṣṭhī] 'genitive' (Nas-os-ām); [saptamī] 'locative' (Ni, os, suP). In the order in which they appear in each triplet they denote the singular, dual and plural endings (1.4.102). The application of these endings are given in 2.3.2ff. together with 1.4.22-23.

1. Items ending in ¹Ni: *nadf* f. 'river': *nadf*+sU = *nadf*+ \emptyset (6.1.68); *nadI*+au/auT = *nady*-au (6.1.105); *nadf*+Jas = *nady*-dḥ (6.1.105); *nadf*+am = *nadf*-m (6.1.107); *nadf*+Śas = *nadf*-ḥ (6.1.102); *nadf*+Tā = *nady*-ā; *nadf*-bhyām, *nadf*-bhiḥ; *nadf*+Ne = *nadf*+āT-e (7.3.112) = *nady*-aI (6.1.88); *nadf*-bhyām, *nadf*-bhyah; *nadI*+Nas(I) = *nadI*+ā+as = *nady*-dḥ; *nadf*-bhyām, *nadf*-bhyah; *nady*-ōḥ; *nadf*+ām = *nadf*+nyT-ām (7.1.54) = *nadf*-nām; *nadI*+Ni = *nadI*-āT-ām (7.3.116) = *nady*-ām; *nady*-ōḥ; *nadf*-su (8.3.59).
2. Items ending in āP: *kalā* 'art': *kalā*+sU = *kalā*+ \emptyset (6.1.68); *kalā*+au/auT = *kalā*+Ś (7.1.18) = *kal*-ē; *kalā*+Jas/Śas = *kalā*-ḥ (6.1.102); *kalā*+am = *kalā*-m

(6.1.107); $kalā+Tā = kale+ā$ (7.3.105) = $kaldy-ā$ (6.1.78) $kalā-bhyām$, $kalā-bhiḥ$; $kalā+Nē = kalā+yāT-e$ (7.3.113) = $kalā-yai$ (6.1.88); $kalā-bhyām$, $kalā-bhyaḥ$; $kalā+Nas(I) = kalā+yā-as = kalā-yāh$ (6.1.101); $kalā+os = kalē+os$ (7.3.105) = $kaldy-oh$ (6.1.78); $kalā-nām$; $kalā+yā+Nī = kalā-yā-am$ (7.3.116) = $kalā-yām$; $kalā-su$.

3. Nominal stems: $vidyūt-$ 'lightning': $vidyūt+sU = vidyūt+Ø$ (6.1.88); $vidyūt+au/auT = vidyūt-au$; $vidyūt+Jas/Śas = vidyūt-aḥ$; $vidyūt-am$; $vidyūt-ā$, $vidyūd-bhyām$ (8.4.53), $vidyūd-bhiḥ$; $vidyūt-e$, $vidyūd-bhyām$, $vidyūd-bhyaḥ$; $vidyūt-aḥ$, $vidyūd-bhyām$, $vidyūd-bhyaḥ$; $vidyūt-aḥ$, $vidyūt-oh$, $vidyūt-am$; $vidyūt-i$, $vidyūt-oh$, $vidyūt-su$.

4.1.3 striy-ām

In the domain of the feminine gender (= with reference to the feminine gender).

This is a governing rule, heading this section and extending up to 81 below, and will recur in each of the subsequent statements of this section in which the appropriate affixes are introduced after nominal stems to derive feminine stems.

4.1.4 'ajā=ādi=²aTas=TāP

[The affix 3.1.1] $TāP$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with $ajā-$ 'goat' and those [which end in 1.1.72] the phoneme short $a(T)$ [to derive feminine nominal stems 3].

1. $ajā+TāP = ajā$ 'she-goat'; similarly $edaka+TāP = edakā$ 'ewe'.
2. The inclusion of nominal stems ending in short $-a$ in the $ajā$ -class is [I] either to block out the introduction of NrS (63) with reference to words denoting species, or to the husband (48) or words which end in names of flowers etc., (49) [II] or to block out NiP in relation to words denoting age (20) or where the derivative word ends in an affix with the marker T (15).

4.1.5 'rT=²ne-bhyaḥ=NiP

[The affix 3.1.1] NiP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.71] the phoneme short r or $-n$ [to derive a feminine nominal stem 3].

1. $-r$: $kr+trN+NiP = kār-tr-I = kār-tr-I$ 'doer, producer'.
2. $-n$: $dand-in+NiP = dand-in-I$ 'carrying a stick'.

4.1.6 uK=IT-as=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 NtP 5] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] with marker denoted by the siglum uK (= u, r, j) as IT [to derive a feminine nominal stem 3].

$pac+\acute{S}at\ddot{R} = pac+\acute{S}aP+dt\ddot{R}+I = p\acute{a}c-at+nyM+I$ (7.1.81; 8.1.97) = $p\acute{a}c-ant-I$ 'cooking'; similarly from the verbal stem $bha+\acute{S}at\ddot{R}+NtP = bh\acute{a}v-ant-I$ 'pre-Pāṇinian t.t. for the Present Tense; but from the pronominal stem $bh\acute{a}vatU+NtP = bh\acute{a}vat-I$ 'you (respectfully), your honor'.

4.1.7 van-aḥ=rg ca

[The affix 3.1.1 NtP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-van and (ca) the phoneme [r] replaces the [stem-final 1.1.52] phoneme [to derive a feminine 3 stem 1.]

While this affix is already introduced by 5 above, the specific mention here is for the stem-final replacement by phoneme [r]: $dh\acute{a}+Kvan\ddot{I}P+NtP$ (3.2.74) = $dh\acute{a}+van+I$ (6.4.86) = $dh\acute{a}-var-I$ 'fisherman's wife'; $go+d\acute{a}+van+NtP = go-d\acute{a}-var-I$ 'n.pr. of a river'.

4.1.8 pād-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 NtP 5] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-pād (occurring as a final member of a compound) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$du-a\acute{u} p\acute{a}d-a\acute{u} a-sy\acute{a}d = dvi-p\acute{a}d-$ (6.4.140) 'bi-ped, two-legged' / $dvi-p\acute{a}d$ (6.2.197 for accent options) + NtP $dvi-p\acute{a}d-I$ / $dvi-p\acute{a}d-I$ (6.4.130) 'consisting of two feet', alternating with $dvi-p\acute{a}d-$ / $dvi-p\acute{a}d-$ which is both m. and f.

4.1.9 TāP=rc-i

In the domain of Ṛg-Veda [the affix 3.1.1] TāP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.71 °-pād 8].

Exception to NtP 8. $dvi-p\acute{a}d$ / $dvi-p\acute{a}d$ + TāP = $dvi-p\acute{a}d-\acute{a}$ / $dvi-p\acute{a}d-\acute{a}$ 'a verse consisting of two feet' (in the RV); similarly $tri-p\acute{a}d-\acute{a}$ / $tri-p\acute{a}d-\acute{a}$.

4.1.10 ná 'ṣaṭ-²svasṛ=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 generating a feminine nominal stem 3] is not introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] denoted by the t.t. ṣaṣ (1.1.20) and the [class of nominal stems 1] beginning with svásṛ- 'sister'.

The t.t. ṣaṣ denotes the following number-words: *pāncan-* '5', *ṣaṣ-* '6', *saptān-* '7', *aṣṭān-* '8', *nāvan-* '9', *dāśan-* '10' etc.; *pāñcan+Jas* = *pāñcan+ṭh*¹ (7.1.22) = *pāñcaṭh* (8.2.7) *strīy-aḥ pūmāṁśa-aḥ-vā* 'five women or men' where the number-word serves both as f. and m.

The class of words represented by svásṛ-class consist of: *svaṣṛ-* 'sister', *duhitṛ-* 'daughter', *nānāndṛ-* 'husband's sister', *yātṛ-* 'husband's brother's wife', *mātṛ-* 'mother' and the number words *tiṣṛ-* '3', *catasṛ-* '4'.

4.1.11 man-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is not 10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-man(iN 3.2.74ff.).

Exception to 5 above. *dā-man-* m. f. 'giver, donor, bestower'; *pā-man-* f. 'scabies'.

4.1.12 an-aḥ=bahuvrīhī-h

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is not 10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoted by a Bahuvrīhī (compound) [ending in 1.1.72] the element °an [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

sōbhana-am pārva a-syāḥ = su-parvān 'possessing beautiful joints'; (both m. and f.)
but *āti-kranta rājān-am = ātir-rājān+NīP ātir-rājān* (8.4.134)+I = *āti-rājān-I* 'superior to a king'.

4.1.13 DāP=ubhā-bhyām anya-tarā-syām

[The affix 3.1.1] DāP is optionally (anya-tarā-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2] both (ubhā-bhyām) [nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 °-man 11 and Bahuvrīhī compounds ending in 1.1.72 °-an 12 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

1. °-man: *pāman+DāP* = *pāmaṭh+ā* (8.4.143) = *pā-mā*. *pā-me/pā-mā*, *pā-mān-au*, *pā-mān-aḥ* (12).
2. °-an: *bahav-aḥ yāj-vān-aḥ a-syāḥ = bahu-jay-vān+DāP* = *bahu-yajvṭh+ā* (8.4.143) = *bahu-yajvā*, *bahu-yajvā*, *bahu-yajvāḥ/bahu-yajvā*, *bahu-yaj-vān-au*, *bahu-yaj-vān-aḥ* 'who has offered many sacrifices'.

4.1.14 án-upa-sarjan-āt

[After a nominal stem 1] which is not a subordinate member (upa-sárj-ana) of [a compound 1.2.43].

This is a governing rule heading this section and extending up to 81 below, and will recur in each of the subsequent rules of this section. [Upa-sárj-ana] is defined by 1.2.43 as that expression which is introduced with the first sUP triplet in the section dealing with compounds (2.1.3ff.). In a Bahuvrīhi compound all the constituent members are [upa-sárjana-s] or subordinate members. Thus in *kūru-ṣu car-a-ti* = *kuru*+ θ^1 +*car*+*Ta* (3.1.16)+*ŃP* (15) = *kuru-car-f* 'wandering in the Kuru country', but in *bahū-aḥ kuru-car-āḥ a-śyām* = *bahu-kucurā+TaP* = *bahu-curu-car-ā* (nagari) 'city in which there are many wanderers from the Kuru country' where 4 above applies.

4.1.15 1T -IT= ${}^2\dot{d}ha$ = ${}^3\acute{a}N$ = ${}^4a\tilde{N}$ = 5dvayasáC = 6daghnáC = 7mātráC = 8tayaP - ${}^9\dot{t}ha\tilde{N}$ - ${}^{10}ka\tilde{N}$ - ${}^{11}KvaraP$ -aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 *ŃP* 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] with marker *T* as IT, and [affixes] $\dot{d}ha$, $\acute{a}N$, $a\tilde{N}$, *dvayasáC*, *daghnáC*, *mātráC*, *tayaP*, $\dot{t}hák$, $\dot{t}ha\tilde{N}$, $ka\tilde{N}$ and *KvaraP* [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

- ending in an affix with marker *T*: *kuru+car+Ta+ŃP* = *kuru-car+ θ +f* (6.4.148), but *pac+IAAT* = *pac+ŚaP+ŚāndC+TaP* (3.2.124) = *pác-a-m-ānd* since *IAAT* has two markers.
- *- $\dot{d}ha$: *su-parṇī+ḍhaK* (120) = *sauparṇ θ +eyā+I* (6.4.148) *sauparṇ-ey θ -f* (6.4.148).
- *- $\acute{a}N$: *kumbh-ām kar-ō-ti* = *kumbha+ θ^1 +kṛ+āN* (3.2.1)+*ŃP* = *kumbha-kār-f* 'lady pot-maker'.
- *- $a\tilde{N}$: *utsa+a \tilde{N} +I* (86) = *uṣṭe-I* 'lady descendant of U.'
- *-*dvayasáC*: *aru-dvayasā+I* = *aru-dvayas-f* 'reaching up to the thigh'.
- *-*daghnáC*: *aru-daghnā+I* = *aru-daghn-f* 'ibid.'
- *-*mātráC*: *aru-mātrā+I* = *aru-mātr-f* 'ibid.'
- *-*tayaP*: *pānca+tayaP+I* = *pānca-tay-I* 'five-fold'.
- *- $\dot{t}hák$: *akṣ-aḥ dḥu-ya-ti* = *akṣa+ $\dot{t}hák$* (4.2)+*I* = *akṣa+ikā+I* (7.3.50) = *akṣ-ik-f* 'lady gambling with dice'.
- *- $\dot{t}ha\tilde{N}$: *lavaṇ-ām paṇ-yam a-śyāḥ* = *lavaṇā+ $\dot{t}ha\tilde{N}$ +I* *lāvaṇ-ika+I* = *lāvaṇ-ik-I* 'lady dealing in salt'.
- *- $ka\tilde{N}$: *tā-dṛś+Ka \tilde{N} +I* (3.2.80) = *tā-dṛś-a+I* = *tā-dṛś-I* 'like that'.
- *-*KvaraP*: *naś+KvaraP+I* = *nāś=var-I* (3.2.163) 'fragile, perishable'.

4.1.16 yaÑ=as=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yaÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$gargā+yaÑ+ÑP = gārg-ya+I = gārg-yā+I$ (8.4.148) = $gārgyā+I$ (8.4.150) = $gārg-I$
'female descendant of Garga'.

4.1.17 prāc-ām Śpha taddhitā-h

According to Eastern Grammarians (prāc-ām) [the affix 3.1.1] Śpha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 16 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] and it is classed as a taddhitā (76ff.).

The purpose of classifying [Śpha] as a taddhitā affix is to qualify the stem ending in it as a prātipadikā (1.2.46). The marker Ś operates the affix ÑfŚ (41 below).
 $gargā+yaÑ = gārg-ya+Śpha = gārgy-āyana-$ (7.1.2) + $ÑfŚ$ (41) = $gārgy-āyan-f$ (8.4.2)
= $gārg-I$ (by 16 above).

4.1.18 sarvātra ¹lōhita=²ādi=³kata=ante-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 Śpha 17] is introduced, according to all Grammarians (sarvā-tra) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with lōhita- and ending with kata- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 16].

This class of nominal stems is a sub-set of the major class beginning with gārge- (105); this is an obligatory rule replacing the option implied by the previous reference to Eastern Grammarians; [sarvā-tra] stands for 'according to all Grammarians' [sarve-ṣām ācāryā-nām mat-ena].

$lōhita+yaÑ = lahit-ya+Śpha+ÑfŚ = lahity-āyana+f = lahity-āyan-f$ 'female descendant of Lōhita'; similarly $kāty-āyan-f$ 'female descendant of Kata'.

4.1.19 ¹kauravyā=²māṇḍūkā-bhyañ ca

[The affix 3.1.1 Śpha 17] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kaurav-yā and māṇḍūkā- [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

$kuru+Nyā$ (152) = $kaurav-yā$ (8.4.148; 8.1.79) + $Śpha+f$ = $kaurav-y-āyan-f$ (8.4.2)
'female descendant of Kauravyā'.

Similarly $māṇḍūk-āyan-f$ 'female descendant of Māṇḍūka'.

4.1.20 váyas-i pratham-é

[The affix 3.1.1 NtP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting the first part of life (váyas-i pratham-é 'teens') [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

kumārd+NP = *kumār-f* 'maiden, girl, virgin'; similarly *kīśor-f* 'female colt'; *bārkar-I* 'kid'. Exceptions to T&P 4.

4.1.21 dvigó-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NtP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of] a Dvigú (compound 2.1.52) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

aṣṭā-nām adhyāyā-nām sam-ā-hār-ā-ḥ = *aṣṭān+θ¹+adhyāyā+NP* = *aṣṭaθ+adhyāyā+I* (8.2.7) = *aṣṭā-dhyāy-ī* 'a collection of eight chapters (title of the present work)'; similarly *pañcā-nām pūlā-nām sam-ā-hār-ā-ḥ* = *pañca-pāl-ī* 'a collection of five bunches'.

4.1.22 a-¹pari-māṇa-²bistā=³ā-cita-⁴kambalyé-bhya-ḥ ná taddhita-lúk-i

[The affix 3.1.1 NtP 5] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Dvigú (compound) 21] not [ending in 1.1.72] a word denoting a measure (parimāṇa) or [ending in 1.1.72] °-bistā-, °-ā-cita-, and °-kambl-yā-, when there is a replacement by luk (θ) of a taddhitā (5.1.28) affix [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

pañcā-bhīr dēv-aṣṭ krī-tā = *pañcan+θ¹+aśva+ṭhaK* (5.1.37)+T&P = *pañcaθ+aśva+θ¹+ā* (8.2.7; 5.1.28) = *pañc-aśv-ā* 'bought with five horses'; *dv-au bist-au pāc-a-ti* = *dvi+θ¹+bista+ṭhaK* (5.1.52) = *div-bista+θ¹* (5.1.28)+T&P = *dvi-bist-ā* 'who cooks two bistās of grain'. Similarly *dv-au ācit-au pāc-a-ti* = *dvy-ācit-ā*; *dvā-bhyām kambalyā-bhyām krī-tā* = *dvi-kambaly-ā* 'bought with two blankets'.

4.1.23 kāṇḍá=ant-āt kṣétr-e

[The affix 3.1.1 NtP 5 is not 22 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Dvigú compound 21 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] °-kāṇḍá- [when there is replacement by luk of a taddhitā affix 22 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] denoting a field (kṣétr-e).

dv-ē kāṇḍ-ē pramāṇam a-syāḥ = *dvi+θ¹+kāṇḍa+dvayasāC* = *dvi-kāṇḍa+θ¹* (by a vārttika on 5.2.37)+*TāP* = *dvi-kāṇḍ-ā* 'having a measure of two kāṇḍa-s' (of a field: *kṣetra-bhaktē-h*); but *dvi-kāṇḍ-ē rājju-h* 'a rope measuring two kāṇḍa-s'.

4.1.24 pūruṣ-āt pra-māṇ-e=anya-tarā-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṆĪP 5] is optionally (anya-tarā-syām) [not 22 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 comprising a Dvigu' compound 21 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] 'pūruṣa- 'person' to denote a measure (pramāṇ-e) [for deriving a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

dv-aī pūruṣ-au pramāṇam a-syāḥ parikhā-yāḥ = *dvi-θ¹+puruṣa+dvayasāC* = *dvi-puruṣa+θ¹+ṆĪP/TāP* = *dvi-puruṣ-f/dvi-puruṣ-ā* 'a moat having the width of two men'.

4.1.25 bahuvrīhē-r ūdhas-aḥ=ṆfṢ

[The affix 3.1.1] ṆfṢ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] constituting a Bahuvrīhī compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] 'ūdhas 'udder' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

ghaṭā iva ūdhaḥ a-syāḥ = *ghaṭa+θ¹+ūdhan* (5.4.131)+*ṆfṢ* = *ghaṭodhṭn+f* (6.4.134) = *ghaṭodhn-f* '(a cow) whose udder is like a jar'; similarly *kuṇḍodhn-f* but *prāp-tā ūdhaḥ* = *prāptodhās-* 'a female calf which has reached her mother's udder'.

4.1.26 ¹saṁkhyā=²avyaya=āde-r ṆĪP

[The affix 3.1.1] ṆĪP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] constituting a Bahuvrīhī compound ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1 ūdhas- 25] co-occurring with numerals (saṁkhyā) or indeclinables (avyaya) as prior members (āde-h)[to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

1. saṁkhyā: *dv-ē ūdhas-ī a-syāḥ* = *dvi-θ¹+ādhas+ṆĪP* = *dv-y-ūdhan+ī* = *dv-y-ūdhn-ī* (6.4.134) = *dv-y-ūdhn-ī* '(a cow) having two udders'.

2. avyaya: *nfr-ga-ta-m ūdhaḥ a-syāḥ* = *nfr-ādhas+ṆĪP* = *nfr-ādhn-ī* 'a cow having no udders'.

The difference between [ṆĪP] and [ṆfṢ] is in accentuation only.

4.1.27 ¹dāma(n)=²hāyāna=ant-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhi compound 25 with numerals as prior members 26] and °-dāman- 'rope' and hāyāna- 'year' as posterior members (°-ant-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

dvē dāman-I a-syāḥ = *dvi-Ø¹+dāman+NīP* = *dvīdāmṬn-I* 'tied with two ropes';
dv-au hāyān-au a-syāḥ = *dvī-hāyan-I* 'two years old'.

4.1.28 an-aḥ=upadhā-lopīn-aḥ=anya-tarā-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5] is optionally (anya-tarā-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhi compound 24 ending in 1.1.72] °-an and subject to Ø-(lopa) replacement of its penultimate (phoneme) (upadhā-lopīn-aḥ) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

sóbhana-h rājā a-syāḥ = *su+rājān+NīP* = *su-rājṬñ-f* (8.4.134; 6.2.172) = *su-rājñ-f*
 / *su-rājān+Dāp* (13) = *su-rāj-ā/su-rāj-ān-* (12).

4.1.29 nītyam ¹saṃjñā-²chāndas-oḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5] is necessarily (nītya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhi compound 25 ending in 1.1.72 °-an and subject to Ø replacement of its penultimate phoneme 28 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] in the names and Chāndas.

1. saṃjñā: *su-rājñ-f, dīti-rājñ-I* 'names of villages'.
2. chāndas-i: *pañca-dāmn-I gau-h* 'a cow, tied with five ropes'

4.1.30 ¹kévala-²māmakā-³bhāga-dhéya-⁴pāpá=⁶ápara-⁸samānā=⁷ārya-kṛta-⁸su-maṅgalá-⁹bheṣaj-āt=ca

[In the domain of names and of Chāndas 29 the affix 3.1.1 NīP 5] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kévala- 'sole', māmakā- 'mine', bhāga-dhéya- 'share', pāpá- 'wicked, evil', ápara- 'another', samānā- 'equal', ārya-kṛ-ta- 'made by an Aryan', su-maṅgalá- 'auspicious'; and bheṣajá- 'remedy' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

kévala+NīP = *kéval-I* 'n.pr. of a Jyotis', contra *kéval-a* in the spoken language (s.l.).

Similarly: *māmak-f* (= *māmik-ā* s.l.), n.pr.; *bhāga-dhēy-i* (*bhāga-dhēy-ā*); *pāp-i* (*pāp-ā*); *dpar-i* (*dpar-ā*); *samān-f* 'n. of a metre' (s.l. *samān-ā*); *ārya-kṛt-i* (*ārya-kṛt-ā*); *su-maṅgal-i* (*su-maṅgal-ā*); *bheṣaj-i* (*bheṣaj-ā*) 'healing'.

4.1.31 *rātre-s=ca ā-Jas-au*

[In the domain of names and Chāndas 29 the affix 3.1.1 *ÑiP* 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *rātri-* 'night' except before the nominative plural [sUP ending 2] *Jas*].

rātri+ÑiP = *rātri+sU/au/am* = *rātri/rātri-au/rātri-m*; but *rātri+Jas* = *rātre+Jas* (7.3.109) = *rātray-ah*.

4.1.32 ¹*antār-vat-*²*pāti-vat-* or *nyK*

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiP* 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *antār-vat* and *pāti-vat-* and the increment *nyK* constitutes the final element (of these nominal stems) [to form feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

antār-vat+ÑiP = *antār-vat-n-i* 'pregnant'; *pāti-vat-n-i* '(a wife) whose husband is still alive'.

4.1.33 *pātyu-r na-h=yajña-saṁ-yog-é*

(The substitute phoneme) [n] replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 1] *pāti-* 'husband, master, lord' [before the feminine 3 affix 3.1.1 *ÑiP* 5 introduced after 3.1.2 it to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] for expressing a participation in the performance of a sacrifice (*yajña-saṁ-yog-é*).

pāti+ÑiP = *pāti-n-i* 'wife, entitled to participate in a sacrifice with her husband', but *grām-sya pāti-r iy-am brāhmaṇ-i* 'this brahmin lady is the village-head'.

4.1.34 *vibhāṣā śā-pūrva-sya*

[The substitute phoneme n 33] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [replaces the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem *pāti-* 33 before the feminine 3 affix 3.1.2 *ÑiP* 5 introduced after 3.1.2 it to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when it is preceded by a prior member (*śā-pūrva-sya*) [which is not an *upasārjana* 14].

vṛddhā pāti-h = *vṛddhā+TñP+sU+pāti+sU* = *vṛddha-ḥ+ḥ+pati+sU* =

vr̥ddha-patī-h/-pat-n-ī 'old wife' but *grāma-śya patī-r iy-ām brāhmaṇ-ī*; *sthūlā-h patī-h=a-śyāh* = *sthūlā-patī-/sthūlā-patn-ī* since the governing rule 14 applies not to the word [*patī -*] but to an expression ending in it.

4.1.35 *nītya-m sa-pātṇī=ādi-ṣu*

[The substitute phoneme n 33] necessarily (*nītya-m*) replaces [the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 1-class 1] beginning with *sa-patn-ī* [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 *ÑP5*].

samānā-h patī-r a-śyāh = *sa-pāt-n-ī* 'co-wife'; *vīrā-pat-n-ī* 'hero's wife'; *ēka-pat-n-ī* 'a woman who has only one husband'.

4.1.36 *pūtā-krato-r ai ca*

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑP 5* is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *pūtā-kratu-* and the phoneme /ai/ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

pūta-kratu+ÑP = pūta-krat-ai+ī = pūta-kratāy-ī (6.1.78) 'wife of P.'

4.1.37 ¹*vr̥ṣā-kapī=*²*agnī-*³*kusitā-*⁴*kūsīdā-nām udātta-h*

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑP 5* is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *vr̥ṣā-kapī*, *agnī-*, *kusitā-*, *kūsīdā-*, (and) high-pitched (*udātta-h*) [phoneme /ai/ replaces (their stem-final phonemes 1.1.52) 36 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

vr̥ṣā-kapī+ÑP = vr̥ṣā-kapāī+ī = vr̥ṣā-kapāy-ī 'wife of V.'

Similarly: *agnāy-ī*, *kusitāy-ī*, *kūsīdāy-ī*.

4.1.38 *mānor au vā*

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑP 5* is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *mānu-* 'n.pr.' and the element /au/ [as well as the high-pitched element *ai* 37 replace the stem-final (1.1.52) phoneme to derive the feminine 3 nominal stem 1] optionally (*vā*).

The option indicated by [*vā*] makes both [*au*] and [*ai*] optional, generating three forms: *mānāu-ī/manāy-ī/mānu-* 'wife of Manu'.

4.1.39 várṇ-āt=ánudātt-āt táḡ=upadh-āt t-aḥ na-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is introduced optionally 38 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a color-name (várṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.52] a low-pitched vowel (ánudātt-āt) and containing phoneme [t] as penultimate (tópadhāt) and phoneme [n] replaces (this) [t] [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

ḍa- 'variegated color' + *TāP/NīP* = *ḍt-ā* 'hind' (4) / *éna-t* = *én-t* 'a river'.

Similarly: *hārit-ā/hāriṇ-t*, *śyēt-ā/śyén-t*. If these words do not contain penultimate [t] the following rule 40 applies.

4.1.40 anyá-taḥ=NīṢ

[The affix 3.1.1] NīṢ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 denoting color names 19] other than those (anya-táḥ) [containing phoneme /t/ as penultimate, ending in 1.1.52 a low-pitched vowel 36 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

sārāṅga+NīṢ = *sārāṅg-f* 'a kind of spotted deer'; similarly *kalmāṣa+f* = *kalmāṣ-f* 'speckled or spotted cow', but *kṛṣṇd+TāP* = *kṛṣṇ-ā* 'black cow'.

4.1.41 ¹Ṣ-IT=²gaura=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] containing marker Ṣ as IT and [the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gaurá- 'fawn-colored' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

nṛt+ṢvuN+NīṢ (3.1.145) = *nārt+aka+f* = *nart-ak-f* 'danseuse'; similarly *raj-ak-f* 'laundress'; *jalp+ṢakaN+NīṢ* (3.2.155) = *jālp-āka+f* = *jālp-āk-f* 'garrulous woman'.

gaurd+f = *gaur-f* 'fawn-colored; N.Pr. of Śívás consort'.

4.1.42 ¹jānapada-²kuṇḍá-³góṇa-⁴sthála-⁵bhāja-⁶nāgá-⁷kālá-⁸nīla-⁹kuśá-¹⁰kāmuka-¹¹kábar-āt ¹vṛtti=²āmatra=³ā-vápana=⁴á-kṛtrimā-⁵śrāṇā-⁶sthaúlya-⁷várṇa=⁸án-ā-cchādana=⁹ayo-vikārá-¹⁰maithuna=¹¹icchā-¹²keśa-vesé-ṣu

[The affix 3.1.1 NīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] (beginning with) jāna-pada- 'country' and (ending with) kábara- 'braid'

[to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1] to denote respectively (1.3.10) 'the mode of life (vṛtti)', etc. to 'tress of hair'.

- (1) *jānapada*+*ÑfṢ* = *jānapad-f vṛtti-h* 'country life', but *jāna-pad-I (ÑIP)* 'lady inhabitant of a country'.
- (2) *kund-f* = *āmatra-m* 'a vessel' contra *kūṇḍ-ā* (4) 'n.pr. of Durgā'.
- (3) *goṇ-f* = *āvaṇa*- 'sack, gunny bag' contra *gōṇ-ā* 'kind of grass'.
- (4) *sthāl-f* = *ā=kṛtṛimā* 'tableland, eminence; *sthāl-ā* 'artificially raised earth, a mound'.
- (5) *bhāj-f* = *śrāṇā* 'rice gruel', *bhāj-ā* 'bent stick',
- (6) *nāg-f* = *sthāūlya-m* 'obesity', *nāg-ā* 'moon's path through the constellation Svāti'.
- (7) *kāl-f* = *vārṇa* 'black color, n.pr. of a divinity', *kāl-ā* 'n.pr. of several plants'.
- (8) *nīl-f* = *ān=ācchādan-e* 'indigo'; *nīl-ā ā-cchādan-e* 'coverlet'.
- (9) *kuś-f* = *āya-vikār-ā* 'plough-share', *kūś-ā* 'rope',
- (10) *kāmuk-f* = *maithuna=icchā-yām* 'lustful woman', *kāmuk-ā* 'loving, in love with'.
- (11) *kabar-f* = *keśa-ves-e* 'plaited hair', *kabar-ā* 'n.pr. of some plants or of a planet'

4.1.43 sōṇ-āt prā-ām

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiṢ* 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *sōṇa-* 'red, crimson' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] according to Eastern Grammarians (prāc-ām).

The reference to [prāc-ām] here is for the purpose of showing that this rule is optional.

sōṇa+*ÑiṢ/TāP* = *sōṇ-f/sōṇ-ā vādava* 'reddish mare'.

4.1.44 vā=uT-aḥ=guṇa-vācan-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiṢ* 40 is introduced] optionally (*vā*) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T) constituting a qualifying word (*guṇa-vācan-āt*) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

patū/patv-f 'clever'; *mṛdā-/mṛdv-f* 'soft'.

4.1.45 bahú=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiṢ* 40] is also (ca) [optionally 44 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *bahú-* 'many' [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

The inclusion of [bahú-] in this class, while it is covered by the preceding rule, is for the purpose of the following rule 46.

bahú/bahv-f 'numerous'; *pad-dhatf-/paddhat-f* 'course, line'; *amhatf-/amhat-f* 'anxiety, distress'; *gá-ti/ga-t-f* 'movement' etc.

4.1.46 nitya-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the affix 3.1.1 $\dot{N}\dot{S}$ 40] is necessarily (nitya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1 beginning with bahú-45 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

bahv-f.

4.1.47 bhúv-as=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 46 the affix 3.1.1 $\dot{N}\dot{S}$ 40 is necessarily 46 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] $^{\circ}$ -bhú [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

vi-bha+Du (3.2.180)+ $\dot{N}\dot{S}$ = *vi-bhv-f* 'omni-present'; similarly *pra-bhv-f* 'ruler, mistress'.

4.1.48 puṁ-yog-āt=ākhyā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 $\dot{N}\dot{S}$ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] (denoting a masculine name) to designate a female by virtue of her relationship with the male (represented by that masculine name) as a wife (puṁ-yog-āt)

gāṇaka+ $\dot{N}\dot{S}$ = *gaṇak-f* = *gāṇaka-sya strf* 'wife of an astrologer', but *gāṇ-ak-ā* 'woman astrologer'; so also *praṣṭhā-sya strf* = *praṣṭh-f* 'chief's wife', but *praṣṭh-ā* 'lady chief'.

4.1.49 ¹indra-²vāruṇa-³bhava-⁴śarvā-⁵rudrā-⁶mṛdā-⁷himā=⁸śaraṇya-⁹yāva-¹⁰yāvana-¹¹mātulā-¹²ācāryā-ṇām ānyK

[The affix 3.1.1 $\dot{N}\dot{S}$ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] (beginning with) 1 indra- (and ending with) 12 ācāryā-, with the incremental element ān(yK) inserted after them [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

indra+ānyK+ $\dot{N}\dot{S}$ = *indr-āṇ-f* (8.4.2) 'wife of Indra'; similarly *varuṇ-ān-f*, *bhav-ān-f*, *śarv-āṇ-f*, *rudr-āṇ-f*, *mṛd-ān-f*. These six denote the names of gods

and their consorts, but the rest are derived in specific meaning situations: *him-ān-f* 'glacier'; *arany-ān-f* 'large forest'; *yau-ān-f* 'duṣṭā-ḥ yāva-ḥ' 'inferior oats or barley'; *yavan-ān-f* = *yāvana-sya līpi-ḥ* 'script of Ionians'; by a vārttika option is enjoined on the use of this [ṇyK] after [upādhyāya-] and [mātula-]: *mātul-ān-f*/*mātul-f* 'maternal uncle's wife' and (*upādhyāy-ān-f*/*upādhyāy-f* 'preceptor's wife'); similarly retroflexion is blocked by a vārttika in *ācāry-ān-f*/*ācāry-f* (blocking operation of 8.4.2) 'wife of the preceptor'.

4.1.50 krī-t-āt kāraṇa-pūrv-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṆīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] "krī-tā- 'bought, purchased', preceded (in composition) by a prior member denoting the means (kāraṇa-pūrv-āt) (with which the purchase is made) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

vāstr-ena krī-yā-te sã = *vāstra+θ¹+krīta+ṆīṢ* = *vāstra-krī-f* 'purchased with cloth'. Here the original stem after which the feminine affix is introduced is the compound *vāstra-krī-ta-* (= *vāstr-ena krī-tā-*), but alternately if the compound consisted of prior member *vāstra-* + posterior member *krī-tā+TāP* (*vāstr-ena krī-tā*) the result would yield *vāstra-krī-t-ã*.

4.1.51 Kt-āt alpa=ākhyā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṆīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] "-Ktā [preceded in composition by a prior member denoting the means 50 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] indicating a small quantity (alpa=ākhyā-yām).

alp-air abhr-af vi-lip-tã = *abhrã+θ¹+vi-lip-ta+ṆīṢ* = *abhra-vi-lip-t-f dyau-ḥ* 'the sky covered with a few clouds', but *cāndanānu-lip-t-ã brāhmaṇf* 'a brahmin lady covered copiously with sandal paste'.

4.1.52 bahuvrīhé-s=ca=anta=udātt-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṆīṢ 40 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] consisting of a Bahuvrīhī (compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktā] and a high-pitched (udātt-āt) accent [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

urã bhinn-aũ = *asamyuk-tau yã-syãḥ* = *uru+θ¹+bhinnã+ṆīṢ* = *uru-bhinn-f* 'whose thighs are not joined' (i.e., having a rent in the thighs); the final udātta accent is by 8.2.170. Similarly *keśa-vi-lān-f* 'whose hair has been shaved off'. Where the

compound is not accented on the final syllable affix $\bar{T}aP$ is introduced: *dántāḥ jātāḥ a-syāḥ* = *dānta-jā-ta+ā* = *dānta-jā-t-ā* 'whose teeth have grown (of a female child)' since by 6.2.171 final accent is optional and this rule applies only to such compounds which have necessarily the final udātta accent. In the case of a non-Bahuvrīhi compound: *pāda-pat-itā+TāP* (2.1.32; 6.2.144) = *pāda-patit-ā* 'fallen at one's feet'.

4.1.53 \acute{a} -svāṅga-pūrva-pad-āt=vā

[The affix 3.1.1 $\bar{N}f\bar{S}$ 40] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 $\bar{K}tā$ and a high-pitched final accent 52] preceded by a prior member (\acute{a} -pūrva-pad-āt) not denoting a member of one's body (\acute{a} -svāṅga- \acute{a}) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

palāṇḍu-r bhakṣe-itā-ḥ and-yā = *palāṇḍu-bhakṣe-itā+NfS* = *palāṇḍu-bhakṣe-it-f* 'who has eaten onion'; similarly *surā pr-tā and-yā* = *surā-pr-t-f* 'who has imbibed liquor' with alternative forms *palāṇḍu-bhakṣit-ā*, *surā-pr-ā* respectively.

4.1.54 svāṅg-āt=ca=upa-sárj-an-āt= \acute{a} -saṁyoga=upadh-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 $\bar{N}f\bar{S}$ 40 is optionally 53 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] also denoting a member of one's body (ca svāṅg-āt) and serving as a subordinate member (upa-sárj-an-āt) [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of] a compound (1.2.43) and not containing a conjunct penultimate (\acute{a} -saṁyoga=upadh-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

candrā-ḥ-iva mukha-m a-syāḥ = *candrā-mukha+f* - *candra-mukh-f* 'moon-faced lady', alternating with *candra-mukh-ā*; *ḍti-krān-tā keśān* = *ḍti-keśa+f/ā* = *ati-keś-f/ḍti-keś-ā mālā* 'a garland extending beyond the hair'; but when not an upasárjana: *śikh-ā* 'tuft of hair on the head'; when containing a conjunct penultimate: *su-gulphā+TāP* = *su-gulph-ā* 'whose ankles are beautiful'.

4.1.55 $^1nāsikā=^2udāra=^3oṣṭha-^4jāṅghā-^5dānta-^6kārṇa-^7śṛṅg-āt=ca$

[The affix 3.1.1 $\bar{N}f\bar{S}$ 40] is also introduced [optionally 53 after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 denoting the following members of one's body] *nāsikā* 'nose', *udāra* 'stomach or abdomen', *oṣṭha* 'lip', *jāṅghā* 'shank', *dānta* 'tooth', *kārṇa* 'ear' and *śṛṅga* 'horn', [serving as upasárjana-s occurring at the end of a compound 54 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

Exception to 54 above with reference to not containing a conjunct penultimate, and a prior exception to 56 below with reference to poly-syllabic stems [bahv-áC].

tūṅga-nāsika+ÑfS = *tūṅga-nasik-f/tūṅga-nasik-ā* 'long-nosed'; similarly *tanūdar-f/tanūdar-ā* 'slim-waisted'; *bimboṣṭh-f/bimboṣṭh-ā* 'red-lipped'; *dīrgha-janṅh-f/dīrghā-janṅh-ā* 'long-shanked or long-legged'; *sama-dant-f/samā-dant-ā* 'possessing even teeth'; *cāru-karṇ-f/cāru-karṇ-ā* 'possessing nice ears'; *tikṣṇa-dṛṇḡ-f/tikṣṇā-dṛṇḡ-ā* 'sharp-horned'.

By a general metalinguistic principle that a prior exception blocks only the immediately following rule, the present rule does not block the operation of 57 below.

4.1.56 ná¹kroḍa=ādi-²bahv-aC-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑfS* 40] is not introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *kroḍā-* 'flank of a horse' or those containing more than two (bahv-áC-aḥ) syllables [denoting the limbs of one's body, occurring as subordinate members (upasárjana-s) in a compound 54 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

Since *ÑfS* is blocked, *TāP* is introduced by 4 above: *kalyāṇa-kroḍ-ā* 'a mare with auspicious flanks'.

bahv-áC: *pythá-jaghan-ā* 'large-hipped'; *mahā-lalāṭ-ā* 'possessing a large forehead'.

4.1.57 ¹sahá-²náÑ-³vīd-ya-m-āna-pūrv-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑfS* 40 is not 56 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 denoting a part of one's body occurring as a subordinate member in a compound 54] preceded by ('-pūrv-āt) the prior members *sahá* 'with, accompanied by', the privative particle *náÑ* and *vīd-ya-m-āna-* 'existing, present' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

sahá kēś-air vārt-a-te = *śā-kēśa+TāP* = *śākeś-ā* 'hairy'; so also *a-kēś-ā* 'bald, hairless' and *vīd-ya-m-ān-a-kēś-ā* 'possessing hair, hairy, hirsute'.

4.1.58 ¹nakhá-²múkh-āt saṁjñā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑfS* 40 is not 56 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *nakhá-* 'nail' and *múkha-* 'face' [occurring as subordinate members in a compound 54 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when it signifies a proper name (saṁjñā-yām).

śúrpa-nakh-ā (4) 'n.pr. of Rāvaṇa's sister'; *gaurā-mukh-ā* 'n.pr. of a woman', but *tāmra-nakh-f* 'red-nailed' and *candra-mukh-f* 'moon-faced'.

4.1.59 dīrgha-jihv-ī ca=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas the expression [dīrgha-jihv-ī] 'long-tongued' is introduced [as derived with affix 3.1.1 ŌfŌ 40, contra 54 above, to signify a name 58].

Exception to 54 since the expression [jihvā] has a conjunct penultimate and the inclusion of particle [ca] is for the recurrence of [samjñā-yām] from 58: 'n.pr. of a demonness'.

4.1.60 dīk-pūrva-pad-āt ŌP

[The affix 3.1.1] ŌP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 denoting a member of one's body and not containing a conjunct penultimate 54] preceded by a direction word (dīk-pūrva-pad-āt) as a prior member [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

Affix ŌP replaces ŌfŌ wherever it was introduced by previous rules, under these specified conditions. The difference is only in accentuation: *prān-mukha+ŌP/TāP* = *prān-mukh-ī/°-mukh-ā* 'facing east', but *prāg-gulph-ā* (conjunct penultimate) 'having the ankles turned towards the east' (54).

4.1.61 vāh-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ŌfŌ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-vāh- (= °vāh+Ōvī 3.2.64) 'bearer' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

ditya-m vāh-a-ti = *ditya+θ¹+vāh+Ōvī+ŌfŌ* = *ditya-vāh+ī* = *ditya-āTīHah+ī* (8.4.132) = *dityauh-ī* (8.1.89) 'a two-year old cow'.

4.1.62 ¹sakhī=²a-sīśv-ī=itī bhāṣā-yām

In the domain of the (current) spoken language (bhāṣā-yām) [the feminine 3 nominal stems 1] *sakh-ī* 'lady companion' and *a-sīśv-ī* 'without a child, childless' are introduced [as derived with affix 3.1.1 ŌfŌ 40].

In the domain of Chāndas, however, no affix is needed: *sākhā sapta-pad-ī bhav-a* 'be my companion in seven steps (around the nuptial fire)'. Similarly *a-sīśv-m iva mām ay-ām śīśu-r abhī-man-ya-te* 'this child considers me (f.) as childless'.

4.1.63 jāte-r á-strī-viṣay-āt=á-ya=upadh-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 NfṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a species (jāte-h) which is not feminine by origin (á-strī-viṣay-āt) and does not contain phoneme [y] as penultimate (á-ya=upadh-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 stem 1].

kukkuṭá+NfṢ = *kukkuṭ-f* 'hen'; *māyāra+f* = *māyār-f* 'pea-hen'; *śvan+f* = *śun-f* 'bitch, she-dog' (5.4.133), but *makṣikā* 'fly' since it is in the domain of feminine stems, and *kṣatriya+TāP* 'a woman of the warrior caste' since the stem contains [y] as penultimate.

4.1.64 ¹pāká-²kárṇa-³parṇá-⁴púṣpa-⁵phála-⁶mūla-⁷vāla=uttara-pad-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 NfṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *pāká-* 'cooking', *kárṇa-* 'ear', *parṇá-* 'leaf', *púṣpa-* 'flower', *phála-* 'fruit', *mūla-* 'root', *vāla-* 'tail' occurring as final members (uttara-pad-āt) of a compound [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

odana-pāká+NfṢ = *odana-pāk-f* 'Barleria Caerulea'; similarly: *śanku-karṇ-f* 'having pointed ears'; *śāla-parṇ-f* 'n.pr. of a plant'; *śantikha-puṣp-f* 'n.pr. of a plant species'; *dās-phal-f*, *darbha-mūl-f*, *go-vāl-f* 'names of various plants'.

4.1.65 iT-ah=manuṣya-jāte-h

[The affix 3.1.1 NfṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short i(T) denoting a human species (manuṣya-jāte-h) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

dvanti+NyaN (171) = *dvantya-* 'citizen of Avanti' + *NfṢ* = *dvanti+á¹+f* (176) = *avant-f* 'lady resident of Avanti'. Similarly *dākṣa+iN* (95) + *NfṢ* = *dākṣ-i+f* = *dākṣ-f* 'female descendant of Dākṣa' *audameyi+f* = *audamey-f*.

4.1.66 ūN uT-ah

[The affix 3.1.1] ūN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T) [denoting a human species 65, not containing phoneme /y/ as penultimate 63, to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

kuru+ūN = *kur-ū* 'a lady resident of Kuru country'; *brahma-bandhu+ū* =

brahma-bandh-ū 'nominal brahmin woman', but *adhvaryū-* both m. and f., since it contains /y/ as penultimate.

4.1.67 *bāhú=ant-āt samjñā-yām*

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] ending in the expression °-*bāhú* 'arm' (in composition) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem] forming a personal name (*samjñā-yām*).

bhadra-bāhu+ū = *bhadra-bāh-ū* 'n.pr. of a woman' but *vyttav bāhū a-syāḥ* = *vyttābāhu-* 'possessing rounded arms'.

4.1.68 *pañgō-s=ca*

[The affix 3.1.2 ūÑ 66] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *pañgū-* 'lame, paralyzed' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

pañgu+ū = *pañg-ū* 'lame or crippled lady'.

4.1.69 *ūrū-uttara-pad-āt=aúpamy-e*

[The affix 3.1.2 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-*ūrū-* 'thigh' as a final member (°-*uttara-pad-āt*) of a compound [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] expressing comparison (*aúpamy-e*).

karabhā-sya ūrū iva ūrū a-syāḥ = *karabhōru+ū* = *karabhor-ū* 'a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant', but *vyttav ūrū a-syāḥ* = *vyttōru-* 'possessing round thighs' since there is no comparison.

4.1.70 ¹*sām-hita-*²*śaphā-*³*lākṣaṇa-*⁴*vāmā=āde-s=ca*

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 *ūrū-* occurring as a final member in composition 69] co-occurring with *sām-hita-* 'joined', *śaphā-* 'hoof', *lākṣaṇa-* 'mark', and *vāmā-* 'handsome' as prior members (°-*āde-ḥ*) [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

This covers such cases where comparison is not involved.

sām-hitav ūrū a-syāḥ = *sām-hitōru+ū* = *sām-hitor-ū* 'whose thighs are joined'; similarly: *śaphor-ū* since the hoof is joined. Although in the underlying structure *śaphav iva sām-śliṣṭav ūrū a-syāḥ* the expression [iva] showing com-

parison has relevance not to [śaphā-] as an object of comparison, but to [śām-śiṣṭa-].

lakṣaṇor-ā 'having a mark or sign on the thighs'; *vāmor-ā* 'possessing handsome thighs'.

4.1.71 ¹kādru-²kamaṇḍalv-os=chāndas-i

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 31] *kādru-* and *kamaṇḍalu-* respectively signifying 'brown' and 'a gourd or vessel made of wood to carry water' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] in the domain of Chāndas.

kādru-+ūÑ = *kadr-ā* 'n.pr. of a divine personification'; so also *kamaṇḍal-ā* 'water vessel'.

4.1.72 saṁjñā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *kādru-* and *kamaṇḍalu-* 71 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when denoting a name (*saṁjñā-yām*).

This is in the domain outside Chāndas: *kadr-ā* 'n.pr. of a daughter of Dākṣa married to sage Kaśyapa'. *kamaṇḍal-ā* 'n. of an animal'.

4.1.73 ¹śārṅgaravā=ādi=²aÑ-aḥ=ÑtN

[The affix 3.1.1] ÑtN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1] beginning with *śārṅgaravā-* 'n.pr. of a person' and those [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] aÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

1. *śārṅgaravā+ÑtN* = *śārṅgarav-t* 'n.pr. of a woman'.
2. *bida+aÑ* (104)+ÑtN = *baida+I* = *baid-t* 'a female descendant of Bida', but *baida-nya str* = *baida+NfS* (65) = *baid-f* 'wife of Baida'.

4.1.74 yaÑ-as=CāP

[The affix 3.1.1] CāP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yaÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

By interpretation the affix [yaÑ] here serves as a cover term for taddhita affixes [NyaÑ and SyaÑ] respectively introduced by rules 171 and 78 below.

1. *NyaÑ*: *āmbaṣṭhā+NyaÑ* (171)+CāP = *āmbaṣṭhya+ā* = *āmbaṣṭhy-ā* 'a woman of the Āmbaṣṭhā country'.

2. $\text{Sya}\dot{N}$: $\text{kroḍa}+i\dot{N}$ (96) = $\text{kraḍḍ-i}+\text{Sya}\dot{N}$ (80)+ CāP = $\text{kraḍḍ}+\text{ya}+\acute{a}$ = kraḍ-y-ā (6.4.148) 'female descendant of Kroḍa'.

4.1.75 āvaṭya-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 CāP 74] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] āvaṭya- 'descendant of Avaṭa' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$\text{avaṭa}+\text{ya}\dot{N}$ = $\acute{a}\text{vaṭ-ya}+\text{CāP}$ (105) = $\acute{a}\text{vaṭ-y-ā}$ 'female descendant of Avaṭa'.

4.1.76 taddhit-āḥ

(Here begins the section on) taddhitá [affixes 3.1.1].

This is a governing rule extending up to the end of the fifth chapter. The t.t. [taddhitá] designating the affixes introduced in this section, will recur in each of the subsequent sūtras.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.38; 2.46,49,78ff.; 3.8; 2.1.51; 4.1.17,22; 5.4.92; 6.1.61,164; 2.155; 3.39,62; 4.133,144,150,151; 7.2.117ff. 8.1.57; 3.101.

4.1.77 yūn-as tī-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] tī is introduced [after the nominal stem 1] yūvan- 'youth, teen-ager' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$\text{yūvan}+tī$ = $\text{yūva}+\text{tī}$ (8.2.7) = yūva-tī- 'maiden, young woman'.

4.1.78 ¹āN-²iN-or ān-ārṣay-or gurú=upottamay-os=Ṣyaṅ gotr-é

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ṣyaṅ replaces [the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] āN and iN introduced as patronymics (gotr-é) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] containing a heavy penultimate syllable (gurú=upottamay-oḥ) excluding the names of ṣṛis 'seers' (ān-ārṣay-oḥ) [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

$\text{kārṣa-sya gandhā-ḥ iva gandhā-ḥ a-eyā}$ = kārṣa-gandh-t- (5.4.137) 'n.pr. of a man'; $\text{kārṣa-gandhér āpatya-m}$ = $\text{kārṣa-gandh-t}+\text{d}\dot{N}$ (92)→ $\text{Ṣya}\dot{N}+\text{TāP}$ = $\text{kārṣa-gandh-t}+\text{Ṣyā}\dot{N}+\text{CāP}$ (74) = kārṣa-gandh-y-ā (6.4.148) 'female descendant of Kārṣa-gandhi'. Similarly kaumuda-gandh-y-ā 'female descendant of Kumuda-gandhi'.

$\text{vārāha-sya āpatya-m}$ = $\text{vārāha}+i\dot{N}$ (95) = $\text{vārāha-a}+\text{Ṣya}\dot{N}+\text{CāP}$ = vārāh-y-ā 'female descendant of Vārāha'.

Counter examples: (a) not containing a heavy penultimate syllable: *upagu+aN+ÑP* (15) = *aupa-gavá* (B.A.146)+i = *aupagav-f* 'female descendant of Upagu'; (b) names of sages: *vásiṣṭha+dN+ÑP* (15,114) = *vāṣiṣṭh-f* 'female descendant of Vásiṣṭha'.

4.1.79 gotra=avayav-āt

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ŚyaÑ replaces the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1 áN and iÑ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] representing well-known families (gotra=avayav-āt) [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

puṇika-sya dpatya-m = *puṇika+iÑ* (95) → *ŚyaÑ+CáP* (74) = *paṇik-y-ā* 'female descendant of Punika'.

This rule is for including expressions which do not have a heavy penultimate syllable. Here the word [gotrá-] is not taken in its technical sense (162) so that even the daughter of Punika will be denoted by *paṇik-y-ā*.

4.1.80 kraúḍi=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ŚyaÑ 78] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *kraúḍ-i-* 'descendant of Kroḍá' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

The role of [ŚyaÑ] differs here from that in 78-79 where it is a replacing element [ādesá] while here it is a regular affix [pratyayá]. This [kraúḍi-class] includes expressions not necessarily ending in the affixes áN or iÑ or containing a heavy penultimate syllable: *kraúḍ-i+ŚyaÑ+CáP* = *kraud-y-ā* 'female descendant of Kroḍá'; similarly *caupayat-y-ā* 'f. descendant of Copayata'.

4.1.81 ¹daiva-yajñi-²śaúci-vṛkṣi-³sátya-m-ugri-⁴kāṇṭhe-viddhi-bhyaḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ŚyaÑ 78] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *daiva-yajñ-i-*, *śaúci-vṛkṣ-i-*, *sátya-m-ugr-i* and *kāṇṭhe-viddh-i-* [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

daiva-yajñ-i+ŚyaÑ+CáP/daiva-yajñi+ÑfS (65) = *daiva-yajñ-y-ā/daiva-yajñ-f* 'female descendant or daughter of Deva-yajna'. Likewise: *śaúci-vṛkṣ-y-ā/* 'vṛkṣ-i; *sátya-mugry-ā/sátya-m-ugr-f*; *kāṇṭhe-viddh-y-ā/* 'viddh-f, respectively 'female descendants or daughters of Śuci-vṛkṣa, Satya-m-ugra and Kāṇṭhe-viddha'.

4.1.82 sámarthā-nām pratham-āt=vā

[A taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2] the first (pratham-āt) padá syntactically (and semantically) connected with others (samarthā-nām) (provided by the rules themselves).

This is a governing rule and the three words [sámarthā-nām], [pratham-āt] and [vā] will recur in this section extending up to 5.2.150 as required by the context. Thus in 92 below [tásya=ápatyam] the first expression [tá-sya] represents any nominal stem denoting the name of a person syntactically and semantically connected with [ápatya-m] and the affix [ÁN 83] is generally introduced after such a name to denote a descendant optionally so that *úpago-r ápatya-m/upagu+dN = aupagav-á-* can be optionally used in any given context.

4.1.83 prág dīvyat-aḥ=ÁN

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ÁN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 3.1.2] (under meaning conditions listed in the subsequent rules) prior to (prág) 4.4.2 [t-éna dīv-ya-ti khán-a-ti jáy-a-ti ji-tá-m].

This is also a governing rule or [adhikārá] extending up to the end of the third quarter of this chapter. The affix [ÁN] is the [utsargá] or general affix which may be replaced by others under specific conditions to be stated in the subsequent rules.

4.1.84 aśva-patí=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ÁN 83 is introduced] also [after 3.1.2 the nominal-stem-class 1] beginning with (°-ādi-bhyas) aśva-patí- 'n.pr.' (to denote the meanings listed in this section).

This listing of meanings begins with 92 below; the present pādá primarily deals with patronymic affixes, but with 2.1 a variety of meanings is listed.

This is a prior exception to 85 below where affix [Nyá] is introduced. *aśva-patí+dN = aśva-patí-á* (8.4.148; 7.2.117) = *aśva-pat-á* 'descendant of Áśvapatí (92)'.

4.1.85 ¹dīti=²áditi=³ādityá=⁴pátí=uttara-pad-āt Nyá-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] dīti-, áditi-, ādityá- 'names of persons' and those ending in (uttara-pad-āt) °-pátí- (as posterior member in composition) [to denote the meanings listed in this section 83ff.].

dīti+Nyá = dait-yá- 'descendant of Diti' (92); similarly *áditi-yá-* 'descendant of Aditi'.

ādit-yā-h devātā=a-syā haviṣ-aḥ = *ādityā+Nyā* = *āditθ+ya-m* (6.4.148,150) = *ādit-yā-m havi-h* 'sacrificial oblation sacred to Āditya'. Similarly *prajā-pati+Nyā* = *prājā-pat-yā-m havi-h* 'sacrificial oblation sacred to Prajāpati' (2.24); if the sense of 92 is specified, 6.4.148,151 applies for θ replacement of syllable [ya] of [ādityā] before the affix [Nyā] to derive the patronymic. The nominal-class beginning with [āva-pati-] is a prior exception to this.

4.1.86 *ūtsa-ādi-bhyaḥ=aṅ*

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1] *aṅ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal-stem-class 1] beginning with *ūtsa-* 'well' [to denote the meanings listed in this section 83ff.].

Exception to *aṅ* 83. *ūts-e bhavā-h* (3.53) = *ūtsa+aṅ* = *auṭs-a-* occurring or located in a spring, water-hole or well'; similarly *udā-pānā+aṅ* = *auḍa-pān-a-*.

4.1.87 ¹*strī-²pūmsā-bhyām* ¹*naṅ-²snaṅ-au bhāvan-āt*

[The taddhitā 76 affixes 3.1.1] *naṅ* and *snaṅ* are (respectively 1.3.10) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems] *strī* 'woman' and *pūms-* 'man' [to denote the meanings listed in 83ff.] prior to 5.2.1 [dhānyā-nām bhāvan-e kṣétr-e khaṅ].

strī-sū bhavā-h (3.53)/*strī-nām samāhā-h* (2.37)/*strī-bhyāḥ=a-ga-ta-h* (3.74)/*strī-bhyāḥ hi-tā-h* (5.1.5) = *strī+naṅ* = *strāi-na-h*; similarly *paśūn-sna-h*.

4.1.88 *dvigó-r luk=án-apaty-e*

luk (θ¹) replaces [a taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 belonging to this section 83ff.] excluding patronymic affixes (*án-apaty-e* 92ff.) [whose meaning serves as a condition for forming a Dvigú compound] introduced [after 3.1.2 that] Dvigú compound.

pañcā-su kapāle-su sām-s-ky-ta-h = *pañca+θ¹+kapāla+dN* (2.16) = *pañca-kapāla+θ¹* = *pañca-kapāla-* 'prepared in five vessels'; *dv-āú ved-āú ddhī-te veda-a vā* = *dvi+θ¹+veda+dN* (2.59) = *dvi-veda+θ¹* 'who has studied two Vedas', but *dud-y-or deva-dattāy-or āpatya-m* = *dvi+θ+devadatta+iṅ* (95) = *dvaṭ-devadatt-i-*.

4.1.89 gótr-e=á-luK=aC-i

In the domain of patronymic [affixes 3.1.1] (gótr-e) replacement by luK (\emptyset^1) [of those taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced by 2.4.63ff.] does not take place before [affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i) [in the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

gargá-nām chātr-āh = *gargá+yaN* (105) + *cha* (2.114) = *gārgya+cha* = *gārgyā+fyā* (6.4.148) = *gārgyā-fyā* (6.4.150) + *Jas* = *gārg-fy-āh* 'pupils of Gargá'.

4.1.90 yún-i luK

luK (\emptyset^1) replaces the yúvan (163ff.) [affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 89 to denote the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

phāṇṭāhṛta-sya āpatya-m = *phāṇṭā-hṛta+iN* (95), *tā-sya āpatya-m yūva* = *phāṇṭāhṛti+Nā* (150) = *phāṇṭāhṛt-ā-h*, *tā-sya chātrāh* = *phāṇṭāhṛt-i+ \emptyset^1 +dN* (2.112) + *Jas* = *phāṇṭāhṛt-āh* 'disciples or pupils of the yúvan descendant of Phāṇṭāhṛti'.

Descendant of Tika = *tika+phiN* (154) = *taik-āyani* (7.1.2); his yúvan descendant: *taik-āyani+cha* (2.114) = *taik-āyan-fyā-* (149); his pupils or disciples: *taik-āyani+ \emptyset^1 +cha* (2.114) + *Jas* = *taik-āyan-fy-āh*.

The luK replacement is supposed to take place when the yúvan affix is introduced and not afterwards: *glucuka+phiN* (160) = *glucuk-āyani-(+dN→ \emptyset^1)+dN* = *glaucuk-āyanā-* where, otherwise, affix *cha* would have operated (2.114) in the place of *dN*.

4.1.91 'phaK-²phiN-or anya-tará-syām

[luK (\emptyset^1) 90] optionally (anyatarásyām) replaces [the yúvan 90 affixes 3.1.1] phaK and phiN introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 89 to denote the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

gargá-sya āpatya-m = *gargá+yaN* (105) = *gārg-ya-h*; *gārgya-sya āpatya-m yūva* = *gārg-ya+phaK* (101) = *gārgy-āyanā-d-h*; *tā-sya chātrāh* = *gārgya+ \emptyset^1 +cha+Jas* = *gārg-fyāh/gārgy-āyan-fyāh*

yaska-sya āpatya-m = *yaska+dN* (112) = *yāsk-d-h*; *tā-sya āpatya-m yūva* = *yāsk-d+phiN* = *yāsk-āyani-h*; *tā-sya chātrāh* = *yāsk-d+ \emptyset^1 +cha+Jas* = *yāsk-fyāh/yāskāyan-fyāh*.

4.1.92 tá-sya=ápatya-m

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83] is introduced [after 3.1.1 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote a descendant (ápatya-m).

[ápatya-m] here designates progeny beginning with the son (or daughter) in opposition to the t.t. [gotrá 162] which denotes one beginning with the grandchild.

úpagoṛ apatyam = úpaga+áN = aupa-gau-d- 'descendant (from the son onwards) of Úpago'; similarly áśva-pat-d (84).

4.1.93 éka-ḥ=gotr-é

Only one patronymic (gotr-é 162) [affix 3.1.1] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] to denote a gotrá descendant (at whatever level).

[Gotrá 162] is defined as a descendant commencing from the grandchild; a restriction is, therefore, necessary to indicate a descendant beyond the grandchild and the recursive use of these affixes. Thus the son of Gargá will be *garga+iN* (98) = *gārg-i-*, and his son will be *garga+yaN̄* = *gārg-ya-* (105) since he is a *gotrāpatyá* (162) of Gargá; now the son of this Gārgya will also be Gārgya.

4.1.94 gotr-āt=yūn-i=á-striy-ām

When denoting a yúvan (163ff.) descendant [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] a gotrá [affix 3.1.1] (gotr-āt) except in the case of a feminine derivative (á-striy-ām).

gārg-ya-sya ápatyam yūvā = *gārg-ya+phdK* (101) = *gārgy-āyand-ḥ* 'son of Gārgya who is a yúvan', but *garga-sya ápatyam caturthām strī* = *garga+iN+N̄ṣ* (65,95) = *gārg-ī* 'great-great-granddaughter of Garga'.

4.1.95 aT-aḥ=iN̄

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iN̄ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

dákṣa-sya ápatyam = *dákṣa+iN̄* = *dákṣ+ṣ+iN̄* = *dákṣ-i-* (6.4.148) 'descendant of Dákṣa'. Similarly *dāśa-rath-i-* 'son or descendant of Dāśaratha'.

4.1.96 *bāhú=ādi-bhyas=ca*

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 iÑ 95] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1] beginning with *bāhú-* 'n.pr.' [ending in the 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

bahór dpatyam = bāhú+iÑ = bahó+iÑ = bāhau-i- (6.4.146; 6.1.78) 'descendant of Bāhú'.

4.1.97 *su-dhātú-r akañ ca*

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 iÑ 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *su-dhātú-* 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the substitute *akañ* replaces (its stem-final 1.1.53).

sudhātú-r dpatyam = sudhātú+iÑ = sudhāt-ak-iÑ = saúdhat-ak-i-

Exception to 1.1.51 in the matter of *r* replacement, since the substitute is [ak] and not [a].

4.1.98 *gotr-é kuñja=ādi-bhyas=Cphāñ*

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] *Cphāñ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *kuñja-* 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote a gotrá descendant (162).

The affix [*Cphāñ*] has two IT markers; *C* here governs the accent (6.1.163) and *ñ* operates under 7.2.117.

kuñjá-sya gotrāpatyam = kuñjá+Cphāñ = kauñj-āyand- 'descendant of K. beginning with the grandchild'.

4.1.99 *naḍá=ādi-bhyaḥ pháK*

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] *pháK* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *naḍá-* 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant beginning with the grandchild (gotr-é) 98].

naḍá-sya gotrāpatyam = naḍá+pháK = nāḍ-āyand- (6.1.165; 7.1.2; 2.118) 'descendant of Naḍá beginning with the grandchild', but *naḍá+iÑ = nāḍ-i-* (95) 'son of N.'

4.1.100 $\text{hárita} = \text{ātibhyaḥ} = \text{aÑ-ah}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with hárita- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a gotrá 98 descendant 92] while [terminating in 1.1.72 the taddhita 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ (104).

This class of nominal stems is a sub-set of the "bidá-class" (104) by reason of which [aÑ] is introduced after it to denote a gotrá descendant. Thus the gotrá descendant of Hárita is $\text{hárita} + \text{aÑ} = \text{hárit-a-}$ and by the present rule is also $\text{hárit-a} + \text{pháK} = \text{hárit-āyaṇá-}$ when he is at the same time a yúvan descendant (163). This obviates the restriction of the governing rule 93 above.

4.1.101 ${}^1\text{yaÑ} = {}^2\text{iÑ-os} = \text{ca}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and iÑ [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a gotrá descendant 92,98].

1. yaÑ : $\text{garga} + \text{yaÑ} = \text{gárg-ya-}$ (105); $\text{gárgy-a} + \text{pháK} = \text{gárgy-āyaṇá-}$ 'Gárgya's son, i.e., great-grandson of Garga'.

2. iÑ : $\text{dákṣa} + \text{iÑ} = \text{dákṣ-i} + \text{phaK} = \text{dákṣ-āyaṇá-}$ 'great-grandson of Dákṣa'.

The affix [pháK] is introduced only after the gotrá affixes [yaÑ and iÑ] but not others. This rule blocks the operation of 2.48 and 3.10.

4.1.102 ${}^1\text{śarád-vat-} {}^2\text{śunaká-} {}^3\text{darbh-āt} {}^1\text{bhṛgu-} {}^2\text{vatsá-} {}^3\text{āgrāyaṇé-ṣu}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] śarád-vat-, śunaká- and darbhá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] when signifying respectively a Bhṛgu, Vatsá and Āgrāyaṇá (1.3.10).

$\text{śarádvat} + \text{pháK} = \text{śarád-vat-āyaṇá-}$ 'gotrá descendant of Ś.' if he is a Bhārgavá, but when not so, $\text{śarád-vat} + \text{aÑ}$ (104) = śarád-vat-a- .

$\text{śunaká} + \text{pháK} = \text{śaunak-āyaṇá-}$ 'gotrá descendant of Śaunaká' if he is a member of the Vatsá clan, otherwise śaunak-a (Ñ 104).

$\text{darbhá} + \text{pháK} = \text{dārbh-āyaṇá-}$ 'gotrá descendant of D.', otherwise $\text{darbhá} + \text{iÑ}$ (95) = dārbh-i- .

4.1.103 ¹dróṇa-²párvata-³jīvant-āt=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] dróṇa-, párvata- and jīvantá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote gotrá descendants 98].

Exception to iÑ (95). *dróṇa-sya gotrápatyám* = *dróṇa+pháK/iÑ* = *drauṇ-āyanf-/drauṇ-i-* 'gotrá descendant of Dr.'

Similarly: *párvat-āyanf-/párvat-i-*; *jāivant-āyanf-/jāivant-i-*.

4.1.104 án-r̥ṣi=ānantary-e bidá=ādibhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with bidá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98, but after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] not designating Vedic seers (án-r̥ṣi) to denote an immediate (ānantary-e) [descendant 92].

bidá+aÑ = *baid-a-* 'gotrá descendant of Bidá' but *paútr-a(N̄)/dáuḥitr-a(N̄)* respectively (1.3.10) denoting 'son's son/daughter's son'.

4.1.105 gargá=ādibhyaḥ=yaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gargá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98].

gargá+yaÑ = *gárgḥ+ya* (6.4.148, 7.2.117) 'gotrá descendant of G.' Similarly *vated-* : *vāts-ya-*; *agasti-* : *āgast-ya-*, etc.

4.1.106 ¹mádhu-²babhrv-ór ¹brāhmaṇá-²kaúśike-ṣu

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] mádhu- and babhrú- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] representing respectively (1.3.10) a brahmin and a Kaúśika.

mádhu+yaÑ = *mádho+ya-* (6.4.146) = *mádhu-ya-* (6.1.79) 'a brahmin gotrá descendant of Mádhu', otherwise *mádhu+d̄N̄* (92) = *mádhu-d̄*. Similarly *bábhrav-ya-* 'gotrá descendant of Babhrú, if a Kaúśika', otherwise *bábhrav-d̄*.

4.1.107 ¹kapi-²bodh-āt=āṅgiras-é

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kapi- and bodhá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] designating an Āṅgirasá.

kapi+yaÑ = *kāp-ya-*, *bodhd+yaÑ* = *baúdh-ya* 'gotrá descendants respectively of Kapi and Bodhá belonging to the Āṅgirasá clan' but elsewhere *kapi+dháK* (122) = *kāp-cyá-*, *bodha+iÑ* (95) = *baúdh-í-*.

4.1.108 vataṇḍ-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.2 yaÑ 105] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] vataṇḍa- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98 designating an Āṅgirasá 107].

vataṇḍa+yaÑ = *vátanḍ-ya-* 'gotrá descendant of V belonging to the Āṅgirasá clan', otherwise *vátanḍ-d* (Ñ 83). According to commentaries beginning with Kṣáika this expression is included in the class of stems beginning with śiva- (112) after which taddhitá affix [áÑ] is introduced, but since it occurs as No. 22 in the list, it is an open question whether 83 or 112 is relevant here. Similarly this is also included in the garga- class, but its specific mention here is for the purpose of restricting it to an Āṅgirasá only.

4.1.109 luK striy-ām

luK (Ø¹) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 vataṇḍa- 108 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote] a female (striy-ām) [gotrá descendant 98 representing the Āṅgirasá clan 107].

vataṇḍa+yaÑ+NIN (78) = *vataṇḍa+Ø¹+NIN* = *vátanḍ-i* 'grand-daughter of V.', when not an Āṅgirasá: *vataṇḍa+yaÑ* (105)+*Spha* (18)+*NfS* (41) = *vátanḍy-āyan-f/vataṇḍa+dN* (112) +*NIP* (15) = *vátanḍ-f*. Since this stem is included in the śiva-class of expressions (112) affix [áÑ] is also introduced, but is blocked by 108 when designating an Āṅgirasá.

4.1.110 áśva=ādibhyaḥ pháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] pháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with áśva- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98].

śśva+phāK = *śśva-āyana-*; similarly *śśman+phāK* = *śśmaṭ-āyana-* (8.4.144) 'gotrā descendant of Āśman'.

4.1.111 bharg-āt traigarta-e

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 phāK 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] bhargā- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotra' descendant 98] to designate a Traigarta.

bhargā+phāK = *bhārg-āyana-* 'a gotra descendant of Bhargā belonging to the Traigarta clan'; elsewhere *bhargā+iN* (95) = *bhārg-i-*.

4.1.112 śivā=ādibhyaḥ=āN

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1] āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with śivā- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

śivā+āN = *śaiv-ā-* 'descendant of Śivā'; with this sūtra the expression [gotr-é 98] does not recur, and consequently represents [āpatyam 92] instead. So affix [āN] introduced after the nominal stem [vataṇḍa-] can equally result from 83 or 112 when not referring to an Āngirasā (cf. 108).

vataṇḍa+āN = *vātaṇḍ-ā-* 'a descendant of Vataṇḍa other than an Āngirasā'.

4.1.113 ā-vṛddhā-bhyaḥ=¹nadī-²mānuṣī-bhyaḥ=tān-nāmikā-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 āN 83(112) is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] denoting the names of rivers or women employed as such (tān-nāmikā-bhyaḥ) whose first vowel is not [ā, ai or au] (ā-vṛddhā-bhyaḥ 1.1.73) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

Exception to dhāK (120 below),

1. river names: *yamūnā-yāḥ āpatyam* = *yamūnā+āN* = *yāmun-ā-* 'son of Yamūnā; similarly *airāvat-ā-* 'son of Īrāvati'.

2. feminine personal names: *cintitā-yāḥ āpatyam* = *cintitā+āN* = *caintit-ā-*.

But if the stem belongs to the vṛddha type: *cāndrabhāga+yaN+OāP* *cāndra-bhag-y-ā;* *tā-syāḥ āpatyam* = *cāndra-bhāg-y-ā+dhāK* *cāndra-bhāgṭṭ-eyā-* (8.4.151) = *cāndra-bhāg-eyā-*; and when the stem does not designate either a river or a woman's name: *suparṇā+dhāK* = *sau-parṇ-eyā-* = *su-parṇā-yāḥ āpatyam*. *vinatā-yāḥ āpatyam* = *vainateyā-*.

4.1.114 ¹f̥si=²andhaká-³vṛṣṇí-⁴kúru-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112)] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] consisting of the names of Vedic seers (f̥si-°) and those belonging to the race of Andhaká, Vṛṣṇí and Kúru [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

1. Vedic seers: *udsiṣṭha+dN* = *udsiṣṭh-d-*. *viśvā-mitra+dN* = *vaiśvā-mitr-d-*.
2. Andhaká: *śvaphalka-sya ápatyam* = *śvāphalk-d-*.
3. Vṛṣṇí: *vasu-devd+dN* = *vāsudev-d-*.
4. Kuru: *nakulá-sya ápatyam* = *nākul-d-*.

4.1.115 mātú-r uT ¹saṁkhyā-²sám=³bhadrá-pūrvā-yāḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] °-mātṛ- 'mother', preceded by numerals (saṁkhyā-°), sám-° and bhadrá-° as prior members (°pūrvā-yāḥ) (in composition) [terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and phoneme short u(T) replaces (the stem-final 1.1.52).

ṣaṇ-ṇām mātṛ-ṇām ápatyam = *ṣaṭ+mātṛ+dN* = *ṣaṇ-māt-ur-d-* (1.1.51). Similarly
sám-mātúr ápatyam = *sām-mat-ut-d-*; *bhadra-mātúr ápatyam* =
bhādra-māt-ur-d-.

4.1.116 kanyā-yāḥ kanīna ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kanyā 'maiden, young woman' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the substitute kanīna replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] the nominal stem.

kanyā-yāḥ ápatyam = *kanyā+dN* = *kanīna+d* = *kanīn-d-* 'descendant of an unmarried woman or girl'.

4.1.117 ¹vikarṇá-²śuṅgá-³chagal-āt ¹vatsá-²bharádvāja=³átri-ṣu

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] vikarṇá-, śuṅgá and chagalá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] belonging (respectively 1.3.10) to the clan of Vatsá, Bharádvāja and Átri.

vikarṇā-śya āpatyam = *vikarṇa+āN* = *vaikarṇ-ā-* = *vātsya-*, but elsewhere *vaikarṇ-i(N 95)*.

śaṅgā-śya āpatyam = *śaṅg-ā-* = *bhārādvaṅja-* but elsewhere *śaṅg-i(N)*.

chagālā-śya āpatyam = *chāgal-ā-* = *ātreya-* but elsewhere *chāgal-i(N 95)*.

4.1.118 pīlā-yāḥ=vā

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 āN 83 (112)] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pīlā 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

pīlā-yāḥ āpatyam = *pīlā+āN/dhāK* = *pail-ā-/pail-eyā-* (120).

4.1.119 dhāK ca maṇḍūk-āt

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 āN 83 (112)] as well as (ca) dhāK are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] maṇḍūka- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

maṇḍūka-śya āpatyam = *maṇḍūka+āN/dhāK* = *māṇḍūk-ā-/māṇḍūk-eyā-*.

4.1.120 strī-bhyāḥ=dhāK

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1] dhāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] feminine [affixes 3.1.1 (= 4ff.) ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

suparṇā+TāP+dhāK = *suparṇā+dhāK* = *sauparṇ-eyā-* = *suparṇā-yāḥ āpatyam* 'son or descendant of S.' Similarly *vinatā-yāḥ āpatyam* = *vainat-eyā-*.

4.1.121 dvy-āC-aḥ

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 dhāK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 a feminine affix 120] and consisting of two syllables (dvy-āC-aḥ) [terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

dattā-yāḥ āpatyam = *dattā+dhāK* = *datt-eyā-*; exception to āN 113; cf. *yamūnā-yāḥ āpatyam* = *yāmūn-ā(N 113)*.

4.1.122 iT=as=ca=ān-iÑ=aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhák 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] phoneme short i(T) excluding [the affix 3.1.1] °-iÑ [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

ātrēr āpatyam = ātri+ḍhák = ātr-eyá-; but *dákṣa+iÑ* (95)+*phák* (101) = *dákṣ-i+phák = dákṣ-āyāḍ = dákṣer āpatyam*.

4.1.123 śubhrá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhák 120] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with śubhrá- 'n.p.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

śubhrá-āya āpatyam = śubhrá+ḍhák = śaubhr-eyá-.

These classes of nominal stems listed in the Gāṇa-pāṭha are of two types: closed and open; in the former the rule applies to those listed under the particular class while in the latter the list is only by way of illustration (ākṛti-) and covers all such occurrences as may be found in actual usage. This particular class is an open class and provides for such forms as *gāṇg-eyá-*, *pāṇḍav-eyá-* etc.

4.1.124 ¹vikarṇá-²kuśítak-āt káśyap-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhák 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *vikarṇá-* and *kuśítaka-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] belonging to the clan of Káśyapa.

vikarṇá-āya āpatyam = vikarṇa+ḍhák = vaikraṇ-eyá- = káśyapa, but elsewhere *vaikarṇ-i* (95); similarly *kuśítak-eyá-* contra *kuśítak-i* (Ñ 95).

4.1.125 bhruv-áḥ=vyK ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhák 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *bhrú* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and (ca) the final increment *vyK* is inserted after *bhrú*.

bhruv-áḥ āpatyam = bhrú+vyK+ḍhák = bhrauv-eyá-.

4.1.126 kalyāṇf=ādī-nām ingŃ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhák 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kalyāṇf [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the element ingŃ replaces the stem-final (1.1.53).

kalyāṇy-āḥ āpatyam = kalyāṇ-in+ḍhāK = kalyāṇin-eyā-; *su-bhagā āḥ āpatyam = saubhag-in-eyā-*.

4.1.127 kulaṭā-yāḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhák 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kulaṭā [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 and the stem-final (1.1.53) substitute element ingŃ 126] replaces its stem-final optionally (vā).

kulaṭā-yāḥ āpatyam = kulaṭā+ḍhāK/kulaṭ-in+ḍhāK = kulaṭ-eyā-/kulaṭ-in-eyā-.

4.1.128 caṭakāyāḥ=airák

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] airák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] caṭakā [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

caṭakā-yāḥ āpatyam = caṭakā+airāK = caṭak-airā-.

4.1.129 godhā-yāḥ=ḍhrák

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhrák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] godhā [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

godhā-yāḥ āpatyam = godhā+ḍhrāK = godhā+eyrāK = gaudh-eṭhrā (6.1.66) = gaudh-erā-. Since this stem is also included in the class beginning with śubhrā (123) we have the alternate form *godhā+dhāK = gaudh-eyā-*.

4.1.130 āráK udīc-ām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] āráK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] godhā ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] according to Northern Grammarians (udīc-ām).

godhā-yāḥ āpatyam = godhā+ārāK = gaudh-ārā-.

4.1.131 kṣudrā-bhyaḥ=vā

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 dhraK 129 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 in the feminine gender 120] expressing physical or moral deformity (kṣudrā-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] optionally (vā).

kāṇā-yāḥ āpatyam = kāṇā+dhraK/dhāK(120) = kāṇ-erā-/kāṇ-eyā-; dāsy-āḥ āpatyam = dās-erā-/dās-eyā-.

4.1.132 pitṛ-ṣva-ús=chaN

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1] chaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pitṛ-ṣvasṛ- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

pitṛ-ṣvas-úr āpatyam = pitṛ-ṣvasṛ+chaN = paitṛ-ṣvasr-ṣya- 'son or descendant of paternal aunt'.

4.1.133 dhāK-i lopa-ḥ

[Before the taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1] dhāK introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem pitṛ-ṣvasṛ- 132 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] substitute lopa (Ø) replaces its stem-final (1.1.52).

pitṛ-ṣvasúr āpatyam = pitṛ-ṣvasṛ+dhāK = paitṛ-ṣvasØ-eyā = paitṛ-ṣvas-eyā-.

4.1.134 mātṛ-ṣvas-ús=ca

[The taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 chaN 132 is introduced] also [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] mātṛ-ṣvasṛ- 'maternal aunt, mother's sister' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92, and before taddhitā 76 affix 3.1.1 dhāK introduced after 3.1.2 it, lopa (Ø) replaces its stem-final phoneme 133].

mātṛ-ṣvasúr āpatyam = mātṛ-ṣvasṛ+chaN/dhāK = mātṛ-ṣvasr-ṣya-/"-ṣvas-eyā-.

4.1.135 cátuṣ-pād-bhyaḥ=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] designating quadrupeds (cātuṣ-pād-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kamaṇḍalo-r ápatyam = kamaṇḍalu+dhaÑ = kámaṇḍalō-ya (6.4.147) =
kámaṇḍal-ya- 'descendant of K.'

4.1.136 gr̥ṣṭi=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ 135] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gr̥ṣṭi- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

gr̥ṣṭi-r ápatyam = gr̥ṣṭi+dhaÑ = gr̥ṣṭi-ya (6.4.148).

This rule applies where the stem represents a biped, since under 135 quadrupeds are already covered.

4.1.137 ¹rāja(n)-²śvāsura-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] rājan- and śvāsura- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

rājñi-aḥ ápatyam = rājan+yàT = rājan-yà (6.4.168) 'son or descendant of a king';
similarly *śvāśura-ya ápatyam = śvāśur-yà*- 'son or descendant of the father-in-law'.

4.1.138 kṣatr-āt gha-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kṣatrā- [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kṣatrā-ya ápatyam = kṣatrā+gha = kṣatr-ḥya.

4.1.139 kúl-āt kha-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kúlā- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kūla-sya āpatyam = *kūla + kha* = *kul-fna-*.

4.1.140 ā-pūrva-pad-āt=anya-tarā-syām 'yāT=²ḍhakaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] yāT and ḍhakaÑ are optionally (anya-tarā-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 *kūla-* 139] when not preceded by a prior member (ā-pūrva-pad-āt) in composition [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

When the option is exercised not to introduce these two affixes, affix [kha 139] will operate; thus three affixes may be introduced under the constraint mentioned in this rule: *kūla-sya āpatyam* = *kula+yāT/ḍhakaÑ/kha* = *kul-ya-/kadl-eyaka-/kul-fna-*.

4.1.141 mahā-kul-āt=¹aÑ-²khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and khaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *mahā-kulā-* [optionally 140, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

mahā-kulā-sya āpatyam = *mahā-kula + aÑ/khaÑ* = *māhā-kula-/māhā-kul-fna-* 'son or descendant of a great family' = *mahā-kul-fna* {139}.

4.1.142 dūṣ-kul-āt ḍhāK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhāK is introduced [optionally 140 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *dūṣ-kula-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

dūṣ-kul-asya āpatyam = *dūṣ-kula + ḍhāK/kha* {139} = *dadṣ-kul-asya-* / *duṣ-kul-fna-* 'descendant of a low family'.

4.1.143 svās-us=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *svāsṛ-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

svās-ur āpatyam = *svāsṛ + cha* = *svaṣṛ-fya-* 'sister's son or descendant'.

4.1.144 bhrāt-ur vyàT=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 cha 143] as well as (ca) vyàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] bhrātṛ- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

bhrāt-ur ápatyam = bhrātṛ+cha/vyàT = bhratr-fya-/bhrātṛ-vyà 'son or descendant of the brother'.

4.1.145 vyaN sapátn-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] vyaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 bhrātṛ- ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to] denote a rival (sapátn-e).

bhrātṛ+vyaN = bhrātṛ-vya- 'rival, foe, adversary'.

4.1.146 revátī=ādī-bhyaḥ=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with revátī [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

revátī-āḥ ápatyam = revátī+ṭhák = raivat-iká- 'son or descendant of Revátī'.

4.1.147 gotra-strīy-āḥ kútsan-e Ná ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 146] and (ca) Ná are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] designating a female gotrá descendant (gotra-strīy-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] when expressing reproach (kútsan-e).

gargá+yaN̄ (105)+NIP (16) = gárg00+ī (6.4.151); gárgy-āḥ ápatyam = gárg-ī+ṭhák/Ná = gārg-iká-/gārg-á- 'illegitimate or bastard son or descendant of Gárgī'.

4.1.148 vṛddh-át=ṭhák sauvīré-ṣu bahulám

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced variously (bahu-lám) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] containing phonemes [ā, āi or au] in the first syllable (vṛddh-át 1.1.73) denoting Sauvīrá gotrá [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 when expressing reproach 147].

When this affix is not introduced the alternate affix is *phaK* (101). *bhāga-vitte-r āpatyam* = *bhāga-vitti+ṭhāK/phāK* = *bhāga-vitt-ikā/bhāga-vitt-āyand-* 'illegitimate or wicked son or descendant of Bh.' When reproach is not expressed: *bhāga-vitt-āyand-*.

4.1.149 *phe-s=cha ca*

[The *taddhitā* 76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhāK* 148] and (ca) *cha* are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the *taddhitā* 76 affix 3.1.1] *phiN̄* (154ff.) [containing a *vfddhi* vowel in its first syllable and representing the *Sauvīrā* gotrā 148, terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth *sUP* triplet to denote a descendant 92 when expressing reproach 148].

yamunda-sya āpatyam = *yamunda+phiN̄*(154) = *yāmund-āyani-h*, *tā-sya āpatyam* = *yāmund-āyani+ṭhāK/cha* = *yāmund-āyani-kā/yāmund-āyan-ḥya-* 'despicable son or descendant of Yām'.

4.1.150 ¹*phāṇṭāhṛti-²mimatā-bhyām* ¹*Nā-²phiN̄-au*

[The *taddhitā* 76 affixes 3.1.1] *Nā* and *phiN̄* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *phāṇṭāhṛti-* and *mimatā-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth *sUP* triplet to denote a descendant 92 belonging to the *Sauvīrā* gotrā 148].

Non-observance of rule 2.2.34 [*āpa=aC-taram*] in the order of the two nominal stems forming the compound is indicative of blocking metarule 1.3.10 so that both affixes are introduced after each stem: *phāṇṭāhṛti+Nā/phiN̄* = *phāṇṭāhṛt-ā/phāṇṭāhṛt-āyani-* 'son or descendant of Ph.' Similarly *māimat-ā/māimat-āyani-* 'son or descendant of *Mimatā*'. When not representing the *Sauvīrā* gotrā: with affix [phaK 101]: *phāṇṭāhṛt-āyand-*, *māimat-āyand-*.

4.1.151 *kūru=ādi-bhyaḥ=Nyā-h*

[The *taddhitā* 76 affix 3.1.1] *Nyā* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *kūru-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth *sUP* triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kūro-r āpatyam = *kuru+Nyā* = *kaurav-yā-h* (sg.) and (pl.) *kaurav-yāḥ* 'son(s) or descendant(s) of *Kūru*'. Here [*Kūru*] represents a person other than a *ksatriya*, since for a *ksatriya* [*Kūru*] 172 below provides the same affix [*Nyā*] which belongs to the [*tad-rāja*] group replaced by Ø¹ in the plural forms (2.4.72): *kaurav-yā-h*, *kaurav-yāḥ*, *kūrav-aḥ*.

4.1.152 ¹sénā=anta-²lākṣaṇa-³kārī-bhyaṣ=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá 152 is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-sénā 'army', [the nominal stem 1] lākṣaṇa- and those designating artisans (kārī-bhyaḥ) also (ca) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

hāri-ṣeṇa-śya āpatyam = hāriṣeṇa+Nyá = hāriṣeṇ-yá- 'son or descendant of H.';
similarly *lākṣaṇ-yá, nāpī-yá-* 'son or descendant of Lakṣaṇa or a barber'.

4.1.153 udīc-āṁ iñ

According to Northern Grammarians [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iñ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 °-senā or the nominal stem lākṣaṇa- and those designating artisans 152, terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

hāri-ṣeṇi-i; lākṣaṇ-i; nāpī-i.

4.1.154 tiká=ādi-bhyaḥ phiñ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] phiñ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1 beginning with 1.1.72] tiká- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

tiká-śya āpatyam = tiká+phiñ = tañk-āyāni- 'son or descendant of T.'

4.1.155 ¹kaśśalya-²kārmāryā-bhyañ ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiñ 154] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kaśśalya- and kārmāryā- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

By a vārttika these expressions are derived from [kosala-, karmāra] with an initial augment yuT at the head of the affix introduced.

kosala-śya āpatyam = kosala+yuT-phiñ = kaśśalā-y-āyāni-; karmāra-śya āpatyam = karmāra+yuT-phiñ = kārmārā-y-āyāni-.

4.1.156 āN-aḥ=dvy-āC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiñ 154] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic [nominal stem 1] (dvy-āC-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.71 the affix 3.1.1] āN [and terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kari-úr ápatayam = *kartṛ+áN* (83,92) = *kārtr-á-*, *kārtr-á-sya ápatyam* - *kārtr-á+phiN* = *kārtr-āyani* 'son or descendant of Kārtrá'. But *dāka-i(N)+phdK* (101) = *dākaāyand-*; poly-syllabic: *úpago-r ápatyam* = *aupagav-á(N)+iN* = *aúpagav-i* 'son of Aup.'

4.1.157 udīc-ām vṛddh-āt=á-gotr-āt

According to Northern Grammarians [the taddhita 76 affix 3.1.1 phiN 154 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] whose first syllable contains a vṛddhi vowel (1.1.73 vṛddhāt) and which is not a patronymic (á-gotrāt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

ámra-gupta-sya ápatyam = *ámra-gupt-āyani-*, alternating according to other grammarians with *ámra-gupt-i*.

4.1.158 vākina=ādī-nām kuK ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiN 154 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *vākina-* [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and (ca) final increment *kuK* is inserted after the stem-final (before the affix).

vākina-sya ápatyam = *vākina-kuK+phiN* = *vākina-k-āyani-*.

4.1.159 putrá=ant-āt=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiN 154] is optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-putrá- [whose first syllable contains a vṛddhi vowel and which is not a patronymic 157, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 and final increment *kuK* is inserted after the stem-final before the affix 158].

By 157 above affixes phiN (according to Northern Grammarians) and iN (according to others 95) are both introduced after these stems ending in °putrá-; the present rule provides for final increment *kuK*, to be inserted after the stem before affix phiN, optionally, so that three sets of forms are realized:
 stem+phiN/kuK+phiN/iN: *gárgṭ-putr-āyani-/gárgṭ-putra-k-āyani-/gárgṭ-putr-i-*.

4.1.160 *prāc-ām ś-vṛddh-āt phiN bahulām*

According to Eastern Grammarians [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] *phiN* is introduced variously (*bahulām*) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] not containing a *vṛddhi* vowel (*ś-vṛddh-āt* 1.1.73) in its first syllable [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

glucuka-sya apatyam = *glucuka+phiN* = *glúcuk-āyani-* according to Eastern Grammarians, but according to others *glucuka+iñ* (95) = *gláucuk-i-*.

4.1.161 *māno-r jāt-au ¹añ-²yàT-au ṣuK ca*

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] *añ* and *yàT* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *mānu*, with final increment *ṣuK* inserted after the stem-final to denote species (*jāt-au*).

manu+añ/yàT = *mānu-ṣ-a-/manu-ṣ-yà-* 'human being, homo sapiens'.

4.1.162 *āpatyam paútra-prabhṛti gotrām*

(The t.t.) *gotrá* denotes a descendant beginning with the grandson.

As a t.t. occurs in: 2.4.63; 4.1.78,89,93,94,147; 2.29,111; 5.1.134; 6.2.69; 3.43,85; 8.3.91.

4.1.163 *jívat-i tu vāmśy-e yúvā*

(The t.t.) *yúvan* denotes, however (*tu*), [a descendant beginning with the grandson 162] if the elder representative of the line (*vāmśy-e*) is alive (*jív-at-i*).

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.2.65; 2.4.58; 4.1.90,94,167.

gargá-sya ápatyam paútra-prabhṛti (= *gotrápatyam*) = *garga+yañ* (105) = *gárg-ya-;* *gárgya-sya ápatyam* = *gárgy-āyañ-* (101); *gargá-sya ápatyam* = *garga+iñ* = *gárg-i-* (95). In the line of descent father-son-grandson-greatgrandson (*Gargá-Gárgi-Gárgya-Gárgyāyañá*) if either *Garga* or *Gárgi* is alive, *Gárgyāyañá* will be a *yúvan* descendant and not a *gotra* descendant.

4.1.164 *bhrátar-i ca jyāyas-i*

[The t.t. *yúvan* 163] also denotes (a younger brother) if the elder brother (*jyāyas-i bhrátar-i*) [is alive 163 as a descendant starting with the grandson 162].

If the gotrá descendant of Garga (viz. Gārg-ya) is alive, his younger brother will be Gārgyāyaná by this definition.

4.1.165 *vā=anyá-smīn sá-piṇḍ-e sthāvira-tare jīvat-i*

[The t.t. yúvan 163] optionally (*vā*) denotes [a gotrá descendant 163] if an older (*sthāvira-tar-e*) relation [of the elder brother 164] within seven generations (*sá-piṇḍ-e*) above is alive (*jīvat-i*).

If an uncle or grand-uncle or cousin older than the descendant is alive, the descendant will be either a gotrá or yúvan descendant and will be called either Gārgya or Gārgyāyaná (cf. illustrations to 163-4 above).

4.1.166 *vrddhá-sya ca pūjā-yām*

[The t.t. yúvan 163 optionally 165 denotes] a descendant starting with the grandson (*vrddhá-sya*) when expressing respect (*pūjā-yām*).

[*vrddhá*] is, according to commentators, a pre-Pāṇinian t.t. for [gotrá]. Gārgya may also be referred to as Gārgyāyaná as a mark of respect.

4.1.167 *yūn-as=ca kutsā-yām*

[The t.t. yúvan 163] also (*ca*) [optionally 165 denotes] a yúvan descendant to express reproach (*kutsā-yām*).

gārg-ya-h/gārgy-āyanā-h jālma-h 'G. is a wretch'.

4.1.168 *jana-pada-śabd-āt kṣatriy-āt=añ*

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] *añ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a country (*jana-pada-śabd-ā*) which at the same time denotes a royal family (*kṣatriy-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

pañcālā-sya āpatyam = pañcālā+añ = pañcāl-a 'descendant of P.' Similarly *aikṣvāk-a-* (6.4.174) 'descendant of Ikṣvākú'.

But when country names are not signified by kṣatriya names: *druhyá-r āpatyam = druhyá+añ* (83,92) = *drauhyav-a*; similarly *brāhmaṇā-sya pañcālā-sya āpatyam = pañcālā+iñ* (95) = *pañcāl-i*.

4.1.169 ¹sālveyá-²gāndhāri-bhyām ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 168] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] sālveyá- and gāndhāri- [denoting a country which is at the same time a designation of a royal family 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

As both these words have a vṛddhi vowel in their first syllable they would normally be governed by 171 below, but this is a prior exception to that: *sālveyá-sya ápatyam* = *sālveyá+aÑ* = *sālvey-a-*; *gāndhāri+aÑ* = *gāndhar-a-*; these also designate the ruler of these regions.

4.1.170 ¹dvi=áC-²magádha-³kaliṅga-⁴sūramas-āt=áN

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 designating countries which at the same time denote a royal family 168] consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC-°) and [the nominal stems 1] magádha-, kaliṅga- and sūramasa- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

ánga-sya ápatyam = *ánga+dN* = *áng-d-* 'ruler of Āṅga (174). Similarly: *māgadha-d-*, *kāliṅg-d-*, *sauramas-d-* 'ruler of Magadha, Kāliṅga, Sūramasa respectively'.

4.1.171 ¹vṛddhá=°iT-³kosala=°ajād-āt=ÑyaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ÑyaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 denoting simultaneously country and royal family names 168] containing a vṛddhi vowel in their first syllable (vṛddhá-°) or those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short i(T) and [the nominal stems 3.1.1] kosala- and ajādá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

1. *āmbaṣṭhá-sya ápatyam* = *āmbaṣṭhá+ÑyaÑ* = *āmbaṣṭh-ya-*. (6.4.148).

2. °-i: *avanti+ÑyaÑ* = *āvant-ya-*; *kuntī+ÑyaÑ* = *kaúni-ya-*.

3. *kosala-sya ápatyam rája* (174) = *kosala+ÑyaÑ* = *kaúsal-ya-*.

4. *ajādá-sya ápatyam* = *ájád-ya-*.

4.1.172 ¹kúru-²n-ādi-bhyaḥ=Ñyá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ñyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kúru- and those with initial phoneme [n-] (n-ādi-bhyaḥ) [simultaneously designating names of regions and their ruling class 168,

ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or king 174].

By 152 affix [Nyá] has been introduced after the stem [kúru-] to denote a descendant; its inclusion here is for the purpose of designating the king (rájan 174).
kúru-ñám ápatyam rájá vā = kúru+Nyá = kaurav-yá-.
niṣadha-sya ápatyam rájá vā = niṣadh-yá-.

4.1.173 ¹sālva=avayavá-²pratyágratha-³kalakūṭá=⁴āsmak-āt=iÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] designating divisions of Sālva 'name of a locality' (sālva=avayava-°) and [the nominal stems] pratyágratha-, kalakūṭá- and āsmaká- [denoting simultaneously names of regions and their rulers 68, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174].

By interpretation the divisions of Sālva are enumerated as under: [Udumbára], [Tilakhala-], [Madrakārā- Yugandharā-], [Bhulínga-] and [Śaradaṇḍa]. The word sālva- is derived as follows: *sālv-ā nāma kṣatṛíy-ā; tá-syāḥ ápatyam sālva+dhak/dāN* (113) = *sālv-eyá/sālv-á-; sālva-sya nivāsa-h = sālva-h janapadá-h* (281): *udumbára+iÑ udumbára-sya ápatyam rájá vā = aúdumbar-i-; similarly: taílakhala-i-; mádrakār-i-; yaúgandhar-i-; bhavúling-i-; śáradanaḍ-i-. pratyágratha-sya ápatyam rájá vā = prátyagrath-i-; likewise kálakūṭ-i-; āsmak-i-.*

4.1.174 té tad-rāj-āḥ

Those (té) [taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] (introduced by 168ff.) are denoted by the t.t. tadrājá.

The affixes involved are: [aÑ 168, āN 170, NyaÑ 171, Nyá 172 and iÑ 173] denoting the ruler (tád-rāja-).
 As a t.t. occurs in: 2.4.62; 5.3.119.

4.1.175 kamboj-āt=luK

luK (0¹) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kamboja- [designating simultaneously the name of a region and its ruler 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174].

kamboja-sya ápatyam rájá vā = kamboja+aÑ (168) = kamboja+0¹ = kamboja-.

4.1.176 striy-ām ¹avanti-²kunti-³kúru-bhyas=ca

[luK (0¹) 175] replaces the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *avanti-*, *kunti-* and *kúru-* [designating simultaneously names of regions and their rulers 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174] before feminine (affixes: *striy-ām*).

avante-h dpatyam/rājā vā = avanti+NyaN̄ (171) = avanti+0¹+N̄fS̄ (65) = avant-f;
similarly *kunt-f* 'female descendant of or queen of Kunti'. *kūrā-nām dpatyam*
stri/rājñī vā = kuru+N̄yā (172) = kuru+0¹+āN̄ (66) = kur+ā.

4.1.177 aT-as=ca

[luK (0¹) 175] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] short a(T) (= aN̄, āN̄) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 designating simultaneously the name of a region and its ruler 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174 before a feminine 176 affix 3.1.1].

śūrasena-ya dpatyam stri/rājñī vā = śūrasena+aN̄ (168) = śūrasena+0¹+N̄fS̄ = śūrasen-f 'queen or princess of Ś.'
madrā-ya dpatyam stri/rājñī vā = madrā+āN̄ = madra+0¹+N̄fS̄ = madr-f 'queen or princess of M.'

4.1.178 nā ¹prācyā-²bhārga=ādi-³yaudheyā-ādi-bhyas=ca

[luK (0¹) 175] does not replace [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 a(= aN̄, āN̄) 178 (5.3.117) introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 designating names of princes] of the East (*prācyā-* ' ') [and classes of nominal stems 1] beginning with *bhārga-* and *yaudheyā-* conglomerates [before feminine 176 affixes 3.1.1].

1. Eastern Region: *pañcālā-nām rājñī = pañcālā+aN̄ (168)+N̄IN (73) = pañcāl-a+N̄IN = pañcāl-I* 'queen or princess of Pañcālā'.
2. *bhārga*-class: *bhārga+āN̄ (170)+N̄IP (15) = bhārg-ā+I = bhārg-f*.
3. *yaudheyā*-class: *yaudheyā+aN̄ (5.3.117)+N̄IN (73) = yaúdhey-I* 'queen or princess of Y.'

4.2.1 t-éna ra-kt-ám rāg-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) denoting a color (rāg-āt) to express the sense of dying (rak-tám).

The word [rāgá-] is derived from the verbal stem *rañj-* (I 1048) : *rañj-yá-te an-éna* = *rañj+GHaÑ* (3.3.19) = *rañj+GHaÑ* (6.4.27) = *rāg-á-* 'color', specifically that which transforms what is white or uncolored.

kaṣāy-éna rak-tá-m vāstra-m = *kaṣāya-áN+am* = *kāṣāy-ám vāstra-m* 'cloth dyed with red coloring'; but *devadatt-éna rak-tá-m vāstra-m* 'cloth dyed by D.' where D. is the agent and not the instrument (*kāraṇa*).

4.2.2 'lākṣā-²rocanā-(³śákala-⁴kardám-)āt ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *lākṣā* 'lac', *rocanā* 'a bright yellow pigment', (*śákala* 'black pigment' and *kardáma* 'mud') [ending in the third sUP triplet to denote the sense of 'dyeing with' 1].

The original sūtra had only the first two nominal stems; the two additions made by a vārttika have been incorporated in the Kāśika version of Aṣṭ. while the Siddhānta-Kaumudī retains the original reading.

lākṣā-yā rak-tá-m = *lākṣā+ṭhák* = *lākṣ-iká* (6.4.64; 7.3.50) 'dyed with lac'; similarly *raucan-iká-* 'dyed with a bright yellow pigment'; *śákal-iká-* 'dyed with black pigment' and *kardam-igá-* 'dyed with mud'.

4.2.3 nákṣatr-éna yuk-tá-ḥ kālā-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a constellation (*nákṣatr-éna*) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the time (*kālā-ḥ*) of conjunction (*yuk-tá-ḥ* with the moon).

The conjunction (*yóga*) here, represented by the participle (*yuk-tá-*) is that of the moon with the particular constellation. *puṣy-éna yuk-tá-ḥ kālā-ḥ* = *puṣyá+áN* = *puṣy-iká-* (6.4.149 *vārt*) 'the day when the moon is in conjunction with the constellation P'.

4.2.4 luP=á-viśeṣ-e

luP (0³) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 denoting the name of a constellation 3 ending in 1.1.72

the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the period of conjunction 3] when there is no specific mention (of day or night: *ś-veśeṣ-e*).

adyā puṣyā-h 'today the moon is in conjunction with the asterism Puṣyā' but
puṣya+āN+NIP (1.15) = *puṣ-f rātri-h/pauṣ.dṁ dha-h*.

4.2.5 *saṁjñā-yām* ¹*śrāvāṇa*-²*āśvatthā*-*bhyām*

[luP (0³) 4 replaces the taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *śrāvāṇa* and *āśvatthā*- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote a name (*saṁjñā-yām*).

śrāvāṇa+āN = *śrāvāṇa+0³+TāP* = *śrāvāṇ-ā rātri-h* 'the night in which the moon is in conjunction with the constellation Śrāvāṇa'. Similarly *āśvatthā+luP* = *āśvatthā-h muhūrtā-h* 'the particular time when the moon is in conjunction with the constellation Āśv.'. When a proper name is not implied: *śrāvāṇa+āN+NIP* (15) *śrāvāṇ-f rātri-h* (1.83,15); *āśvatth-f rātri-h*.

4.2.6 *dvaṁdv-āt=cha-h*

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 denoting names of asterisms 3] comprising a *Dvaṁdvā* compound (2.2.3) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the time of conjunction (with the moon) 3, whether specified or not 4].

rādhā=anurādhā=bhyām yuk-tā rātri-h = *rādhānurādhā+cha* = *rādhānurādhāya+TāP* (1.4) = *rādhānurādh-āy-ā rātri-h* 'the night when the moon is in conjunction with the constellations R. and A.'

4.2.7 *dr̥ṣ-ṭā-m sāma*

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the sense of 'seen' (*dr̥ṣ-ṭā-m*), the object seen being a *sāma*.

vāsiṣṭh-ena dr̥ṣ-ṭā-m = *vāsiṣṭa+āN* = *vāsiṣṭhā-m sāma* 'S perceived or seen by V.'; the Vedic *ṣeis* are called 'seers' (*draṣṭār-ah*) and the eternal Vedas are revealed to them; they are not the authors but the perceivers of the sacred hymns

4.2.8 kále-r dhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] káli- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of 'śāman has been perceived by' 7].

káli-na dṛṣ-tā-m = káli+dhák = kalīṭ+eyd-m śāma 'śāman perceived by Káli'.

4.2.9 vāmádev-āt=¹DyàT=²Dy-aú

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] DyàT and Dyá are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vāmádeva- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of 'śāman perceived by' 7].

vāmá-dev-ena dṛṣ-tā-m = vāmá-deva+DyàT/Dyá = vāma-dev-yd-/ "-dev-yd 'śāman perceived by V.'

4.2.10 pári-vṛ-ta-h=rátha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the sense of 'enveloped' (pári-vṛ-ta-h), the object being a chariot (rátha-h).

vāstr-ena pári-vṛ-ta-h rátha-h = vāstra+áN = vāstr-ā-h 'a chariot covered or enveloped by a cloth'.

4.2.11 pāṇḍu-kambalāt=ínī-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ínī is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pāṇḍu-kambalá 'white rug or blanket' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of 'chariot enveloped with' 10].

pāṇḍu-kambal-ena pári-vṛ-ta-h rátha-h = pāṇḍu-kambalā+ín = pāṇḍu-kambal-ín- 'chariot covered with a white rug'.

4.2.12 ¹dvaípa-²vaíyāghr-át=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dvaípa-a- 'panther's skin' and vaíyāghr-a- 'tiger's skin' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote 'chariot covered or enveloped with' 10].

dvaípa-ena pári-vṛ-ta-h = dvaípa+aÑ = dvaípṭ-a- 'chariot covered with panther skin'; similarly *vaíyāghra+aÑ = vaíyāghrṭ-a-*.

4.2.13 *kaumār-ā=ā-pūrva-vacan-e*

The expression *kaumār-ā* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āN* 1.83 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 *kumārī*] to denote the sense of 'not betrothed to anyone before' (*ā-pūrva-vacan-e*).

This form is derived from *kumārī* 'virgin', ending in the second sUP triplet with affix *āN* to denote the husband: *ā-pūrva-pati-m kumārī-m pāti-r upā-pan-na-h* = *kumārā+ÑIP+dN* = *kaumar-dh pāti-h* 'who has married a maiden who was not married previously'; similarly *ā-pūrva-pati-h kumārī pāti-m upā-pan-nā* = *kaumārā+ÑIP* (1.15) = *kaumār-f* 'a maiden not previously married but now married'.

4.2.14 *tā-tra=úd-dhṛ-ta-m āmatre-bhyaḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *aN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*tā-tra*) and designating a vessel (*āmatre-bhyaḥ*) to denote the sense of 'lifted and placed therein'.

śārāve-ṣu úd-dhṛ-ta-m = *śārāva+dN* = *śārāv-a-h odand-h* 'rice lifted and placed in dishes'. The term [*úd-dhṛ-ta-*] normally denotes 'lifting up' and should govern the fifth sUP triplet (ablative case) but the notion of lifting and placing denotes the locus and justifies the use of the locative. *Kāśikā* gives a technical meaning to this term as *bhuktā = ūc=chiṣ=ṭa-* 'leavings, remnants of food (after eating)'.

4.2.15 *sthaṇḍil-āt śayitār-i vrat-é*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sthaṇḍila-* 'bare ground' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14] to denote the sense of 'sleeping thereon' (*śayitār-i*) as part of a vow (*vrat-é*).

sthaṇḍil-e śāy-i-tum vratā-m a-śyā = *sthaṇḍila+dN* = *sthaṇḍilḥ+dN* = *sthaṇḍil-ā-h bhikṣū-h* 'an ascetic who sleeps on the bare ground in fulfilment of a vow'.

4.2.16 *sām-s-kr̥-ta-m bhakṣ-āḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14] to denote items of food (*bhakṣ-āḥ*) cooked therein (*sām-s-kr̥-ta-m*).

bhrāśtr-e sāmśkr̥t-am = *bhrāśtra+dN* = *bhrāśtr-ā-h apūpā-h* 'cake fried in the frying pan'.

4.2.17 $śūla=^{2}ukh-āt=yāT$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $yāT$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] $śūla-$ 'spit' and $ukhā$ 'cooking pot' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

$śūl-e śamskṛtam = śūla+yāT = śūl-ya-$ 'roasted on a spit'; $ukh-ya-$ 'cooked in a pot' (6.4.64).

4.2.18 $dādhn-aḥ=ṭhāK$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $ṭhāK$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] $dādhi-$ 'curds' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

$dāddhan-i śamskṛtam = dādhi+ṭhāK = dādh-ikā-$ (7.3.50) 'cooked in curds'.

4.2.19 $udaśvīt-aḥ=anya-tarā-syām$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $ṭhāK$ 18] is optionally ($anya-tarā-syām$) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] $udaśvīt-$ 'whey' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

Alternates with the general affix $āN$ (1.83): $udaśvīt-i śamskṛtam = udaśvīt+ṭhāK/āN = audaśvīt-kā-$ (7.3.51)/ $audaśvīt-ā-$ 'cooked in whey'.

4.2.20 $kṣīr-āt=dhañ$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $dhañ$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] $kṣīrā-$ 'milk' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

$kṣīr-e śamskṛtam = kṣīrā+dhañ = kṣāfr-ya-$ (7.1.2) 'cooked in milk'.

4.2.21 $sā=a-smñ paurṇamāsī=iti (sañjñā-yām)$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $āN$ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet ($sā$) and denoting the name of the full-moon night ($paurṇamāsī$) to designate a name ($sañjñā-yām$) of the period in which that full-moon night falls.

The form so derived denotes either the month, fortnight or year. In the original

sūtra the word [saṁjñā-yaṁ] did not occur, but was introduced by later Pāṇinīyas on the authority of a vārttika. The derived word does not signify a period of less than fifteen days or the intercalary month.

paus̥ paurṇamās̥ a-smīn = *paus̥+āN* ~ *paus̥θ+ā-* (6.4.148) = *paus̥-ā-h māsa-h/ardha-mās̥-ā-h/sarhvaśard̥-h* 'month/half-month/year in which the Paus̥ full-moon night occurs'.

4.2.22 ¹āgrahāyaṇī=²āśvatth-āt=³tháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] āgrahāyaṇī and āśvatthá- 'names of full-moon nights' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to designate the name of the period in which these full-moon nights occur 21].

āgr-e háyana-m a-syāḥ = *agrā+θ¹+hāyana+āN* (5.4.3)+*ñIP* (1.15) = *āgra-hāyaṇ-ī paurṇamās̥ a-smīn* = *āgra-hāyaṇ-ī+tháK* = *āgra-hāyaṇ-ikā-* month/half-month/year in which Āg. full-moon occurs', similarly: *āśvatth-ēna yuk-tā paurṇamās̥ a-smīn* = *āśvatth-ikā-* 'month/half-month/year in which the full-moon is in conjunction with the asterism Aśv.'

4.2.23 vibhāṣā ¹phālgunī-²śrávaṇā-³kārttikī-⁴caitrī-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tháK 22] is optionally introduced (vibhāṣā) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] phālgunī, śrávaṇā, kārttikī and caitrī 'names of full-moon nights' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote the period in which they occur 21].

The option is in respect of the obligatory affix āN (1.83): *phālgunī paurṇamās̥ a-smīn* *phālgunī+tháK/āN* = *phālgun-ikā/phālgun-ā-* 'month/fort-night/year in which the Ph. full-moon night occurs'; similarly: *kārttik-ikā/kārttik-ā-*; *śrávaṇ-ikā/śrávaṇ-ā-*; *caitr-ikā/caitr-ā-*.

4.2.24 ¹sā=a-syá devá-tā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] representing a divinity (devá-tā) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sā) to denote 'that is its (a-syá) divinity'.

indra-h devá-tā a-syá havis-ah = *indra+āN* = *aindr-ā-m haviḥ* 'a sacrificial oblation of which Indra is the divinity'.

4.2.25 *ká-sya* iT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *ká-* 'n. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'that is its divinity' 24] and the substitute element short i(T) replaces (its stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 before the affix).

ká-h̄ prajā-patī-r devā-tā a-syd = ká+d̄N = ki+d̄N = kai+d̄ (7.2.115) = kay-d̄-m̄
(6.1.78) *hāvi-h̄* 'sacrificial oblation offered to Ka'.

4.2.26 *śukr-āt=gha*N

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *gha*N is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *śukrá-* 'n. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity; 24].

śukrá+ghaN - śukr̥ṣ-īya-m̄ hāviḥ 'sacrificial oblation offered to Śukrá'.

4.2.27 ¹*apó-náptṛ=²apām-náptṛ-bhyām* *gha-h̄*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *gha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *apó-náptṛ-* and *apām-náptṛ-* 'n.pr. of divinities' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity 24].

apó-náptṛ+gha = apo-naptr-īya-m̄ hāviḥ; apām-naptr-īya-m̄ hāviḥ.

4.2.28 *cha ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* (= *īya* 7.2.2) is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *apó-náptṛ-* and *apām-náptṛ-* 27 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity 24].

apo-naptr-īya-/apām-naptr-īya-.

4.2.29 *mahendr-āt=¹gha=²áN-au* *ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *gha* and *áN* are introduced in addition to (*ca*) [cha 28 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *mahendrā-* 'n.pr. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

mahendrā+gha/áN/cha = mahendr-īya-/māhendr-á-/mahendr-īya-.

4.2.30 *sóm-āt=ṬyáN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬyáN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sóma-* 'n.pr. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

sóma-h devāta a-syá hdiviṣ-aḥ = *sóma+ṬyáN* = *saum-yá-th hdivih*, *saum-yá+NIP* (1.15) = *saumθθ+f rK* (6.4.148, 150).

4.2.31 *'vāyú=²ṛtú-³pitṛ=⁴úṣas-aḥ=yàT*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *vāyú-*, *ṛtú*, *pitṛ-* and *úṣas-* 'names of divinities' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

vāyú+yàT = *vāyo+yàT* (6.4.148) = *vāyav-yà-* (6.1.79); *ṛtav-yà-*; *pitr-ya-* (7.4.27; 6.4.148) *uṣas-yà-*.

4.2.32 *'dyāvā-prthiví-²śúnāsīra-³marútvat=⁴agní-ṣóma-⁵vāstoṣ-pāti-⁶grha-medh-āt=cha ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha*, in addition to (*ca*) [*yàT* 31 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *dyāvā-prthiví*, *śúnā-sīra*, *marút-vat*-, *agní-ṣóma*-, *vāstoṣ-pāti*- and *grha-medhā*- 'names of divinities' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

dyaús ca prthiví ca = *dyāvā-prthivy-aú devā-te asyá* = *dyāvā-prthiví+cha/yàT* = *dyāvā-prthiví-fya-/°-prthiv-yà-*, 'of which Heaven and Earth are divinities'. Similarly: *śunā-sīr-fya-/°-sīr-yà-*; *marut-vat-fya-/°-marut-vat-yà-*; *agní-ṣom-fya-/°-som-yà-*; *vāstoṣ-patí-fya-/°-pat-ya-*; *grha-medh-fya-/°-medh-yà-*.

4.2.33 *agné-r ḍhák*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ḍhák* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *agní-* 'n. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

agní-r devā-tā a-syá = *agní+ḍhák* = *agn-eyá-* 'consecrated to Agni as divinity'.

4.2.34 *kālē-bhyaḥ=bhava-vāt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 3.1.2] designating time (*kālē-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24] are the same as those introduced [after 3.1.2] in the section dealing with *bháva* affixes (3.11-52 below).

māsa-h devā-tā a-syā = māsa+ṭhaṆ (3.11) = *mās-ika-* 'consecrated to Māsa ('month') as divinity'; similarly *sāmvatsar-ika-* consecrated to *Sāmvatsarā* ('year') as divinity'.

4.2.35 *¹mahārājá-²proṣṭha-pad-āt=ṭhaṆ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaṆ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *mahārājá-* and *proṣṭha-padá-* [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

mahārājá-h devā-tā a-syā = mahārājá+ṭhaṆ = māhā-rāj-ika-; *proṣṭha-padd+ṭhaṆ = prauṣṭha-pad-ika-*.

4.2.36 *¹pitṛvyā-²mātulá-³mātāmahá-⁴pitāmah-āḥ*

The finished expressions *pitṛvyā-* 'father's brother', *mātulá-* mother's brother', *mātāmahá-* 'mother's father' and *pitāmahá-* 'father's father' are introduced as derivatives [with taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1].

The actual derivation is given by *vārttikas*: *pitṛ+vyāT = pitṛ-vyā-*; *māṭṛ+DulāC = māt-ulā-*; *māṭṛ/pitṛ+DāmahāC = mātā-mahá-/pitā-mahá-*. This last affix is deemed to be marked with *Ṣ* as *IT* so that the maternal/paternal grandmothers are derived from these expressions with affix [*ŃfS*]: *mātā-mah-f/pitā-mah-f*.

4.2.37 *tá-sya sam-ūhá-ḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *áṆ* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote a 'collection thereof' (*tásya samūháḥ*).

The scope of application of this rule is restricted to stems denoting conscious objects (*cittavāt-* 47), having *ánudāta* accent on their first syllable (*ánudāttādi-* 44), and not being a patronymic (*á-gotra-* 46) and not covered by any of the subsequent rules up to 51 below: cf. 44, 46 and 47 in this connection where respectively [*aṆ*], [*vuṆ*] and [*ṭhák*] are introduced in the place of [*áṆ*].

śūkā-nām samūhá-h = śūkā+áṆ = śauk-ā-m 'a flight of parrots'. Similarly: *kāka-nām samūhá-h = kāk-ā-m* 'flight of crows'.

4.2.38 $bhikṣā=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $āN$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 3.1.1] beginning with $bhikṣā$ 'alms' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

The repetition of [$āN$] in this rule when it was already recurring by the governing rule 1.83 is to block out the operation of 44 below in the case of [$bhikṣā$] et al.

$bhikṣā-nām samāhā-h = bhikṣā+āN = bhaikṣā-d-m$ 'collection of alms'.
 $garbh-īn-nām samāhā-h = garbhīn-d-m$ (8.4.164) 'group of pregnant women'.

4.2.39 ${}^1\text{gotrā}={}^2\text{ukṣā}(n)={}^3\text{úṣṭra}={}^4\text{urabhra-}{}^5\text{rājan-}{}^6\text{rājanyā-}{}^7\text{rāja-putrā-}{}^8\text{vatsā-}{}^9\text{manuṣyā-}{}^{10}\text{aj-āt}=\text{vuṆ}$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $vuṆ$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] $gotrā$ [affixes 3.1.1] and [the nominal stems 1.1] $ukṣān-$ 'ox', $úṣṭra-$ 'camel', $urabhra-$ 'ram', $rājan-$ 'king', $rājanyā-$ 'royal personage', $rāja-putrā-$ 'prince', $vatsā-$ 'calf', $manuṣyā-$ 'man' and $ajā-$ 'goat' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection or group thereof' 37].

By interpretation the word [$gotrā$] denotes a descendant in general and not its technical meaning (1.162) of one starting with the grandson, this being confined to the section on patronymics only.

$aupagavā-nām = upagór-dpatyā-nām samāhā-h = aupagav-d+vuṆ = aúpagav-aka-m$ 'a group of Upagú's descendants'.

Similarly: $aúkṣ-aka-m$ 'herd of oxen'; $aúṣṭr-aka-m$, $aúrabhr-aka-m$; $rāj-aka-m$; $rājany-aka-m$; $rāja-putr-aka-m$; $vāts-aka-m$; $mānuṣy-aka-m$; $áj-aka-m$.

4.2.40 $kedār-āt=yaṆ=ca$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $yaṆ$ is introduced in addition to (ca) [$vuṆ$ 39 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] $kedāra-$ 'irrigated field' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

$kedārā-nām samāhā-h = kedāra+yaṆ/vuṆ = kaídār-ya-m/kaídār-aka-$ 'a group of irrigated fields'.

4.2.41 $ṭhaṆ kavacín-as=ca$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $ṭhaṆ$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] $kavacín-$ 'covered with armor', in addition to (ca) [$kedāra-$ 40, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

kavacñ-āṁ samūhā-h = *kavacñ+thaN̄* = *kavaciṭh+ikaN̄* (8.4.144) = *kāvaciṭh-ika-* (8.4.148) 'a group of armor-bearers'; similarly *kedāra-ñāṁ samūhā-h* = *kāśdār-ika-m*.

4.2.42 ¹brāhmaṇá-²māṇavá-³vāḍav-āt=yaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] brāhmaṇá- 'brahmin', māṇavá- 'pupil, lad' and vāḍava- 'brahmin' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection of group thereof' 37].

brāhmaṇá-nāṁ samūhā-h = *brāhmaṇá+yaN* = *brāhmaṇ-ya-m* 'a group of brahmins'; similarly *māṇav-ya-m*; *vāḍav-ya-m*.

4.2.43 ¹grāma-²jána-³bāndhu-⁴sahāyē-bhyas=taL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] taL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grāma- 'village', jána- 'individual, person', bāndhu- 'kin' and sahāyá- 'ally' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

grāmā-ñāṁ samūhā-h = *grāma+taL+TāP* (1.4) = *grāmā-t-ā* 'a group of villages' and likewise: *janā-tā* 'population, people in general'; *bāndhū-t-ā* 'group of kinspeople'; *sahāyā-t-ā* 'group of allies or aides'.

4.2.44 ān-udātt-āde-r aN̄

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aN̄ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing a low-pitched vowel (ān-udātta-°) on its first syllable (°-ādē-h) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

kāpōtā-nāṁ samūhā-h = *kāpōtā+aN̄* = *kāpot-a-m* 'a flight of pigeons'; *mayāra-ñāṁ samūhā-h* = *māyār-a-m* 'a flight of peacocks'.

4.2.45 khāṇḍika=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN̄ 44] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with khāṇḍika- 'pupil' (i.e., one who learns section by section) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a group thereof' 37].

The stems have a high-pitched accent (udātta) on their first syllable and are thus excluded from the previous rule;

khāṇḍikā-nām samūhā-h = *khāṇḍika+aṅ* = *khāṇḍik-a-m* 'a group of pupils'.

4.2.46 *cāraṇe-bhyaḥ=dharma-vāt*

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of Vedic schools (*cāraṇe-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37] are the same as those introduced in section (3.126-33 below) for *dhārma*.

In 3.116 below [*gotra-caraṇ-āt=vuṅ*] that affix is restricted by a vārttika to denote either [*dhārma*] or [*āmnāyā*] and it is the first significance which is involved here. *kaṭhā-nām samūhā-h* = *kaṭhā+vuṅ* = *kāṭhak-a-m* 'a group of Ks.' *kālāpā-nām samūhā-h* = *kālāpak-a-m*.

4.2.47 ¹ā-citta-²hastī(n)-³dhenū-s=ṭhāk

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhāk is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting inanimate objects (¹ā-citta-") and [the nominal stems 1.1] *hastin-* 'elephant', and *dhenū-* 'milch cow' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection or group thereof' 37].

Exception to [aṅ] and [āṅ].

1. inanimate: *apūpā-nām samūhā-h* = *apūpā+ṭhāk* = *āpūp-kā-m* 'a collection of cakes'.
2. *hastī-nām samūhā-h* = *hastīn+ṭhāk* = *hāsti-kā-m* 'herd of elephants'.
3. *dhenū-nām samūhā-h* = *dhainu-kā-m*.

4.2.48 ¹kéśa=²śśvā-bhyām ¹yaṅ=²ch-au=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *yaṅ* and *cha* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *kéśa-* 'hair' and *śśva-* 'horse' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*).

The option here is with respect to the affix [ṭhāk 47 above]. *kéśa-nām samūhā-h* = *kéśa+yaṅ/ṭhāk* = *kaśś-ya-m/kaśś-ikā-m*; *śśvā-nām samūhā-h* = *śśva+cha/dṅ* (37) = *śśv-śya-m/śśv-ā-m*.

4.2.49 páśa=ādi-bhyah=yá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with páśa- 'noose' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection there of' 37].

páśa-nām samūhā-ḥ = páśa+ya+TāP (1.4) = pāś-y-ā 'a collection of nooses'. These derivatives are naturally feminine and the affix [TāP 1.4] is introduced after affix [yá]. Similarly: *tṛṇ-y-ā* 'a cluster or stack of grass'.

4.2.50 ¹khála-²gó-³ráth-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yá 49 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] khála- 'threshing floor', gó- 'cow or bull' and rátha- 'chariot' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

khálā-nām: samūhā-ḥ = khála+yá+TāP = khal-y-ā 'a collection of threshing floors'; *gav-y-ā* 'herd of cattle'; *rath-y-ā* 'group of chariots'. Excluded from 49 above, since 51 applies only to these.

4.2.51 ¹ñi-²trá-³kaṭyáC-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ñi, trá and kaṭyáC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 khála-, gó- and rátha- 50, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

khála+ñi+NIP (1.5) = khal-ñi-I; gó+trá+TāP (1.4) = gō-tr-ā; rátha+kaṭyá+TāP = ratha-kaṭy-ā.

4.2.52 viṣayá-ḥ=deś-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37] to denote a region dominated or inhabited (by the agent) (viṣayá-ḥ=deś-é).

śibi-nām viṣayā-ḥ deśā-ḥ = śibi+áN = śaiś-ā-ḥ 'country dominated by the Śibis'. Similarly *āṅg-ā-ḥ/vāṅg-ā-ḥ* country dominated or inhabited by Aṅgas/Vaṅgas'.

4.2.53 *rājanyā=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuṅ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuṅ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *rājanyā-* 'royal personage' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37 to denote 'a region dominated or inhabited by' 52].

rājanyā-nām viśayā deśā-h = *rājanyā+vuṅ* = *rājanyāka-h* 'country inhabited or dominated by royal personages'.

4.2.54 ¹*bhaūriki=ādi-²aśukāri=ādi-bhyaḥ*

¹*vidhaL=*²*bhaktaL-au*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *vidhaL* and *bhaktaL* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the classes of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *bhaūriki-* and with *aśu-kāri-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37 to denote a region inhabited or dominated by them 52].

bhaūrikī-nām viśayā-h deśā-h = *bhaūriki+vidhaL* = *bhauriki-vidha-h*;
aśukāri+bhaktaL = *aśukārī-bhakta-h* 'country dominated or inhabited by Aś.''

4.2.55 *sā-h=a-syā=ādī-r iti=chāndas-aḥ pragāthé-ṣu*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a meter (*chāndas-aḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (*sā-h*) to denote 'it is the beginning (*ādī-h*) in stanzas (*pra-gāthé-ṣu*).

panktī-r ādī-r a-syā = *panktī+dN* = *pankti-d-h pragāthā-h* 'stanza beginning with a panktī metre'.

4.2.56 *sam-grām-é¹pra-yó-j-ana-²yod-dhḥ-bhyaḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the object (*pra-yó-j-ana-*) or the combatant (*-yod-dhḥ-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 55] to denote a battle (*sam-grām-é*).

sūbhadrā pra-yó-j-ana-m a-syā sam-grāmā-sya = *sūbhadrā+dN* = *saubhadrā-d-h*
'battle fought for winning Sūbhadrā'; *bharatāḥ yoddhār-aḥ a-syā* = *bharatā+dN*
= *bhāratā-dh sam-grāmā-h* 'battle in which the Bharatās are the warriors'.

4.2.57 $tád\ a-syám\ pra-hár-aṇa-m\ iti\ krīḍā-yām\ Nā-h$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $Nā$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a weapon ($pra-hár-aṇa-m$) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet ($tád$) to denote a game or sport in which it is a weapon ($a-syám\ krīḍā-yām$).

$daṇḍā-h\ pra-hár-aṇa-m\ a-syám = daṇḍā+Na+TāP = dāṇḍ-ā\ krīḍā$ 'a game in which sticks are used as a weapon'; similarly $mauṣṭ-ā$ 'a game of fisticuffs or fist fight'.

4.2.58 $GHa\tilde{N}-aḥ\ sâ=a-syám\ kriyâ=iti\ \tilde{N}a-h$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $\tilde{N}a$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] $GHa\tilde{N}$, expressing action ($kriyâ$), [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet ($sâ$) to denote 'this action ($kriyâ$) is taking place in this ($a-syám$)'.

$pat+GHa\tilde{N} = pāta-h$ 'alighting, chase'; $śyend-sya\ pātā-h\ a-syám\ kriyâ-yām = śyena+θ^1+pātā+Na+TāP = śyaina+nuM+pāt-ā$ (6.3.71) = $śyaina-m-pāt-ā$ 'falconry'.

4.2.59 $tád\ ádhīte\ tád\ véda$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $āN$ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet ($tád$) to denote 'studies or knows it' ($ádhīte/véda$).

$chāndaḥ\ ádhīte/véda\ vā = chāndaś+āN = chāndaś-ā-h$ 'who studies or knows Chāndaś (= metrics/Vedas)'; $vy-ā-kār-aṇa-am\ ádhīte\ véda\ vā = vai-yā-kar-aṇā-h$ 'who studies or knows grammar'.

4.2.60 $^1krātu=^2ukthá=ādi-^3sūtra=ant-āt=tháK$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $tháK$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating names of a sacrifice ($krātu-$) and the class of expressions beginning with $ukthá-$ 'n.pr. of a recitation' and words ending in $^3sūtra-$ [terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

$agni-ṣtomā-m\ ádhīte\ véda\ vā = agni-ṣtomā+tháK = agni-ṣtom-ikā-h$ 'who studies or knows A.'; similarly $aukth-ikā-$ 'who knows or studies U.', $vārttika-sūtrā-m\ ádhīte\ véda\ vā = vārttika-sūtr-ikā-h$.

4.2.61 *krāma=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuN*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *krāma-* 'a mode of Vedic recitation' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

krāma-m ādhīte veda vā = krāma+vuN = krām-ika-h; padām ādhīte veda vā = pād-ika-h 'who studies or knows the Pada-pāṭha'.

4.2.62 *anu-brāhmaṇ-āt=īnī-h*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *īnī* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *anu-brāhmaṇ-* 'secondary Brāhmaṇa' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

anu-brāhmaṇ-m ādhīte veda vā = anu-brāhmaṇ+īn = anu-brāhmaṇ-īn-.

4.2.63 *vasantā=ādi-bhyaḥ=ṭhāK*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *vasantā-* 'a text pertaining to Spring' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

vasantā-m ādhīte veda vā = vasantā+ṭhāK = vāsant-ikā-h.

4.2.64 *proktāt=luK*

luK (Ø¹) replaces [the *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a *proktā* (3.101-11) [affix 3.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

pāṇini-nā proktā-m = pāṇini+cha (114) = *pāṇin-īya-m*, *tad ādhīte veda vā = pāṇin-īya+dN = pāṇin-īyaḥ¹-h* 'who studies or knows P.'

In the feminine gender, affix [Tāp 1.4] functions: *pāṇin-īy-a*; if Ø¹ did not replace *dN* by this rule, the masculine and feminine forms would have been **pāṇin-īy-d-/pāṇin-īy-f* (1.15).

4.2.65 sūtr-āt=ca ká=upadh-āt

[luK (θ¹) 64 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a sūtra 'aphorism' containing phoneme [k] as penultimate and [ending in 1.1.71 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

pānin-īya-m dṣṭaka-m dāhṇe veda vā = dṣṭaka+āN = aṣṭak-ā-h 'who studies or knows P's Aṣṭ.'

4.2.66 'chāndas=²brāhmaṇā-n-i ca tād-viṣayā-ṇi

The names of Vedic and Brāhmaṇa texts [ending in 1.1.72 proktá 3.101-11 affixes 3.1.1, with θ¹ replacing them 64] denote the same (tād-viṣayā-ṇ-i = 'learner or knower' 59 of the texts).

kāth-ēna proktām dāhṇe veda vā = kātha+āN (3.104) = kātha+θ¹ (3.107) = kāthā+āN (1.83) = kāthā+θ¹ (64) = kāthā-h 'who studies or knows the K. recension promulgated by K.' Similarly aitarey-ēna proktā-m brāhmaṇā-m dāhṇe veda vā = aitareyā+āN = aitarey-īn+āN (1.83) = aitarey-īn+θ¹ (64) = aitarey-īn- 'who studies or knows Ait. Br.'

4.2.67 tād a-smín ās-ti=iti deś-é tán-nāmn-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1, ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tād) to denote 'it is in this place' (a-smín deś-é ās-ti) bearing its name (tán-nāmn-i).

udumbārāḥ a-smín deś-e ās-anti = udumbāra+āN = audumbar-ā-h 'n.pr. of a place abounding in Ud. trees (Ficus Glomerata)'; similarly pārvat-ā-h 'n.pr. of a hilly region'.

4.2.68 t-ēna nīr-vṛt-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-ēna) to denote 'completed by him' (nīr-vṛt-ta-m) [to indicate a placename 67].

kuśāmb-ena nīr-vṛt-tā nāgar-I = kuśāmba+āN+āNP (1.15) = kuśāmb-f 'n.pr. of a city built or completed by K.'

4.2.69 tá-sya ni-vās-ā-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'a residence' (ni-vās-āh) [indicating a placename 67].

śibmān viśayo deśā-h = śibi+dN = śaib-d-h(52).

4.2.70 ā-dūra-bhava-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 69] to denote 'situated not far from it' (ā-dūra-bhava-h) [indicating a placename 67].

vidiśā-yāh ā-dūra-bhava-m nāgara-m = vidiśā+dN = vaidiś-d-m 'n.pr. of a city near V.'

4.2.71 o-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] [terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets denoting the meanings listed in 67-70 above to indicate a placename 67].

1. *karkaṭav-aḥ a-smīn deś-ē a-ānti = karkaṭu+aÑ = kārkaṭav-a-h* 'n.pr. of a place abounding in K. (Numidian) cranes'; similarly: *kākṣatav-a-h* 'region teeming with kakṣatu plants'.
2. According to Nyāsa on Kaśikā the following three examples illustrate 67-69:
 - (a) *araḍav-aḥ a-smīn deś-ē a-ānti = aradu+aÑ = āraḍava-m* (67).
 - (b) *kakṣatu-nā nṛ-ṛt-ta-m = kākṣatav-a-m* (68).
 - (c) *karkatā-nām nivāsa-h = kārkaṭav-a-m* (69).

4.2.72 matO-s=ca bahu=āC=aṅg-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] which is polysyllabic (bahu=āC=aṅg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] matUP [and terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above to indicate a placename 67].

śidhrakā-vān a-smīn deś-ti = śidhrakā-vat+aÑ = śaśidhrakā-vat-a-m 'n.pr. of a region (abounding in śidhraka trees)'.

The qualifying word [bahu=āC=aṅga] applies to the pre-affixal base before affix [matUP], so that in non-polysyllabic pre-affixal stems this affix has no domain: *mālā-vat+dN = mālāvat-d-m.*

4.2.73 bahu=áC-aḥ kúpe-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahu=áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70] to designate a well (kúpe-ṣu).

dīrghā-varatr-eṇa nīr-vṛt-ta-h = *dīrghā-varatra+aÑ* = *daīrgha-varatr-a-h kúpa-h*
(68) 'a well completed or built by D.'

vykṣa-mūlā-sya dāra-bhava-h = *vārkṣa-mūl-a-h kúpa-h* (70) 'a well situated near the roots of a tree'

4.2.74 udák ca vipāś-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 to designate a well 73] situated on the northern bank of the river Vipāś.

This provides for the introduction of [aÑ] after non-polysyllabic stems also, provided the situation of the well is as specified: *datt-ēna nīr-vṛt-ta-h kúpa-h* = *dātt-a-h* 'well situated on the northern bank of river V. and built or completed by D.'

4.2.75 sām-kala=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with sām-kala- 'multitude' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

sām-kal-ena nīr-vṛt-ta-h = *sām-kal-a-h* 'built or completed by S.' (a region) 68.

4.2.76 strīṣú ¹sauvīrá-²sālvá-³prāk-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 to designate placenames 67] in the feminine gender (strī-ṣú) situated in the Sauvīrá and Sālvá and the Eastern regions.

1. Sauvīra: *dattā-mitr-eṇa nīr-vṛt-tā nāgarī* (68) = *dāttā-mitr-I* (1.15) 'n.pr. of a city built by D.'

2. Sālvā: *vidhāmāgni-nā nṛ-vṛt-tā = vaidhāmāgni-ī nāgarī*.

3. Prāc-ī: *kakand-ena nṛ-vṛt-tā = kākand-ī nāgarī*.

4.2.77 suvāstu=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with su-vāstu- 'n.pr. of a river' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

su-vāstu-r d-dāra-bhava-rh nāgara-m (70) = *suvāstu+āN = sauvāstav-d-m* 'n.pr. of a city near the river S.' This is an exception to 71 above (aN) and also a prior exception to 85 below: *sauvāstav-d+ñIP* (1.15) = *sauvāstav-f nadf*.

4.2.78 roṇī

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] roṇī [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

The expression [roṇī] in the sūtra is indicative of the fact that the affix is introduced after it when it occurs either by itself or as a final member in composition: *roṇī+āN = rauṇ-āḥ kūpa-ḥ* 'a well built or completed by R.' Similarly *ājaka-roṇ-ā-ḥ* 'well built or completed by Ajakaroṇī'.

4.2.79 kA=upadh-ēt=ca

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate also (ca) [and ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

trī-saṅku-nā nṛ-vṛt-ta-ḥ = trī-saṅkav-d-ḥ kūpa-ḥ (73) 'well built or completed by T.' Exception to aN (71,73).

4.2.80 ¹vuñ-²chañ-³kā-⁴ṭhāC=⁵ilā-⁶sā-⁷ñi-⁸rā-⁹ḍhañ-¹⁰ñyā-¹¹yā-¹²phāK-¹³phiñ-¹⁴iñ-¹⁵ñya-¹⁶kāK-¹⁷ṭhāK-ah ¹arīhaṇa-²kṛśāsva=³śya-⁴kúmuda-⁵kāśā-⁶ṭṭṇa-⁷prekṣā-⁸śśma(n)-⁹sākhi-¹⁰sām-kāśa-¹¹bāla-¹²pakṣā-¹³kārṇa-¹⁴sutaṁ-gamā-¹⁵pragadīn-¹⁶varāhā-¹⁷kúmuda=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The seventeen taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with vuñ and end-

ing with *tháK* are respectively introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stem classes 1.1] beginning with *arthaṇa-* and ending with *kúmuda-*² [terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above (i.e., to denote a placename *deś-e tan-nāmn-i*)].

- (1) *arthaṇa+vuN̄ = árti-haṇ-aka-* 'n.pr. of a locality'.
- (2) *kṛśśeva+chaN̄ = kārśśev-sya-*.
- (3) *śśya+ká = śśya-ká-*.
- (4) *kúmuda¹+tháC = kumud-iká-*.
- (5) *kāśá+lla = kāś-lla-*.
- (6) *tīṇa+śá = tīṇa-śá-*.
- (7) *prekṣá+ín = prekṣ-ín-*.
- (8) *śśman+rd = śśmaθ-rá* (6.4.144).
- (9) *śákhi+dhaN̄ = śákhi-ya-*.
- (10) *śám-kāśa+N̄yá = śám-kāś-yá-* 'n.pr. of a town'.
- (11) *bāla+yá = bál-yá-* (6.4.148).
- (12) *pakṣá+pháK = pákṣ-āyaṇá-*.
- (13) *kárṇa+phiN̄ = kárṇ-āyani-*.
- (14) *sutarṇ-gamá+iN̄ = saútarṇ-gam-í-*.
- (15) *pragadín+N̄ya = prágadθθ-ya* (6.4.144,148).
- (16) *varahá+káK = vārāha-ká-*.
- (17) *kúmuda²+tháK = kaumud-iká-*.

4.2.81 janapad-é luP

luP (θ^3) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above] when designating an inhabited country (janapad-é).

pañcalá-nām ni-vās-d-h janapadá-h = pañcalá+dN̄ (69)+Jas = pañcalá+ θ^3 +Jas = pañcaláḥ. Replacement by luP (θ^3) does not affect either gender or number (1.2.51).

4.2.82 varaṇá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP (θ^3) replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *varaṇá* also (ca) [to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

This rule covers cases of stems which do not designate an inhabited country;
varaṇá-nām ddāra-bhava-m nágara-m (70) = varaṇá+(dN̄- θ^3)+Jas = varaṇáḥ
 'a city near V.'

4.2.83 śárkarā-yāḥ=vā

[luP (0³) 81] optionally (vā) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śárkarā 'rocks' [to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above to denote a placename 67].

This word is included in the nominal stem-classes beginning with [kūmudā¹ (4)] and [varāḥā-(16)] of 80 above, so that four affixes are alternately introduced after it: [āN 1.83], [ṭhāC (80d)], [kāK (80p)], [0³]; śárkar-ā- (1.83), śárkar-āḥ- (80d), śárkara-kā- (80p) and śárkarā.

4.2.84 ṭhāK-²ch-au ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhāK and cha are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 śárkarā 83 ending in the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above].

śárkarā+ṭhāK/cha = śárkar-ikā- / śárkar-īya-.

4.2.85 nady-ām matUP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above] when designating a river (nady-ām).

udumbārāḥ yā-syām s-ānti = udumbāra+matuP+ñiP (1.6) = udumbarā- (6.3.119) +vat-I - udumbarā-vat-I (6.1.219; 8.2.9) 'n.pr. of a river on the banks of which abound Udumbāra trees (Ficus Glomerata)'.

4.2.86 mādhu=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 matUP 85] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with mādhu- 'honey, mead' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

This rule is to designate objects other than rivers: mādhu a-smān ā-sti = mādhu+matUP = mādhu-mat- 'region abounding in honey, land of honey'.

4.2.87 ¹kúmuda-²naḍá-³vetasé-bhyaḥ=ḌmatUP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌmatUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúmuda- 'lotus', naḍá- 'reed' and vetasá- 'cane' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

kú-muda+ḌmatUP = kúmud⁰+matUP (6.4.143) = kúmud-vat- (8.2.9); on the same pattern: naḍ-vát-, vetas-vát- (6.1.176; 8.2.10) 'regions abounding respectively in lotuses, reeds and canes'.

4.2.88 ¹naḍá-²śāḍ-āt=ḌvaláC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌvaláC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naḍá- 'reed' and śāḍa- 'young grass' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70].

naḍá+ḌvaláC = naḍ⁰+valá (6.4.143) = naḍ-valá- 'region abounding in reeds'; similarly śāḍ-valá- 'region where young grass is in abundance'.

4.2.89 śíkhā-yāḥ=valáC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] valáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śíkhā 'peak, summit' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above].

śíkhā-valá-m nāma nágara-m 'n.pr. of a city abounding in peaks or summits'.

4.2.90 utkará=ādi-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with utkará- 'rubbish, heap' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

utkará+cha = utkar-fya-m nágarā-m 'a city abounding in rubbish/heap'.

4.2.91 naḍá=ādi-nām kuK ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 90 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with naḍá- 'reed' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above] and (ca) the final increment (k) is introduced after it (before the affix cha).

naḍá+cha = *naḍa-k-īya-m naḍara-m* 'city abounding in reeds'

4.2.92 śés-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] provided by rules in the section beginning here are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 when the meaning conditions are] the remainder (śés-e) [with reference to those specified before in 1.92-2.70].

This is a governing rule [adhikārā] heading this section extending up to 3.24 below.

The precise meaning conditions are stated from 3.25 onwards. [śés-e] thus signifies 'previously unspecified' and will be rendered as such below.

4.2.93 ¹rāṣṭrá=²avāra-pār-āt=¹gha=²kh-au

[The taddhita 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] gha and kha are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *rāṣṭrá*- 'kingdom' and *avāra-pārā*- 'the nearer and farther banks' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

rāṣṭrá+gha = *rāṣṭr-īya*- 'born in the kingdom' (3.25).

avāra-pārā+kha = *avāra-pār-īna*- 'belonging to both shores or banks'. By interpretation affix [kha] is introduced after the individual constituents of the compound expression and after a change in their order also: *pārāvar-īna*-; *avār-īna*- 'belonging to this bank' and *pār-īna*- 'belonging to that bank'.

4.2.94 grām-āt=¹yá-²khañ-¹au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yá and khañ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *grāma*- 'village' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

grāma=yá/khañ = *gram-yá-/grām-īna*- 'occurring in or proper to the village' (3.25, 53, etc.).

4.2.95 kátri=ādi-bhyas=ḍhakañ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ḍhakañ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kát-tri* 'three blameworthy objects' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kát-tri+ḍhakañ = *kát-tr-eyaka*- (3.53) 'what belongs to *kát-tri*'; similarly *paúṣkar-eyaka*- 'pertaining to the blue lotus' *púṣkara+ḍhakañ*.

4.2.96 ¹kúla-²kukṣi-³grīvā-bhyas=¹śvā(n)=²asī=³alam-kāre-su

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhakaÑ 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúla- 'family', kukṣi- 'sheath' and grīvā 'neck' to denote [respectively 1.3.10] a dog (śván-), a sword (asī-) and an ornament (alam-kāre-su).

kúla+ḍhakaÑ = *kaul-eyaka-h* = *śvā* (3.53) 'a dog' but in other senses: *kúla+dN* (1.83) 'born' (3.25) or 'occurring in (3.53) a family'. Similarly *kaṁṣa-eyaka-h* = *asī-h* 'sword' but *kauṣa-d* (N 1.83) 'born in a sheath or cocoon'; *grāhu-eyaka-h* = *alam-kāre-d-h* 'necklace'; but *grāhu-d(N)* 'pertaining to the neck'.

4.2.97 nadī=ādi-bhyas=ḍhāK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with nadī 'river' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

nadī+ḍhāK = *nād-eya-* (3.53) 'belonging to the river'; *mahī+ḍhāK* = *māh-eya-* 'belonging to the earth'.

4.2.98 ¹dakṣiṇā-²paścāt-purās-as=tyāK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dakṣiṇā 'in the south', paścāt 'behind' and purās 'before, in front' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

dakṣiṇā+tyāK = *dakṣiṇā-tyā-* 'born or originating in the south'; *pāścāt-tyā-* 'born or originating in the west'; *pauras-tyā-* 'born or originating in the east' (3.25,53).

4.2.99 kāpiśy-ās=ṢphaK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢphaK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kāpiś 'n.pr. of a city' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kāpiś+ṢphaK = *kāpiś-āyanā-m mādhu* 'honey originating in K.'; and *kāpiś-āyanā+NfṢ* (1.41) = *kāpiś-āyan-f drākṣā* 'grape originating in K.'

4.2.100 ranko-r á-manuṣye=áN ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] rañku- 'n.pr. of a region' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to designate (an object) other than a human being (á=manuṣy-e) in addition to (ca) [Ṣphák 99].

ranku+áN/Ṣphák = *rañkau-d-h* / *rañkau-dyañd-h* 'a species of antelope originating in R. region', but *ranku+vuñ* = *rañkau-aka-h* (124) *manuṣyā-h* 'a man born or originating in R.'

4.2.101 ¹dyú-²prác=á³pāc=á⁴údac-⁵pratfc-áh=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dyú- (div-) 'sky'. prác- 'turned towards the east', ápāc- 'turned towards the west', údac- 'turned towards the north' and pratfc- 'turned towards the west' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

dfu+yàT - *dfu-ya-* 'celestial, heavenly, originating in the sky' (3.53); *prác-ya-* 'eastern', *apác-yā-* 'western', *udíc-yā-* 'northern', *pratfc-yā-* 'western'.

4.2.102 kanthā-yās=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kanthā 'n.pr. of a village' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kanthā+ṭhák = *kānth-ikā-* 'born or originating in K.'

4.2.103 várṇu-au vuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 kanthā 102] situated in the Várṇu region [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The word [várṇu] designates a region near the river Várṇu. *kanthā+vuK* = *kānth-akā-* 'born or originating in K. in the region of V.' 'n.pr. of a village or city'.

4.2.104 ávyay-āt tyaP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of an indeclinable (ávyay-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

amā-tyaP = *amā-tya-* 'ministerial officer'; *iḥā-tya-* 'being here'; *kud-tya-* 'being where?'; *ni-tya-* 'permanent'.

4.2.105 ¹aiśāmas=²hyás=³śvás-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tyaP 104] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] aiśāmas- 'in the current year', hyás 'yesterday' and śvás 'tomorrow' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

aiśāmas+tyaP = *aiśāmas-tya-* 'of this or current year', *hyás-tya-* 'pertaining to yesterday'; *śvás-tya-* 'pertaining to tomorrow'.

The alternate forms are generated with affixes [Tyu/Tyul] by 3.23 below.

aiśāmas+tyūT+Tyu/Tyul = *aiśāmas-t-āna-/aiśāmas-tana-*; *hyas-t-āna-/hyás-t-ana-*; *śvas-t-āna-/śvās-t-ana-*.

4.2.106 ¹tīra-²rūpya=uttarapad-āt ¹aÑ-²Ñ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and Ña are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] tīra- 'bank, shore' and rūpya- 'silver', occurring as posterior members (in composition: utara-pad-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kaka-tīr-ē bhāva-h = *kaka-tīrā+aÑ* = *kāka-tīr-a-* 'originating in K.' (3.53); in like manner: *vyka-rūpy-ē bhāva-h* = *vyka-rūpya+Ña* = *vārka-rūpy-a-*. The first expression generates the feminine with affix [ÑiP 1.15] and the second with [TāP 1.4] respectively.

4.2.107 dík-pūrva-pad-āt=ś-samjñā-yam Ña-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with a direction word as a prior member (dík-pūrva-pad-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to derive an expression not signifying a proper name (ś-samjñā-yām).

pūrva-syām śālā-yam bhāva-h (3.53) = *pūrva+θ¹+śāla+Ña* = *paúrva- śāl-a-* 'belonging to the eastern chamber', but when denoting a proper name: *pārveśukāmsamf* (2.1.50)+*aÑ* = *pāru=aiśukāma- sam-ā-* (7.3.14).

4.2.108 *madré-bhyaḥ=aÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *madrá-* 'n.pr. of a people' [co-occurring with a direction word as prior member in composition 107 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

pāru-ṣu madré-ṣu bháva-ḥ = *pāruva-madrá+aÑ* = *pāruva-madr-a-* 'belonging to Eastern Madra'; similarly *āpara-madr-a-*.

4.2.109 *udīcyā-grām-āt=ca bahu=áC-aḥ=ánta=udātt-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 108 is introduced after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (*bahu=áC-aḥ*) [nominal stem 1.1] designating a village name (*grām-āt*) in the north (*udīcyā-*) ending in a high pitched vowel (*ánta=udātt-āt*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

śiva-pur-é bháva-ḥ = *śiva-pura+aÑ* = *śaiva-pur-a-* 'belonging to S.' Similarly *māhā-nagará+aÑ* = *māhā-nagar-a-*.

4.2.110 *prasthá=uttara-pada=²paladī=ādi=³kṣ=upadh-āt=aÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] with *prasthá-* as final member (*prasthá=uttara-pada-*) (in composition) and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *paladī* and those with phoneme [k] as penultimate (*kṣ=upadh-āt*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *māhakt-prasthá+aÑ* = *māhakt-prasth-á-* 'belonging to M.' Exception to 109 above as these are all northern villages.
2. *paladī+aÑ* = *pālad-á-* 'belonging to P.' Those placenames in this group which denote Vāhika villages block out affixes [tāñ, Ōñtha 117 below].
3. k-penultimate: *naiḥnaka+aÑ* = *naiḥmak-á-* 'belonging to N.'

4.2.111 *kāṇva=ādi-bhyaḥ=gotr-é*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āÑ 1.83] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kāṇva-* 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72] a patronymic affix (*gotr-é*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kāṇva-ṣya gotrāpatyam = *kāṇva+yañ* (1.105) = *kāṇv-ya-ḥ*; *tā-ṣya chattrāḥ* = *kāṇv-ya+aÑ* = *kāṇvyā+á* (6.4.148) = *kāṇvyā-á-* (6.4.151)+*Jas* = *kāṇv-áḥ*. Prior exception to [cha] (114 below).

4.2.112 iÑ-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix áÑ 1.93] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the patronymic affix 111] iÑ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Prior exception to [cha 114] below. *dákṣa-sya gotrāpatyá-m* : *dákṣa+iÑ* = *dákṣ-i-h*; *tá-sya chātr-āḥ* = *dákṣ-i+dÑ* = *dákṣ-d+Jas* = *dákṣ-āḥ* 'pupils of Dākṣi'.

4.2.113 ná dvf=aC-aḥ prācya-bharatē-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áÑ 1.83] is not introduced (ná) [after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic (dvy-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the patronymic affix 111 iÑ 112] pertaining to the Eastern Bharatá lineage [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92]

Exception to the preceding rule, whence the subsequent rule (114) becomes applicable: *prauṣṭhā-sya gotrāpatyá-m* = *prauṣṭhā + iÑ* = *prauṣṭh-i-h*; *tá-sya chātr-āḥ* : *prauṣṭhi+cha* (114) = *prauṣṭh-śya+Jas* = *prauṣṭh-śy-āḥ* 'pupils of Prauṣṭhi', but *pānnāgaras=chātr-āḥ* = *pānnāgar-d(N)+Jas* (112); and when not a prācya-bharata: *dákṣ-āḥ* (112).

4.2.114 vṛddh-āt=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing a vṛddhi vowel in its first syllable (1.1.73) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

śālā-yām bhāva-h = *śālā+cha* = *śāl-śya*- 'originating or belonging to a hall or chamber' (3.53). By 1.1.74 pronominal stems beginning with [tyád-] also come under the definition of this technical term: *tyád+cha* = *tyad-śya*- 'his', *mad-śya*- 'mine', *tvad-śya*- 'thine', *asmad-śya*- 'ours', *yuṣmad-śya*- 'yours'.

4.2.115 bhávat-as=¹ṭhák=²chaS-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhák and chaS are introduced [after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 1.1] bhávat(U) (= honorific second person pronoun) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The marker [S] of [chaS] is to indicate that the pre-affixal stem is defined as a pada (1.4.16): *bhávat+ṭhák/chaS* = *bhávat-ká*- (7.3.51)/*bhavad-śya*- 'your honor's'.

4.2.116 *kāśī=ādi-bhyas=¹ṭhaÑ-²Ñiṭh-au*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ and Ñiṭha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kāśī-* 'n.pr.' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The difference between these two affixes is seen only in the feminine derivatives:
 [ÑfP] with [ṭhaÑ] and [TāP] with [Ñiṭha] (cf. 1.15,4 respectively):
kāśī+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha (+ fem. affixes) = *kāśī+ṭhaÑ+ÑfP* = *kāś-ik-i*;
kāśī+Ñiṭha+TāP = *kāś-ikā* 'originating in K.'

4.2.117 *vāhika-grāmé-bhyas=ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ and Ñiṭha 116 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of villages in the Vāhika region (*vāhika-grāmé-bhyaḥ*) [containing vṛddhi vowels in their first syllables 114 to denote previously unspecified meanings 93].

śākalā+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha = *śākal-ika+ÑfP/TāP* = *śākal-ik-i/-ik-ā* 'pertaining to Ś.'
 Exception to 114 [cha].

4.2.118 *vibhāṣā=uśīnāre-ṣu*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ and Ñiṭha 116] are optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 denoting names of villages in the Vāhika region 117 containing vṛddhi vowels in their first syllable 114 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] when they designate names of villages in Uśīnāra.

śaudarśanā+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha = *śau-darśan-ik-i/*-ikā* alternating with affix [cha 114]
śau-darśan-ṣy-ā 'belonging to the region of S.'

4.2.119 *o-r deś-é ṭhaÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] denoting a placename (*deś-é*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

niṣāda-karṣu+ṭhaÑ = *niṣāda-karṣu-ka-* (7.3.51) 'of the locality N.'

4.2.120 vṛddh-āt prāc-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $\text{ṭha}\tilde{\text{N}}$ 119 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme-class [u], denoting a region 119] situated in the east [prāc-ām] [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] provided the stem is a member of the vṛddhá class (1.1.73).

While this rule could have been covered by the previous rule, its separate mention is to restrict that operation only to names of regions constituting the vṛddhá (1.1.73) type.

$nāpita-vāstū+ṭha\tilde{\text{N}} = nāpita-vāstu-ka-$ 'originating in N.', but when not containing a vṛddhi vowel in the first syllable: $malla-vāstū+d\tilde{\text{N}}$ (1.83) = $mālla-vāstav-d$ 'belonging to M.'

4.2.121 'dhānva(n)=²yǣ=upadh-at=vu $\tilde{\text{N}}$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $\text{vu}\tilde{\text{N}}$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 containing a vṛddhi vowel in its first syllable 120] designating a desert (dhānvan-) or one containing the phoneme [y] as penultimate [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

$pāre-dhanván-i jātā-h$ (3.25) : $pāre-dhanván+vu\tilde{\text{N}} = pāre-dhanvāṭṭh+aka-$ (8.4.144) = $pāre-dhanv-aka-$ 'born in P.' Similarly $airāvat-aka-$ 'born in Airāvata'. $kāmpilyāṭṭh-aka-$, $sāmkaśyāṭṭh-aka-$.

4.2.122 'prasthá-²purá-³vāha=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $\text{vu}\tilde{\text{N}}$ 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a vṛddhá type 120 nominal stem 1.1] ending in ('-ant-āt) '-prasthá-, '-purá- or '-vāha- [denoting a region 119 to indicate previously unspecified meanings 92].

'-prastha-: $mālā-prasth-ē bhāva-h$ = $mālā-prasthá+vu\tilde{\text{N}} = mālā-prath-aka-$ 'born in M.'

'-purá-: $nāndī-purá+vu\tilde{\text{N}} = nāndī-pur-aka-$ 'born in N.'

'-vāha-: $pailuvah-ē bhāva-h$ = $paṭṭu-vah-aka-$ 'born in P.'

4.2.123 'rǣ=upadha=²T-oḥ prāc-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $\text{vu}\tilde{\text{N}}$ 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 a vṛddhá-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a locality 119] in the eastern region (prāc-ām) containing the phoneme [r] as penultimate or

[ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [i(T)] [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *pāṭaliputra+vuṆ* (3.25) = *pāṭali-putr-aka-* 'born in P.'
2. *kākandī+vuṆ* = *kākandī-aka-* 'born in K.'

4.2.124 ¹janapadā²-tad-avadhy-ós=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a *vr̥ddhá*-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a locality 119] representing a populated region or country (*janapadā-*) or one denoting its limit (*-tad-avadhy-ós*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *janapadā-*: *ābhi-sāre bhāva-h* = *ābhi-sāra+vuṆ* = *ābhi-sār-aka-* (3.53) 'occurring in or pertaining to Ābhi.'
2. *tad-avadhy-*: *aupus̥t-e bhāva-h* = *aupus̥t-aka-* 'occurring in or pertaining to the country bordering Aup.'

4.2.125 á-*vr̥ddh*-āt=ápi bahu-vacana-*viṣay-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121 is introduced even (*api*) after 3.1.2] a non-*vr̥ddhá*-type [as well as *vr̥ddhá*-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a populated region or country or its limit 124] occurring in the plural (*bahuvacana-*viṣay-āt**) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

- aṅge-ṣu bhāva-h* = *aṅga+vuṆ* = *āṅg-aka-h* 'being in the Aṅga country, an inhabitant of A.'
- ajamīdhe-ṣu jātā-h* = *ājamīdha+vuṆ* = *ājamīdh-aka-h* 'native of country bordering on Ajām'.
- dārve-ṣu bhāva-h* = *dārva+vuṆ* = *dārv-aka-h* 'belonging to Dar'. *kālanjare-ṣu jātā-h* = *kālanjar-aka-h* 'born in K.'

4.2.126 ¹kaccha=²agnī-³váktra-⁴varttā=uttara-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] *-kaccha-* 'marsh', *-agni-* 'fire', *-váktra-* 'face' and *-varttā-* 'livelihood, sustenance', occurring as final members (*uttara-pad-āt* in composition) [designating localities 119, whether *vr̥ddhá* 120 or non-*vr̥ddhá* 125, to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Kaśikā has a variant reading [gartta] for [varttā-].

daru-kacchē-ṣu jā-tā-h = *dāru-kacch-aka-h*; *pippali-kacchā+vuṆ*
paṣpali-kacch-aka-h 'born in Pip.'
kāṇḍagni+vuṆ = *kāṇḍāgni-ka-h*; *vibhujāgni+vuṆ* = *vaṣbhuj-āgn-ika-h*.
bāhu-vartā+vuṆ = *bāhu-vart-aka-h*; *cakra-vartā+vuṆ* = *cākra-vart-aka-h*.

4.2.127 dhūmā=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *dhūmā-* [designating localities 119 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

This class of stems contains both *vrddhā* and non-*vrddhā* types: *dhām-ē bhāva-h* = *dhaūm-aka-h* 'belonging to Dh.'

4.2.128 nāgar-āt ¹kútsana-²prāvīṇyay-oh

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *nāgarā-* 'city' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to express either a sense of reproach (*kútsana-*¹) or competency (*prāvīṇyay-oh*).

nāgar-e bhāva-h/jā-tā-h = *nāgara+vuṆ* = *nāgar-aka-h* (a) 'knave, cunning person';
 (b) 'an accomplished person'.

4.2.129 āraṇy-āt=manuṣy-è

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *āraṇya-* 'forest, wood' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to specify a human being (*manuṣy-è*).

araṇya+vuṆ = *āraṇy-aka-h manuṣyā-h* 'forester, woodsman', but with reference to non-human beings: *araṇya+dīN* (1.83) = *āraṇy-d-* 'born or originating in a forest'.

4.2.130 vibhāṣā ¹kúru-²yugandharā-bhyām

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *kúru-* and *yugandharā-* 'n.pr. of inhabited regions' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Option is in respect of the obligatory rule 125 above.

kúru-ṣu bhāva-h = *kúru+vuṆ* = *kaúrav-aka-h* or *kúru+dīN* = *kaurav-d-h* 'belonging to the Kúrus'.

yugandhard+vuN/dN = yaúgandhar-aka-/yaugandhar-d-

4.2.131 ¹madrá=²vġjy-oh kaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *madrá-* and *vġji-* [denoting names of inhabited localities 124 to signify previously unspecified meanings 92].

madré-ṣu bhāv-h/jā-tā-h = madrd+kaN = mddra-ka-h. vġji-ṣu jā-tā-h = vġji-ka-h.

4.2.132 ká=upadh-āt=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate (*ká=upadh-āt*) [designating an inhabited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

ṛeiké-ṣu jā-tā-h : ṛeikā+dN = āreik-d-h 'born in R.'

4.2.133 kaccha=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN 132] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kaccha-* [denoting names of inhabited localities 124 to signify previously unspecified meanings 92].

kaccha+dN = kācch-d- 'born or originating in K.' (3.25,53).

4.2.134 ¹manuṣyā=²tāt-sthay-or vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1 beginning with *kaccha-* 133 designating inhabited localities 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to indicate a human being (*manuṣyā-* °) or his characteristics (° *tāt-sthay-oh*).

kaccha+vuN = kācch-aka- 'a person born or belonging to K. or his smile/speech/crest of hair etc.', but kaccha+dN (133) = kācch-d-h gaú-h 'a bull originating in K.'

4.2.135 á-padāt-au sālṽ-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṅ* 134 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sālṽ-* [signifying a habited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92 designating a human being or his characteristics 134] other than a foot-soldier or infantry-man (*á-padāt-au*).

sālṽ+vuṅ = *sālṽ-aka-* 'a person born or belonging to S., or his characteristic, such as smile/speech etc.'; but *sālṽ+dṽ* = *sālṽ-d-ḥ paddāṭi-ḥ* 'infantryman of S.' (133).

4.2.136 ¹go-²yavāgv-ós=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṅ* 134] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *sālṽ-* 135 signifying an inhabited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to designate a bull or cow (*gó-*) and barley gruel (*yavāgv-óḥ*).

sālṽ-aka-ḥ gau-ḥ 'a bull originating in S.'; *sālṽ-ik-ā yavāgv-ḥ* (1.4; 7.3.44) 'barley gruel originating in S.'

4.2.137 gārta=uttara-pad-āt=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with *-gārta-* as a final member (in composition: *uttara-pad-āt*) [denoting an inhabited locality 124 to indicate previously unspecified meanings 92].

With reference to villages located in Vāhika country (117 above) this affix blocks out [thaṅ], [Nīṭha] by virtue of metarule 1 4.2. *vrka-gart-é bháva-ḥ* = *vrka-garta+cha* = *vrka-gart-īya-ḥ* 'belonging to V.'

4.2.138 gaha=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *cha* 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *gahá-* 'cave, cavern' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Not all items included in this class of nominal stems denote an inhabited locality (janapadá) or a region (deśá) despite the governing rule [déś-e 119] above. *gah-e jā-tá-ḥ* = *gaha+cha* = *gah-īya-ḥ* 'cave-born'.

4.2.139 *prāc-ām kāṭa=āde-ḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 138 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] with *kāṭa-*° as a prior member (°āde-ḥ in composition) [designating an inhabited locality 119] in the eastern region (*prāc-ām*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The expression [*kāṭa=ādi*] normally indicates a class [gaṇa] of nominal stems headed by that expression, but there is no corresponding list in the GP. Therefore, it represents [*kāṭa-*] as a prior member of a compound nominal stem, as the following illustrative examples show, though the sūtra does not use the term [pūrva-pada] here [cf. 4.1.53, 60, 140; 2.107; 3.60; 4.64; 5.1.112; 6.2.1; 7.3.19 and 8.3.106]; it is substituted by [°-ādi]. This unusual fact has not been noted by Kāśikā or SK. In general [°-ādi], when not connected with a gaṇa listing, is confined to phoneme groups: [a-ka-kha=ādi] (8.4.18), [iC=ādi] (3.1.36), [eka-haL=ādi] (8.3.59) or with technical terms: [an-ādeśā=ādi] (6.4.120), [anudātta=ādi] (4.2.44) etc.

kaṭa-nagar-ś bhāva-ḥ = *kaṭa-nagar-ḥya-ḥ* 'originating in K.'
kaṭa-palval-ḥya- 'born in Kata-palvala'.

4.2.140 *rājan-ah ka ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *rājan-* 'king' and (ca) phoneme [k] replaces its (stem-final 1.1.52) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

rājan+cha = *rājak-cha* = *rājak-ḥya-* 'pertaining to the king, regal, royal'.

4.2.141 *vṛddh-āt=¹aka=²iká=ant-āt khá=upadh-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing vowels [ā, ai or au] in its first syllable (*vṛddh-āt*) and ending in (°-ant-āt) in the elements °aka- or °-ika or containing phoneme [kh] as penultimate [designating a locality 139 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. °aka-: *brāhmaṇaka+cha* = *brāhmaṇak-ḥya-* 'born or originating in the locality of Br.' Exception to [śN 79].
2. °ika-: *sālmalika+chd* = *sālmalik-ḥya-* 'born or belonging to S.'
3. kh-penultimate: *āyo-mukha+cha* = *āyo-mukh-ḥya-*.

4.2.142 ¹kanthā-²palada-³nágara-⁴grāma- ⁵hradá=uttara-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 containing phonemes [ã], [ai] or [au] in their first syllable 141] co-occurring with ¹kanthā 'sort of garment', ²palada- 'kind of building material', ³nágara- 'city', ⁴grāma- 'village' and hradá- 'pond, pool, lake' as final members (uttara-pad-āt: in composition) [designating localities to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

- (1) *dākṣi-kantha+cha* = *dākṣi-kanth-ḥya-*. 'belonging to D.' Similarly (2-5):
dākṣi-palal-ḥya-/ ²*-nagar-ḥya-/* ³*-grām-ḥya-/* ⁴*-hrad-ḥya-*.

4.2.143 párvat-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] párvata- 'hill, mountain' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

párvat-e bháva-m = *parvat-ḥya-m* 'born or originating in the region of P.'

4.2.144 vibhāṣā=ā-manuṣy-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] párvata- 143 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] when signifying a non-human entity (ā-manuṣy-e).

párvat-e bháva-m = *parvat-ḥya-m/párvata+d/N* = *párvat-d-m phāla-m* 'fruit originating in P region', but *parvat-ḥya-ḥ manuṣyā-d-ḥ*.

4.2.145 ¹kṛkaṇa-²parṇ-āt bharádvāj-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kṛkaṇa- and parṇá- [designating localities 119] of Bharádvāja region [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kṛkaṇa+cha = *kṛkaṇ-ḥya-* 'of K. in Bharádvāja country', but *kārkaṇ-d* (N 1.83) elsewhere.

parṇ-ḥya- 'of Parṇa in Bh. country', but *pārṇ-d-* elsewhere.

4.3.1 ¹yusmád-²asmád-or anya-tará-syām khaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ, in addition to (ca) [cha 2.137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] consisting of (the second and first personal pronouns respectively 1.3.10) yusmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' optionally (anya-tará-syām) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

The use of this option also permits the introduction of the general affix [áN 1.83].
 $yusmád + khaÑ / cha / áN = yusmáka + khaÑ / cha / áN$ (2) = *yauśmāk-ma- / yauśmad-īya- / yauśmāk-d-* 'yours'; similarly $asmák-ma- / asmád-īya- / asmák-d-$ 'ours'.

4.3.2 tá-smin=áN-i ca ¹yusmáka=²asmák=au

Before that (tá-smin) [= taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 1] and áN substitute morphemes yusmáka- and asmáka- replace [the whole of 1.1.55 yusmád- and asmád- 1 respectively 1.3.10].

The operation of metarule 1.3.10 with respect to the two affixes [khaÑ] and [áN] in connection with the two personal pronominal stems is blocked by the device of yoga-vibhāga by splitting the rule into two parts [tásmin] and [áNi ca . . .]. The illustrations are already cited under 1 above.

4.3.3 ¹távaka-²mámak-au=eka-vacan-é

[Before the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 khaÑ 1 and áN 2] the substitute morphemes távaka- and mámaka [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 yusmád- and asmád- 1] when signifying a single person (eka-vacan-é).

$yusmád-(sg.) + khaÑ / áN = távaka + khaÑ / áN = távak-ma- / távak-d-$ 'thine' and $mámak-ma- / mámak-d-$ 'mine'.

4.3.4 árdh-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] árdha- 'half' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

$árdha + yàT = árdh\emptyset + ya-$ (6.1.148) = *árdh-ya* 'pertaining to half'.

4.3.5 ¹para=²ávāra=³adhamā=⁴uttamā-pūrv-āt=ca

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 4] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 ārdha- 4] co-occurring with pára- ° 'more distant', ávāra- ° 'less distant', adhamā- ° 'lower', uttamā- ° 'upper' as prior members (° pūrv-āt in composition) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 1.92].

parārdhā+yāT = *parārdh-yā-* 'being at the more distant side of half' and similarly: *avarārdh-yā-* 'being on the near side of half'; *adhamārdh-yā-* 'being on the lower half' and *uttamārdh-yā-* 'being on the upper half'.

4.3.6 dīk-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭhaÑ=ca

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 4] as well as ṭhaÑ (ca) are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.52 ° ardha- 4] co-occurring with direction words as prior members (dīk-pūrva-pad-āt in composition) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

pūrvārdhā+ṭhaÑ/yāT = *paūrvārdhika-/pūrvārdh-yā-* 'being on the eastern half-side'; similarly *dākṣiṇārdh-ika-/dākṣiṇārdh-yā-* 'being on the southern half-side'.

4.3.7 ¹grāma=²janapadā=eka-deś-āt=¹aÑ=²ṭhaÑ-au

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and ṭhaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in °-ārdha 4, co-occurring with direction words as prior members in composition 6] signifying a part of a village (grāma=ekadeśā) or of an inhabited locality (janapada=eka-deśāt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

imē khālū aśm-ākam grāma-śya/janapadāśya vā paūrvārdh-āḥ (+aÑ) / paūrvārdh-ikāḥ (+ṭhaÑ) 'these are, indeed, the eastern sections of our village or inhabited locality'.

4.3.8 mādhy-āt mā-h

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] mā is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mādhyā- 'center, middle' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

mādhya+mā- = *mādhyā-mā-* 'central, situated in the middle'.

4.3.9 á sām-prati-k-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] á is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 mādhyā- 8 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] to express suitability or fitness (sām-prati-k-é).

mādhya+d = madhyā+d (6.4.148) = madhy-ā- 'median, average'.

4.3.10 dvīp-āt=anu-samudr-ām yaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dvīpā- 'island' situated near the sea (anu-samudr-ām) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

dvīpā+yaÑ = dvīp-ya- 'pertaining to a peninsula, having water on both sides'; the word [dvīpā-] literally signifies a peninsula, having water on both sides, and if that water happens to be part of a sea or ocean, the affix in question is [yaÑ]; in other situations it is either [āÑ 1.83] or [vuÑ 2.133-34] *dvīp-ā-* (1.83)/*dvīp-aka-* (2.133-34).

4.3.11 kāl-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating divisions of time (kāl-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

māsa+ṭhaÑ = mās-ika- 'monthly'; *ārdha-mās-sika-* 'half-monthly, fortnightly'; *sāṃvatsar-ika-* 'annual, yearly'.

The expression [kālā-] recurs in the subsequent sūtras up to and including 24 below.

4.3.12 śrāddh-é śarād-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śarād- 'autumn' [signifying time 11 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] to designate funerary rites (śrāddh-é).

śarād+ṭhaÑ = śarād-ika- 'autumnal funeral rite'; in other senses: *śarād+dN (16) = śarād-ā-* 'autumnal'.

4.3.13 vibhāṣā ¹rōga-²ātapāy-oh

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 11] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *śarād-* 12 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] for indicating either a disease (rōga-) or 'sunshine, heat' (°ātapāy-oh).

śarād+ṭhaÑ/dÑ = *śārad-ika-h/śārad-d-h* *rōga-h/ātapā-d-h* 'autumnal disease/autumnal heat or sunshine'.

4.3.14 ¹nīśā-²prādoṣā-bhyām ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 11 is introduced optionally 13] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *nīśā* 'night' and *prā-doṣa-* 'twilight' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

nīśā+ṭhaÑ/dÑ = *naiś-ika-/naiś-d-* 'nocturnal'; similarly *prā-doṣ-ika-/prā-doṣ-d-* 'pertaining to the twilight'.

4.3.15 śvās-as tuṭ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 11 is optionally 13 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] *śvās-* 'tomorrow', and the initial increment *tuṭ* is inserted at the beginning of the affix (1.1.46) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

śvas+ṭhaÑ = *śvas+tuṭ+ṭhaÑ* = *śatvas-t-ika-* (7.3.3)/*śvās-tya-* (2.105)/*śvās-t-ana-/śvas-t-āna-* (+*Tyu/TyuL* 23 below) 'pertaining to tomorrow'.

4.3.16 ¹sam-dhi+²velā=ādī=²ṛtú-³nākṣatre-bhyaḥ=áÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1.1] beginning with *sam-dhi-velā* 'connecting or linking period of time (such as twilight etc.)' and those designating seasons (ṛtú-) or asterisms (°-nākṣatre-bhyaḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

1. *sam-dhi-velā+dÑ* = *sām-dhi-vel-d-* 'pertaining to twilight, etc.'
2. *ṛtu-: grīṣmā+dÑ* = *graiṣm-d-* 'relating to summer'; so also *śiśira+dÑ* = *śaiśir-d-* 'autumnal'.
3. *nākṣatra: tisyā+dÑ* = *taiś-d* (6.4.149) 'relating to the Tisyā asterism or lunar mansion'.

4.3.17 prāvṛṣ-aḥ=ēnya-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ēnya* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *prāvṛṣ-* 'rainy season, monsoon' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

prāvṛṣ+ēnya- = *prāvṛṣ-ēnya-h* (*balāhaka-h*) 'rain-(cloud)'.

4.3.18 varṣā-bhyas=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhák* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *varṣā* 'rain' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

varṣā+ṭhák = *vāre-ika-th* (*vāsaḥ*) '(cloth fit for the) rainy (season), rain-(coat)'.

4.3.19 chándas-i ṭhañ

In the domain of *Chándas* [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhañ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *varṣā* 18 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

varṣā+ṭhañ = *vāre-ika-*: *nābhas ca nabhasyā-ś ca vāre-ik-au=ṛtū* 'Nābhas and Nabhasyā (= August-September) are rainy seasons'.

4.3.20 vasant-āt=ca

[In the domain of *Chándas* 19 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhañ* 19 is also introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *vasantā-* 'spring' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

mādhū-ś ca mādhaba-ś ca vāsant-ik-au=ṛtū 'Mādhū and Mādhaba (March-April and April-May) constitute the spring season'.

4.3.21 hemant-āt=ca

[In the domain of *Chándas* 19 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhañ* 19] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *hemantā-* 'winter' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

sāhas ca sahasyā-ś ca hantant-ik-au=ṛtū 'Sāhas and Sahasyā (November-December and December-January) constitute winter season'.

4.3.22 sarvá-tra=áN ca ta-lopá-s=ca

In all domains (sarvá-tra) [= domain of Chándas and elsewhere, the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 hemantá- 21] with the substitute element lopa (θ) replacing the syllable [ta] of the stem (or alternately phoneme/t/) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

The two interpretations are due to the uncertainty of the status of vowel [a] of syllable [ta] of [hemantá-]; the second alternative is based on the assumption that it is used for ease of pronunciation and is not a part of the element to be replaced, which is then subject to 6.4.148. *hemanta+dN* = *hemanθθ+d-* = *haiman-d-/hemanθa+d* = *hemanθ+d* (6.4.148) = *haiman-d-* (6.4.22) 'pertaining to winter'.

4.3.23 ¹sāyám=²cirám=³prāhṇ-e=⁴pragé=⁵ávyaye-bhyaḥ Ṭyu-ṬyuL-au tuṭ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] Ṭyu and ṬyuL are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sāyám 'at even-tide', cirám 'for a long time', prāhṇe 'in the morning' pragé 'at dawn' and indeclinables (°ávyaye-bhyaḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92], and the initial increment tuṭ is inserted at the head of these affixes.

sāyám+Ṭyu/ṬyuL = *sāyam+t-ána-/sāyám-t-ana-* (6.1.193) 'vesperine'; similarly: *cirám-t-ána-/cirdm-t-ana-* 'long- or ever-lasting'; *prāhṇe-t-ána-/prāhṇé-t-ana-* 'matutinal'; *pragé-t-ána-/pragé-t-ana-* 'early at day-break'; *doṣā-t-ána-/doṣā-t-ana-* 'nocturnal'.

4.3.24 vibhāṣā ¹pūrvāhṇá=²aparāhṇá-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 Ṭyu and ṬyuL 23] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pūrvāhṇá- 'forenoon' and aparāhṇá- 'afternoon' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92 and the initial increment tuṭ is inserted at the head of these affixes 23].

pūrvahṇe-t-ána-/pūrvahṇé-t-ana-/pārvāhṇ-ika- (+*ṭhaN* 11) 'matutinal'; *aparāhṇe-t-ána-/aparāhṇé-t-ana-/āparāhṇ-ika-* 'occurring in the afternoon'.

4.3.25 tá-tra jā-tá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'born there' (jā-tá-h).

With this sūtra the section headed by 2.92 comes to the end. Here onwards specific meaning conditions as well as the sUP triplets associated with the nominal stems are stated. *srughn-e jā-tá-h* = *srughna+áN* = *sraughn-d-h* 'born in S'. Similarly *mathurā-y-ām jā-tá-h* = *māthur-d-h* 'born in M.'

4.3.26 prāvṣ-as=ṭhaP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prāvṣ- 'rainy season, monsoon' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

prāvṣ-i jā-tá-h = *prāvṣ+ṭhaP* = *prāvṣ-ika-h* 'born during the rainy season'.

4.3.27 saṁjñā-y-ām śarād-aḥ=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śarād- 'autumn' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'born at that time' 25] for deriving a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

śarād-i jā-tá-h = *śarād+vuN* = *śārad-aka-h* 'n.pr. of a plant, a variety of Darbha grass' or 'a variety of beans'.

4.3.28 ¹pūrvāhṇá=²aparāhṇá=³ārdrā=⁴mūla-⁵prādoṣa=⁶avaskar-āt=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pūrvāhṇá- 'forenoon', aparāhṇá- 'afternoon', ārdṛā 'n.pr. of a constellation', mūla- 'n.pr. of a constellation', prādoṣa- 'twilight' and avaskarā- 'dung' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born in that (place or time) 25 to derive a proper name 27].

pūrvāhṇ-d jā-tá-h = *pūrvāhṇa+vuN* = *pūrvāhṇ-aka-* 'born in the forenoon'; similarly: *aparāhṇ-aka-* 'born in the afternoon'; *ārdr-aka-*, *mūl-aka-* 'born under the constellations Ārdṛā/Mūla'; *prādoṣ-aka-* 'born in the twilight' and *avaskar-aka-* 'n.pr. of an insect born in ordure'.

4.3.29 path-áh pántha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 28 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] páthin- 'path' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born in that (place)' 25] and the substitute pántha- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the nominal stem.

path-i jā-tá-h = pántha+vuN = pánth-aka-h 'born on the roadside'.

4.3.30 amāvāsyā-y-āḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 28] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] amāvāsyā 'new-moon night' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

amāvāsyā-y-ām jā-tá-h = amāvāsyā+vuN/dN (16) = amāvāsy-aka-h/amāvāsy-ā-h
'born on a new-moon night'.

4.3.31 á ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] á is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 amāvāsyā 30, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

amāvāsyā+á = amāvāsyā+á (6.4.148) = amāvāsy-á 'born in new-moon night'.

4.3.32 ¹síndhu=²apakarā-bhyām kaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] síndhu- 'n. of a river, Indus' and apakarā- 'n. of a locality' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born there' 25].

síndh-au jā-tá-h = síndhu+kaN = síndhu-ka 'born in the river Indus'; similarly
āpa-kara-ka 'born in the Ap. region'.

4.3.33 ¹áN=²aÑ-au ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áN and aÑ are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 síndhu- and apakarā- 32 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born there' 25].

síndhu+áN/aÑ = saindhav-á/sáindhav-a síndhu-ka (32 above); similarly:
āpakar-á/āpakar-a/āpakara-ka.

4.3.34 ¹śráviṣṭhā-²phālgunī=³anurādhā=⁴svātf-⁵tiṣyā-
⁶púnarvasu-⁷hāsta-⁸vīśākhā=⁹āṣādhā-¹⁰bahul-āt=luK

[luK (θ¹) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] beginning with (1) śráviṣṭhā and terminating with (10) bahulā- ‘names of asterisms or lunar mansions’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born at that time’ 25].

- (1) *śráviṣṭhā-su jā-tā-h* = *śráviṣṭha+Tāp+dN* (16) = *śráviṣṭha+TāP+θ¹* = *śráviṣṭha+θ¹* (1.2.49) = *śráviṣṭha-h* ‘born under the constellation Śr.’ Similarly:
(2) *phālguna-h*; (3) *anurādhā-h*; (4) *svātf-h*; (5) *tiṣyā-h*; (6) *púnarvasu-h*; (7) *hāsta-h*; (8) *vīśākha-h*; (9) *āṣādhā-h*; (10) *bahulā-h*.

4.3.35 ¹sthāna=anta-²go-sālā-³khara-sāl-āt=ca

[luK (θ¹) 34] also replaces (ca) [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] ending in ¹sthāna- ‘place’ and [nominal stems 1.1] go-sālā- ‘cow-pen’ and khara-sālā- ‘stable for donkeys’ [ending in the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born there’ 25].

- go-sthān-ā jā-tā-h* = *go-sthānā+dN* (1.83) = *go-sthānā+θ¹* = *go-sthān-d-h* ‘born in G.’ Similarly: *go-sālā-h* / *khara-sālā-h* ‘born in a cow-pen/ass-stable’.

4.3.36 ¹vatsa-sālā=²abhi-jīt=³aśva-yúj=⁴śatā-bhiṣaj-ah=vā

[luK (θ¹) 34] optionally (vā) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vatsa-sālā ‘stall for calves’, abhi-jīt-, aśva-yúj- and śatā-bhiṣaj- ‘names of lunar mansions or asterisms’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born therein or thereunder’ 25].

- vatsa-sālā-y-ām jā-tā-h* = *vatsa-sālā+aN* = *vatsa-sālā+TāP+θ¹* = *vatsa-sālā+θ¹* = *vatsa-sālā-h* ‘born in a stall for calves’; likewise: *abhi-jīt-*, *aśva-yúj-*, *śatā-bhiṣaj-* ‘born under the respective lunar mansions’; all alternating with *vatsa-sālā-d*, *abhi-jīt-d*, *aśva-yuj-d*, *śatā-bhiṣaj-d* (+dN).

4.3.37 nákṣatre-bhyaḥ=bahulām

[luK (θ¹) 34] variously (bahulām) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the name of an asterism (nákṣatre-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born at that time’ 25].

rōhinī-āṁ jā-tā-h rōhinī-t-dN (18) = *rauhin-d-h/rōhina+NtP+θ¹* = *rōhina-θ¹*
(1.2.49; 4.1.39) = *rōhina-h*.

4.3.38 ¹kṛ-tā-²lab-dhā-³krī-tā-⁴kūśal-āḥ

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] to denote the senses of *kṛtā-* 'made', *labdhā-* 'gained', *krītā-* 'bought' and *kūśala-* 'adept, expert, proficient' [in that 25]

erughna-dN = *sraughn-d-* 'made, gained, bought or proficient in Śr.'

4.3.39 *prāya-bhavā-h*

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] to denote the sense of 'usually or abundantly found' (*prāya-bhavā-h*) [therein 25].

mathurā-y-ām prāya-bhavā-h = *mathurā-dN* (1.83) = *mathur-d-h* 'abundantly existing in M.'

4.3.40 ¹upa-jānū=²upa-karṇā=³upa-nīvé-s=⁴ṭhāk

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāk* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *upa-jānū-* 'near the knee', *upa-karṇā-* 'near the ear' and *upa-nīvi-* 'near the girdle' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'usually or abundantly found' 39 therein 25].

upa-jānū-ṭhāk = *upa-jānu-kā-* 'usually situated near the knee' (7.3.51); similarly: *upa-karṇ-ikā-* 'usually found near the ear' and *upa-nīvi-kā-* 'usually situated near the girdle'.

4.3.41 *saṁ-bhū-t-é*

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote] the sense of 'adequacy, suitability' (*saṁ-bhū-t-é*).

rāṣṭr-e saṁ-bhū-tā-h rāṣṭra+gha (2.83) = *rāṣṭr-sya-h* 'suitable or adequate for a kingdom'.

4.3.42 kóśa-āt=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kóśa- 'cocoon' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'fit, suitable, adequate' 4]].

kóśa sam-bhū-tā-m = kóśa+dhaÑ = kaúś-ya-m (vāstra-m) ' (cloth) suited to the cocoon (i.e., silk) '.

4.3.43 kāl-āt ¹sādhú-²púṣpyat-³pacyá-m-āne-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] designating a division of time (kāl-āt) to denote the meanings 'good or proper' (sādhú-), 'flowering' (°-púṣpyat-) or 'is ripening' (°-pac-yá-m-āne-ṣu) ['at that time' 25].

1. *hemanté-ṣu sādhu-ḥ = hemantā+dN (16) = haiman-ā-ḥ (22) (prākāśa-ḥ) 'a surrounding wall proper or good for the winter'.*
2. *vasant-é púṣp-ya-nti = vasantā+dN+ÑIP (1.15)+Jas = vāsanty-āḥ kanda-lat-āḥ 'vernal creepers good for flowering'.*
3. *śarād-i pac-yā-nte = śarād+dN+Jas = śārad-āḥ śālay-aḥ 'rice ripening in autumn'; similarly graiṣm-āḥ yāu-āḥ 'barley ripening in summer'.*

4.3.44 up-t-é ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25, designating a division of time 43] to denote 'sown' (up-t-é) [at that time 25].

hemant-é up-yā-nte = hemanta+dN (16) = haiman-ā (22)+Jas = haiman-āḥ/haimant-āḥ yāu-āḥ 'barley sown during winter'.

4.3.45 āśva-yujy-āḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] āśva-yuj-f 'day of full moon in conjunction with the lunar mansion āśva-yúj-' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'sown' 44 at that time 25].

Exception to [thaÑ 11 above]: *āśva-yujy-ām up-t-āḥ = āśva-yuj-f+vuÑ = āśva-yuj-ak-āḥ māśa-āḥ 'māśa lentils (Phaseolus Radiatus) sown during the full moon day of Āś.'.*

4.3.46 ¹grīṣmá-²vasant-ât=anya-tára-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 45] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grīṣmá- 'summer' and vasantá- 'spring' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'sown' 44 at that time 25].

grīṣmá+vuÑ = *grāṣm-aka-/grāṣm-á-* (16) 'sown during summer'; so also *vāsant-aka-/vāsant-á-* 'sown during spring'.

4.3.47 déya-m ṛṇ-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 designating time-words 43] to denote 'to be repaid as a debt' [at that time 25] (déy-am ṛṇé).

māsa-e déyam ṛṇá-m = *māsa+ṛṇaÑ* (11) = *mās-ika-m* 'a debt repayable in a month'.

4.3.48 ¹kalāpī(n)=²aśvatthá=³yava-bus-ât=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kalāpín- 'period during which peacocks spread their tails' aśvatthá- 'the period when the tree *Ficus Religiosa* bears fruit' and yava-busá- 'time for producing chaff from barley' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'a debt payable 47 at that time' 25].

kalāpīn-i kal-é déya-m ṛṇá-m = *kalāpín+vuN* = *kālāpīṇ-aka-m* (6.4.144) 'debt repayable at the K. time'. Similarly *aśvatth-aka-* 'debt repayable at A. time'; *yáva-bus-aka-m* 'debt repayable at the time of producing chaff from barley'.

4.3.49 ¹grīṣmá=²avara-sam-ât=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grīṣmá- 'summer time' and avara-samá- 'less than a year' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote a debt repayable 47 at that time 25].

grīṣm-é déya-m ṛṇá-m = *grīṣmá+vuÑ* = *grāṣm-aka-m* 'a debt repayable in summer'; *ávāra-su samāsu déya-m* = *ávāra-sam-aka-m ṛṇam* 'a debt repayable in less than a year'.

4.3.50 ¹sainvatsarā=²āgra-hāyaṇī-bhyām ṭhaÑ=ca

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 49] as well as (ca) ṭhaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sain-vatsarā- 'year' and āgra-hāyaṇī 'full moon day when the moon is in conjunction with Agra-hāyaṇa' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'a debt repayable' 47 at that time 25].

*sain-vatsar-é déya-m = sain-vatsarā+ṭhaÑ/vuÑ = sain-vatsar-ika-m/
sain-vatsar-aka-m* 'debt repayable at the end of a year'; *āgra-hāyaṇ-ika/
āgra-hāyaṇ-aka-* 'debt repayable on the full moon day of Agr.'

4.3.51 vy-ā-har-a-ti mṛgá-ḥ

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 designating time-words 43] to denote 'a wild beast (mṛgá-ḥ) is prowling' (vy-ā-har-a-ti) [at this time 25].

nísā-y-ān vyā-har-a-ti = nísā+ṭhaÑ (14) = nais-ika-ḥ/nais-d-ḥ (16) 'a wild beast prowling at night'.

4.3.52 tát a-syá soḍhá-m

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 consisting of time-words 43 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tát) for deriving a stem to denote 'this is his (a-syá) habit, custom or practice' (soḍhá-m).

*nísā-saha-car-i-tám adhy-áya-m = nísā, tát soḍhám a-syá = chātrā-sya
nísā+ṭhaÑ (14)/dN (16) = nais-ika-ḥ/nais-d-ḥ* '(a pupil) accustomed to study at night' Similarly *prādoṣ-ika-/prādoṣ-d-* 'accustomed to study at twilight'.

4.3.53 tá-tra bháva-ḥ

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to derive a stem denoting 'being or obtaining there' (tá-tra bháva-ḥ).

srughn-e bháv-a-ḥ = srughna+dN (1.83) = eraughn-d-ḥ 'being or obtaining in S.'

4.3.54 $dís=ādi-bhyaḥ=yàT$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $yàT$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with $dís-$ 'direction' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining there' 53].

$dís-i bháva-m = dís+yàT = dís-ya-m$ 'what obtains or occurs in the direction or region'; similarly $vārg-e bháva- = vārg-ya-$ 'found or obtaining in the group'.

4.3.55 $śarīra=avayav-āt=ca$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $yàT$ 54 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a member of the body ($śarīra=avayav-āt$) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

$kañṭh-ś bháva-m = kañṭhā+yàT = kñṭh-ya-m$ 'velar, occurring in the velum or throat'; similarly $tāl-au bháva-m = tālav-yā-m$ 'palatal', $mārdhan-yā-$ 'retroflex', $dānt-ya-$ 'dental' and $śeṭh-ya-$ 'labial', $nāsik-yā-$ 'nasal', $kārṇ-ya-$ 'being in or near the ear'.

4.3.56 $^1dṛti-^2kuṣī-^3kalasī-^4vastī=^5āsti=^6āher dhañ$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $dhañ$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] $dṛti-$ 'leather bag', $kuṣī-$ 'abdomen', $kalasī-$ 'jar', $vastī-$ 'bladder', $āsti-$ 'existence' and $āhi-$ 'serpent' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining there' 53].

$dṛti-au bháva-m = dṛti+dhañ = dārti-ya-m$ 'contained or being in a leather bag'; $kuṣī-ya-m/kālasī-ya-m/vāstī-ya-m/āstī-ya-m/āhi-ya-m$ 'being or found in the abdomen/a jar/the bladder/in existence/in the serpent' respectively.

4.3.57 $grīvā-bhyaḥ=āñ ca$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 $dhañ$ 56] as well as (ca) $āñ$ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] $grīvā$ 'nape of neck' [ending in the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'found or obtaining there' 53].

$grīvā-y-ām bháva-m = grīvā+āñ/dhañ = graiv-ām/grāiv-ya-m$ 'being or found in the nape of the neck'.

4.3.58 gambhīr-āt=ñya-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gambhīrá- 'profound, deep' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'found or obtained there' 53].

gambhīr-é bháva-m = gambhīrá+Ñya = gambhīr-ya-m 'found or occurring in profundity or depth'.

4.3.59 avyayī-bhāv=āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ñya 58] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound (2.1.6) [to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

By interpretation the application of this rule is restricted to items beginning with [pari-mukhám] 'round or about the face' which is not included in the traditional Ganapāṭha lists. *pari-mukha+am* (2.4.83)+Ñya = *pari-mukha+Ø* (2.4.71)+Ñya - *pari-mukha+Ñya = pári-mukh-ya-m = pari-mukh-ám bháva-m* 'being around or about'.

4.3.60 antáḥ-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭhañ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhañ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound 59] with antár-° 'in, within' as a prior member (pūrva-pad-āt) [to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

veśman-i bháv-am = antar-veśmán+TāC+am = antar-veśm-ám (5.4.108) *bháv-am = antar-veśm-á+ṭhañ = ántar-veśmik-am* 'being or found inside the house' = *ántar-geh-ik-am*.

4.3.61 grām-āt 'pári=²ánu-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhañ 60] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound 59 ending in 1.1.72] °grāma- 'village', co-occurring with preverbs pári-°, ánu-° [to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

pari-grām-ám/ánu-grām-ám bháva-h = pári-grām-ika-h 'being around the village', *ánu-grām-ika-h* 'being in the village'.

4.3.62 ¹jihvā-mūlā=²aṅgūle-s=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] jihvā-mūla- 'root of the tongue' and aṅgūli- 'finger' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

jihvā-mūl-é bhāṇ-ā-m = *jihvā-mūlā+cha* = *jihvā-mūl-ḥy-ā-m* 'being at the root of the tongue'; *aṅgul-ḥy-ā-m* 'being on the finger'.

4.3.63 vārga=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 62] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-vārga- 'class' [terminating in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

ka-varg-é bhāṇ-ā-m = *ka-varg-ḥy-ā-m* 'being in the velar class'.

4.3.64 á-śabd-e 'yàT-²kh-au=anya-tarā-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are optionally (anya-tarā-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-vārga- 63] when not denoting phonemes (á-śabd-e) [terminating in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

The option is in respect of affix [cha 63]. *vāsudeva-vargā+yāT/kha/cha* = *vāsu-deva-vārg-ya-/vāsu-deva-varg-īṇa-/vāsu-deva-varg-ḥya-* 'being in the party of V.' Cf. 8.2.131.

4.3.65 ¹kārṇa-²lalāṭ-āt kaN alam-kār-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kārṇa- 'ear' and lalāṭa- 'forehead' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53] when signifying an ornament (alam-kār-é).

kārṇ-é bhāṇ-ā = *kārṇa+kaN+TāP* (1.4) = *kārṇ-ik-ā* (7.3.44) 'an ear ornament ('being on the ear')'; in other senses *kārṇ-ya-m* (55); *lalāṭ-é bhāṇ-ā* = *lālāṭ-ik-ā* 'an ornament (worn by women) on the forehead'; in other meanings *lalāṭ-yā-m* 'being on the forehead' (55).

4.3.66 *tá-sya vy-ā-khyān-e=iti ca vy-ā-khyā-tāvya-nāmn-aḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] representing a text commented upon (vy-ā-khyā-tāvya-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to derive a stem denoting its commentary (vy-ā-khyān-e) as well as (ca) [to denote 'being or obtaining there' 53].

sUP-am vy-ā-khyāna-h = *sUP+dN* (1.83) = *saup-d-h* 'a commentary on declensional affixes'; similarly *sUP-su bhāva-m* = *saup-d-m* 'found or occurring in the declensional system'.

4.3.67 *bahu=áC=aḥ=ánta=udātt-āt=ṭhaÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahu-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1] with a high-pitched accent on its final syllable (ánta=udātt-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet, representing a text to be commented upon to denote its commentary 66 and 'being or occurring therein' 53].

sa-tva=na-tvāy-or (vidhāyaka-sāstrā-sya) vy-ā-khyāna-m = *sa-tva=na-tvā+ṭhaÑ* = *sā-tva=na-tv-ika-m* 'a commentary on a text dealing with retroflexion of the phonemes /s/, /n/, found or occurring in the domain of retroflexion of /s/, /n/'.

4.3.68 *¹krātu-²yajñé-bhyas=ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 67] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] consisting of names of Vedic sacrifices (krātu-°) and domestic sacrifices (°-yajñé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote the commentaries on them 66 or 'found or occurring in them' 53].

1. *krātu-*: *agni-ṣtomā-sya vy-ā-khyāna-h* = *agni-ṣtom-ika-h* 'a commentary on Agniṣtomā'. *rājñ-ā sa-yā-te* = *rājan+θ¹+sa+KyaP* (3.1.114) = *rāja-sā-ya+ṭhaÑ* = *rāja-sā-y-ika-* where the original polysyllabic stem is not marked with final udātta accent; similarly *vāja-pe-ya+ṭhaÑ* = *vāja-pe-y-ika-*.
2. *yajñá*: *pāka-yajñā-sya vy-ā-khyāna-h* = *pāka-yajñ-ika-h*.

4.3.69 *adhy-āyé-ṣu=éva=fṣe-h*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 67 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the name of a Vedic seer (fṣe-h) [ending in 1.1.72

the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on that text 66 and also 'being or obtaining therein' 53] to derive a stem indicating a chapter only (adhy-āyē-ṣu=éva).

vāsisṭh-ena dṛṣṭā-h māntra-h = vāsisṭha-h, tā-sya vy-ākhyāna-h/ta-tra bhava-h vā
= vāsisṭha+ṭhaN̄ = vāsisṭh-ika-h adhy-āyā-h.

4.3.70 ¹pauroḍāśá-²puroḍāś-āt=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pauroḍāśá- 'a mantra consecrating Puroḍāśá' and puroḍāśá- 'a text dealing with puroḍāśá' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary thereon 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

pauroḍāśá+ṢṭhaN = paúroḍāś-ika-h 'a commentary on Paur./being or obtaining therein'; similarly *puroḍāśá+ṢṭhaN = puro-ḍāś-ika-h*. In both illustrations the feminine form is derived with affix [N̄S (1.41)].

4.3.71 chāndas-aḥ=¹yàT=²áN-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and áN are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] chāndas- 'Veda' [ending in 1.1.73 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on it 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 65].

Prior exception to 72 below, blocking out the affix [ṭhaK]. *chāndas-aḥ vy-ā-khyāna-h = chāndas+yàT/áN = chandas-yā-h/chāndas-ā-h* 'a commentary on Ch./found or occurring in Ch.'

4.3.72 ¹dvy-áC=²ṛT=³brāhmaṇá=⁴ṛc-⁵prathamá=⁶adhvará-⁷puraṣ-cáraṇa-⁸nāmākhyāt-āt ṭhaK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC), or [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T), and [the stems] brāhmaṇá- 'a class of Vedic texts', ṛc- 'stanza or verse of R̥g-Veda', prathamá- 'first', adhvará- 'sacrificial rite', puraṣ-cáraṇa- 'preliminary rite' and nāma=ākhyātá- 'nomen and verbum' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary thereon 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

1. dvy-áC: *īṣṭe-h vy-ā-khyāna-h/īṣṭ-au vā bháva-h = īṣṭi+ṭhák = aīṣṭ-ika-h* 'commentary on a text dealing with sacrifice [īṣṭi].

2. °ṛT-: *cātur-hotṛ+ṭhāK* = *cātur-hotṛ-kā-h* 'commentary on/or found or occurring in C.'
3. *brāhmaṇā*: *brāhmaṇā+ṭhāK* = *brāhmaṇ-ikā-* 'commentary on/or found or occurring in Br.' *prātham-ikā-*, *ārc-ikā-*.
4. Similarly: *adhvar-ikā-*, *puraṣ-caraṇ-ikā-*, *nāmākhyat-ikā-* where by interpretation this last is also to be considered in addition as two separate expressions generating *nām-ikā-/ākhyat-ikā-*.

4.3.73 áN ṛg-ayanā=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix áN] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with ṛg-ayanā- 'n. of a text on the study of the RV' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on it 66 or 'found or obtaining therein' 53].

ṛg-ayanā-sya vy-ā-khyāna-h/ṛg-ayan-é bháva-h = *ṛg-ayanā+dN* = *ārg-ayan-ā-*
'commentary on/or found or occurring in Ṛ.' Exception to [ṭhaÑ 67, cha 2.114].
Non-retroflexion by 8.4.3.

4.3.74 tá-taḥ=ā-ga-tā-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (tá-taḥ) to denote 'arrived from there' (tá-taḥ=ā-ga-tā-h).

mathurā-y-āḥ ā-ga-tā-h = *mathurā+dN* (1.83) = *māthur-ā-h* 'arriving or arrived from Mathurā'.

4.3.75 ṭhāK=āya-sthāné-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of revenue offices (āya-sthāné-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74].

śulka-śālā-y-āḥ ā-ga-tā-h = *śulka-śālā+ṭhāK* = *śaulka-śāl-ikā-h* 'arrived or arriving from the custom house'.

4.3.76 śuṇḍika=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with śuṇḍika- 'tavern' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74].

saṇḍik-āt ā-ga-tā-ḥ = *saṇḍika + āN* = *saṇḍik-ā-ḥ* 'arrived from the tavern'.

4.3.77 ¹vidyā-²yōni-saṁ-bandhe-bhyaḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating a person related ([°]*saṁ-bandhe-bhyaḥ*) either through transmitted knowledge (*vidyā-*[°]) or consanguinity ([°]*-yōni-*[°]) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74].

1. *vidyā-*[°]: *upādhyāyād ā-ga-tā-ḥ* = *upādhyāyā + vuÑ* = *apādhyāy-aka-ḥ* 'come from the teacher'.
2. *yōni-*[°]: *pitāmah-āt ā-ga-tā-m* = *pitāmah-ā-m* 'coming from the paternal grandfather'.

4.3.78 ṛT=as=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short *ṛ(T)* designating a person related through transmitted knowledge or consanguinity 77, ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74.

1. *hōtur ā-ga-tā-m* = *hōtṛ + ṭhaÑ* = *haūtṛ-ka-m* (7.3.51) 'coming from the H. priest'.
2. *bhrātūr ā-ga-tā-m* = *bhrātṛ-ka-m*.

4.3.79 pitūr yāT=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 78] as well as (ca) *yāT* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *pitṛ-* 'father' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from him' 74].

pitūr ā-ga-tā-m = *pitṛ + yāT/ṭhaÑ* = *pitṛT + yāT* (7.4.27) = *pitṛḥ + ya* (8.4.148) = *pitr-ya-m/patr-ka-m* 'coming from the father, paternal'.

4.3.80 gotr-āt=aṅka-vāt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a patronymic descendant (*gotr-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74] are like those introduced to denote a sign (*aṅka-vāt* 126-27 below).

úpago-r gotrāpatye-bhyaḥ ā-ga-tā-m = *aupagavā + vuÑ* = *apā-gav-aka-m* (126);
gargāya gotrāpatye-bhya-ḥ ā-ga-tā-ḥ = *gārg-ya + āN* (127) = *gārgyḥ + ā* (8.4.148) =
gārgḥ + ā (8.4.151) = *gārg-ā-ḥ*.

4.3.81 'hetú-²manuṣyè-bhyaḥ=anya-tará-syām rūpya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpya is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a cause (hetú-°) or a human being (°-manuṣyè-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from that' 74] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

1. hetú: *sam-dāt-ā-ga-tā-m* = *sama-rūpya-m/sama+cha* (2.1.38) = *sam-fya-m* 'come from a similar cause'.
2. manuṣyā: *deva-datt-āt-ā-ga-tā-m* = *deva-datta-rūpya-m/deva-datta+dN* (1.83) = *daiva-datt-ā-m*.

4.3.82 máyaṭ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 rūpya 81] and (ca) máyaṭ are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 designating a cause or human being 81, ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from that' 74].

sama-māya-m; deva-datta-māya-m. Alternate forms are as given under 81 above. Feminine stems are derived with affix [NIP 1.15].

4.3.83 prá-bhav-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 74] to denote 'arising therefrom or thence' (prá-bhav-a-ti).

himavāt-ah prá-bhav-a-ti = *himavāt+dN* (1.83) *NIP* (1.15) = *haima-vat-f* 'the river Ganges (arising from H.)'. Similarly *dārad-f* 'the river Indus (arising from Darada)'.

4.3.84 vidūr-āt=Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vidūra- 'n.pr. of a place' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 74 to denote 'arising therefrom or there' 83].

vidūr-āt prá-bhav-a-ti = *vidūra+Ñya* = *vidūr-ya-ḥ mañi-ḥ* 'gem or precious stone arising from the region of V.'

4.3.85 *tád gáčch-a-ti* ¹*páthi(n)*-²*dūtáy-oh*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote 'goes there' (*tád gáčch-a-ti*) to indicate a path (*páthin-*) or a messenger (^o *dūtáy-oh*).

mathurā-m gáčch-a-ti = *mathurā+áN* (1.83) = *mathur-a-h* 'a road/messenger going to Mathurā'.

4.3.86 *abhi-níṣ-krām-a-ti dvār-am*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 85] to denote a gate (*dvār-am*) which leads towards that (*abhi-níṣi-kram-ā-ti*).

srughnam abhi-níṣ-krām-a-ti = *srughna+áN* = *sraughn-ām dvār-am* 'a gate leading towards Srughna'.

4.3.87 *adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-t-é granth-é*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 85] designating the subject on which the work (*granth-é*) is based to denote that book (*adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-t-é*).

sū-bhadr-ām adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-t-é = *sūbhadrā+áN* (1.83) = *saubhadr-ā-h granthā-h* 'a text composed on Sūbhadrā as subject'.

4.3.88 ¹*śiśu-krandá*-²*yama-sabhá*-³*dvaṁdvá*=⁴*indra-jananá*=*ādi-bhyas=cha-h*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *śiśu-krandá* 'cries of children', *yama-sabhá* 'assembly of Yama', a *Dvaṁdvá* compound and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *indra-jananá* 'birth of Indra' [designating the subject on which the work is based to denote that work 87].

śiśu-krand-ām adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-t-é = *śiśu-krandá+cha* = *śiśu-krand-śya-h granthā-h*; *yama-sabh-śya-h*; *śyena-kapot-śya-h* 'a book on hawks and doves'; *indra-janan-śya-h* 'a text dealing with the topic of Indra's birth'.

4.3.89 $sá-h=a-syá\ ni-vāsá-h$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet ($sá-h$) to denote 'that is his residence' ($a-syá\ ni-vāsá-h$).

mathurā ni-vāsá-h a-syá = mathurā+dN (1.83) = māthur-d-h 'resident of Mathurā'.

4.3.90 $abhi-jāna-s=ca$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89] also (ca) to denote [that is his 89] ancestral residence ($abhi-jāna-h$).

srughna-h abhi-jāna-h a-syá = srughna+dN (1.83) = sraughn-d-h 'a person whose ancestral home is Sr.'

4.3.91 $āyudha-jīvi-bhyas=cha-h\ pārvat-e$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating a mountain ($pārvat-e$) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 representing the ancestral residence 90] to denote mercenaries ($āyudha-jīvi-bhya-h$).

hṛd-gola-h pārvata-h abhi-jāna-h e-śām = hṛd-gola+cha = hṛd-gol-śya+Jas = hṛd-gol-śy-dh 'mercenaries whose ancestral home is Hṛ.'

4.3.92 $śaṇḍika=ādi-bhya-h=Ñya-h$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] $Ñya$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with $śaṇḍika$ 'n.pr. of a place' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote 'this is his ancestral residence' 90].

śaṇḍika-h abhi-jāna-h a-syá = śaṇḍika+Ñya = śaṇḍik-ya-h 'one whose ancestral home is Śaṇḍika'.

4.3.93 $śīndhu-takṣa-śilā=ādi-bhya-h=āN=āN̄-au$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] $āN$ and $āN̄$ are (respectively 1.3.10) introduced [after the classes of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with $śīndhu$ and $takṣa-śilā$ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the ancestral residence 90].

sīndhu-h abhi-jāna-h a-syá = *sīndhu+āN* = *saindhav-d-h* 'whose ancestral residence is in the Indus region'. *tākṣa-śilā abhi-jāna-h a-syá* = *tākṣa-śilā+āN* = *tākṣa-śil-a-h*.

4.3.94 ¹tūḍī-²śalātura-³varmatī-⁴kūcavār-āt ¹ḍhāK-²chaN-³ḍhaN-⁴yāK-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ḍhāK, chaN, ḍhaN and yāK are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tūḍī, śalātura-, varmatī and kūcavār- 'placenames' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote ancestral residences 90].

tūḍī+ḍhāK = *taud-cyá-h* 'whose ancestral home is T.' *śalātura+chaN* = *śalatur-hya-h*; *varmatī+ḍhaN* = *vārmāt-eya-h*; *kūcavāra+yāK* = *kauca-vār-yá-h*.

4.3.95 bhāk-ti-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89] to denote 'this is the object of devotion or worship' (bhāk-ti-h).

vāsu-devá-h bhāk-ti-r a-syá = *vāśudevā+vuN* (98) = *vāśudev-aka-h* 'devotee or worshiper of V'; similarly *śrṇun-aka-h* (98).

4.3.96 á-citt-āt á-¹deśa-²kāl-āt=ṭhāK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating an inanimate thing (á-citt-āt) other than those representing locality or time (á-deśa-kāl-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion or worship 95].

apāp-āḥ bhāk-ti-r a-syá = *apāp+ṭhāK* = *āpāp-iká-h* 'person fond of cakes', but *deva-dattá+āN* = *daiva-datt-d-h* (1.83); *śrughna+āN* = *śraughn-d-h*; *grāṣm-d-h* (16) (counter-exx. for animate, locality and time respectively).

4.3.97 mahārāj-āt=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mahārāj- 'great king, emperor' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

mahārājá-h bhāk-ti-r a-syá = *mahārājá+ṭhaN* = *māhārāj-ika-h*.

4.3.98 *vāsudevā=ārjunā-bhyām vuN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *vāsudevā-* and *ārjuna-* 'names of persons' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote objects of devotion 95].

vāsudev-aka-h, ārjun-aka-h (cf. 95 above).

4.3.99 *'gotrá-²kṣatriya=ākhye-bhyaḥ=bahulám vuN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuN* is introduced variously (*bahulám*) [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] representing patronymics (*gotrá-²*) or warriors (*'kṣatriya=ākhye-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

1. *gotrá: aupagav-d-h bhák-ti-r a-syá = aupagav-d+vuN = aupagav-aka-h.*

2. *kṣatriya: nakulá-h bhák-ti-r a-syá = nakulá+vuN = nákul-aka-h, but pānin-d+cha = pānin-īya-h (2.114).*

4.3.100 *jana-padín-ām jana-pada-vát sárvaṁ jana-pad-éna samāná-śabdā-nām bahu-vacan-é*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating rulers of populated localities (*jana-padín-ām*) which are identical with the names of localities (*jana-pad-éna samāná-śabdā-nām*) in the plural (*bahu-vacan-é*) are the same as those introduced after the name denoting the locality (*jana-pada-vát*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

aṅg-āḥ bhák-ti-r a-syá = aṅga+vuN (2.124) = aṅg-aka-h 'a devotee or lover of Aṅga country or its prince'.

4.3.101 *t-éna prókta-m*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*t-éna*) to denote 'promulgated or propagated by him' (*próktam*).

This propagation denotes original authorship by another since that situation has already been covered by 87 above. *any-éna kṛ-tā māthur-éna prak-tā = mathurā+dN+NP (1.15) = māthur-f vṛt-ti-h* 'propagated by Māthura'.

4.3.102 ¹tittirī-²vara-tantu-³khāṇḍika=⁴ukh-āt=cha-Ṇ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] chaṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tittirī-, vara-tantu-, khāṇḍika- and ukhā- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'promulgated or propagated by him' 101].

tittirī-nā prók-ta-m = tittirī+chaṆ = taittirī-śya-; in like manner: vāra-tantav-śya-, khāṇḍik-śya-, aukh-śya-.

4.3.103 ¹kāśyapa-²kaśīkā-bhyām ṣṣi-bhyām Ṇini-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇini is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kāśyapa- and kaśīka- 'n.pr. of ṣṣi-s' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'promulgated or propagated by him' 101].

kāśyap-ena próktam kálp-am = kāśyapa+Ṇini = kāśyap-ín-; kaśīka+Ṇini = kaśīk-ín-, 'propagated by K'.

4.3.104 ¹kalāpi(n)=²vaisampāyana=ante-vāsi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇini is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of pupils of Kalāpīn and Vaisampāyana [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'promulgated by him' 101].

There are four pupils of Kalāpīn: [Harīdru-], [Chagalīn-], [Tumburu-] and [Úlapa-].
harīdru-nā prók-ta-m = harīdru+Ṇini = hāridrau-ín- 'promulgated by H.'; similarly chagalīn+ḍhīnyK=chāgal-eyín (108); aulap-ín-.

The pupils of Vaisampāyana are nine: [Ālāmbi-, Palaṅga-, Kāmala-, R̥cābha-, Aruṇi-, Tāṇḍya-, Śyāmāyana-, Kaṭhā- and Kalāpīn-] *ālāmbi-nā prók-tam = ālāmbi+Ṇini = ālamb-ín- 'promulgated by Ā.'* Similarly: *pālaṅg-ín-, kāmala-ín-, ārcabh-ín-, aruṇ-ín-, tāṇḍ-ín- (6.4.148, 151), śyāmāyan-ín-, kaṭhā+Ṇin-luK (107) = kaṭhā+ḍ¹; kalāpīn+aṆ (108) = kālāp-á-.*

4.3.105 purāṇa-pro-ktéṣu brāhmaṇa-kalpé-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṇini 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 101 to derive stems 1.1] designating either Brāhmaṇá (texts) or Kálpa (śútras) propagated in ancient times (purāṇa-prok-té-ṣu).

bhallu-nā purāṇa-munī-nā prók-ta- = bhallu+Ṇin- = bhāllau-ín- 'Brāhmaṇa text promulgated by the ancient sage Bhallu'.

piṅga-ena purāṇa-munī-nā prōk-ta- = *piṅga + Nṅn* = *paṅg-in-* 'a Kalpa-sūtra promulgated by the ancient sage Piṅga'.

4.3.106 śaúnaka=ādi-bhyas=chāndas-I

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Nṅni 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with śaúnaka- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101] designating the Veda (chāndas-i).

śaúnak-ena prōk-ta- = *śaúnaka + Nṅn* = *śaunak-in-* 'a Veda text propagated by Ś.'

But *śaúnak-ena prōk-tā śikṣā* = *śaúnaka + cha* (2.114) = *śaunak-ḥy-ā* (1.4).

4.3.107 ¹kathá-²cáراك-āt=luK

The substitute luK (θ¹) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Nṅni 103 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kathá- and cáراك- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101].

kath-śna prōk-ta- = *kathá + Nṅn* = *kathá + θ¹* = *kathá-* 'propagated by Kathá';

similarly *cáراك + dN* (101; 1.83) = *cáراك + θ¹* = *cáراك-*.

4.3.108 kalāpín-aḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kalāpín 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101].

kalāpín-ā prōk-ta- = *kalāpín + dN* = *kalāpθθ-ā* (by a vārtika on 6.4.144) = *kalāp-ā-* 'Vedic text propagated by Kalāpin'.

4.3.109 chagalín-aḥ=ḍhínuyK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhínuyK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] chagalín- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101].

chagalín-ā prōk-ta- = *chagalín + ḍhínuyK* = *chagal-eyn-* 'Vedic text propagated by Ch.'

4.3.110 ¹pārāsārya-²śīlāli-bhyām ¹bhikṣu-²ṇaṭa-sūtrāy-oḥ

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṇīṇi 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pārāsārya- and śīlālin- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101] to designate [respectively 1.3.10] Bhikṣu-sūtrā and Ṇaṭa-sūtrā.

pārāsārya-ṇa prōk-tam = pārāsārya+Ṇīṇi- = pārāsārṇṇ-ṇ- 'Bhikṣu-sūtrā propagated by P.' Similarly *śīlāli-ṇ-* 'Ṇaṭa-sūtrā propagated by Ś.'

4.3.111 ¹karmanda-²kṛśāśv-āt=īṇi-ḥ

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] īṇi is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kṛśāśva- and karmanda 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101 to designate respectively 1.3.10 Bhikṣu-sūtrā and Ṇaṭa-sūtrā 110].

karmand-ṇa prōk-tam = karmanda+īṇi = karmand-īṇ- 'Bhikṣu-sūtrā propagated by Kar.'; similarly *kṛśāśv-īṇ-* 'Ṇaṭa-sūtrā propagated by Kṛś.' These two texts deal respectively with the duties of monks and of actors.

Interpretation of rules 101-111 generally illustrate them by extending these formations to denote those who study or know the texts referred to in 2.59 together with 2.66. In consequence the plural forms are given as indicating those who study or know these texts.

4.3.112 t-éna=éka-dik

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'having the same direction with that' (t-éna= éka-dik).

su-dāmn-ā=éka-dik = su-dāmn+āN+Ṇīp (1.15) = sau-daman-f (8.4.167) vi-dyūt 'lightning moving in the direction of Mount Sudāmn'.

4.3.113 tāsī-s=ca

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tās is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'having the same direction with that' 112].

su-dāmn+tāsī = su-dāmaṇ-tās (8.2.7) = su-dāma-tāḥ (8.3.15) = sau-dāman-f (cf. 112).

4.3.114 úras-aḥ=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *tásj* 113] as well as (ca) *yàT* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *úras-* 'chest', [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'having the same direction with that' 112].

úras-ā=śka-dik = *úras+yaT/ids* = *uras-yā-h/uras-tđh* 'having the same direction as the chest',

4.3.115 úpa-jñā-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112] to denote 'discovered by him' (*úpa-jñā-t-e*).

pāṇini-nā úpa-jñā-ta-m = *pāṇini+cha* (2.114) = *pāṇin-śya-m vy-ā-kāraṇa-m* 'grammar discovered by P.'

4.3.116 kṛ-t-é granth-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112] to denote 'a text has been composed by him' (*kṛ-t-é granth-é*).

vāra-ruci-nā kṛ-t-āḥ ślok-āḥ = *vāra-ruci+āN+Jas* (1.83) = *vāra-ruc-āḥ*.

4.3.117 saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote 'made by him' 116] to form a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

māṅṣikā-bhiḥ kṛ-tā-m = *māṅṣikā+āN* = *māṅṣik-ā-m* 'honey (= 'made by bees').

4.3.118 kúlāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kúlāla-* 'potter' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote 'made by him' 118 to form a name 117].

kúlāla-ena kṛ-tā-m = *kúlāla+vuÑ* = *kaúlāl-aka-m* 'pottery'.

4.3.119 ¹kṣudrā-²bhramarā-³vaṭara-⁴pādap-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kṣudrā- 'small bee', bhramarā- 'bee', vaṭara- 'bee' and pāda-pa- 'bee' [ending in 1.172 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote 'made by it' 116 to form a name 117.]

kṣudrā-bhiḥ/bhramar-aḥ/vaṭar-aḥ/pāda-p-aḥ *kr-idm* = *kṣaudr-a-m/*
bhrāmar-a-m/vāṭar-a-m/pādap-a-m 'honey'.

4.3.120 tá-sya=idám

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'this is his' (tá-sya=idám).

úpa-gor idám = *upa-gu+dN* = *aupa-gav-d-m* 'belonging to Up.'

4.3.121 ráth-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] rátha- 'chariot' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its' 120].

rátha-sya=idám = *ratha+yàT* = *ráth-ya-m* 'belonging to the chariot (such as wheel, axle, etc.).'

4.3.122 pátttra-pūrv-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem '-rátha- 121] co-occurring with a word denoting a draught animal as a prior member (in composition: pátttra-pūrv-āt) [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120].

aśva-rathā-sya idám = *aśva-rathā+aÑ* = *śva-rath-ā-m* (*cakrā-m*) '(a wheel) belonging to the horse-chariot'.

4.3.123 ¹pátttra=²adhvaryú-³pariśad-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 122] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting draught animals (pátttra-), adhvaryú- 'n. of an officiating priest', and pariśad- 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it/him' 120].

dēva-sya idám (vahanīya-m) = dēva+aṅ = dēv-a-m 'horse-load (= a load fit for a horse to carry)'. *ādhvaryav-a-* 'belonging to the Adh. priest'; *pāriṣad-a-* 'belonging to the assembly'.

4.3.124 ¹halá-²síra-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] halá- and síra- 'plough' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120].

halá-sya/síra-sya idám = halá-/síra-+ṭháK = hál-iká-m/sair-iká-m 'belonging to the plough'.

4.3.125 dvaṁdv-āt=vuN ¹vairá-²maithunikay-oh

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of a Dvaṁdvá compound [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120] to express enmity (*vairá-°*), or marriage relationship (*°-maithunikay-oh*).

1. *vaira: kākólūká-sya vairá-m = kākólūka+vuN = kākólūk-ika+ṭāP (1.4) = kākólūk-ik-ā* 'pertaining to crows and owls (natural enemies)'. Similarly *bābhruvya-sālankāyan-ik-ā* 'enmity between B. and S.'
2. *maithunikā: atri-bharadvājáy-or vivāhá-h = atri+bhavadvājá+vuN = átri-bharadvāj-ik-ā* 'marriage between A. and Bh. families'.

4.3.126 ¹gotrá-²cáraṇ-āt=vuṅ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuṅ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating patronymics (*gotrá-°*) and those representing Vedic schools (*°-cáraṇ-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120].

1. *gotrá: aupá-gav-ā-sya idám = aupá-gav-ā+vuṅ = dúpa-gav-aka-m* 'belonging to Aupagavá'.
2. *cáraṇa: kaṭhá-sya idám = káṭhak-a-m* 'belonging to the Kaṭha school of Vedic studies'.

By interpretation the meanings under 2. are restricted to signify law (*dhárma*) and tradition (*ś-mnā-y-ā*) only.

4.3.127 ¹saṁghá=²aṅká=³lákṣaṇe-ṣu=¹aÑ=²yaÑ=³iÑ-ām áÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] aÑ, yaÑ and iÑ [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 120] to derive stems expressing an assemblage (saṁghá-°), a mark (°-aṅká-°) or a characteristic (°-lákṣaṇe-ṣu).

Exception to [vuN 126]. The metarule 1.3.10 does not operate here.

1. aÑ: *bidd-ṣya gotrāpatyá-ṣya* = *baśda-ṣya* (1.104) *iddám* = *baśda*+*dÑ* = *baid-d-h saṁghá-h/ānká-h; baid-d-m lākṣaṇa-m*.
2. yaÑ: *garga-ṣya gotrāpatyá-ṣya* = *gārgya-ṣya* (1.105) *idám* = *gārg-ya*+*dÑ* = *gārg-d-h saṁghá-h/ānká-h; gārg-ām lākṣaṇa-m*.
3. iÑ: *dākṣe-r idám* = *dākṣi*+*dÑ* = *dakṣ-d-h saṁghá-h/ānká-h dākṣ-d-m lākṣaṇa-m*.

4.3.128 śākal-āt=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áÑ 127] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śākalá- 'follower of Śākalya' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120 to derive a stem expressing an assemblage, mark or characteristic 127].

śākalá+*dÑ/vuN* (126) = *śākal-á-/śākal-aka-* = *śākalá-ṣya idám*.

4.3.129 ¹chandogá=²aukthiká=³yājñiká=⁴bahv-ṛcá=⁵naṭ-āt=¹Ñya-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] chandoga- 'a priest of the Sāma-Veda', aukthiká- 'who knows the recitation of [uktha]', yājñiká- 'sacrificer', bahv-ṛcá- 'who knows the many stanzas of Ṛg Veda' and naṭá- 'actor, dancer' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120].

chandogá-nām dhárma-h/āmnāyá-h = *chandoga*+*Ñya* = *chāndog-ya-h* 'law or tradition of Chandogá-s'. Similarly: *aúkthik-ya-*, *yājñik-ya-*, *bāhv-ṛc-ya-*, *naṭ-ya-*.

4.3.130 ná ¹daṇḍa-māṇavá=²ante-vāsi-ṣu

[The taddhitá affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 126] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 consisting of patronymics 126 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120] for deriving stems

signifying primary pupils (daṇḍa-māṇavá- 'staff-pupil') or advanced pupils (ante-vāsi-ṣu).

gá-kakṣa-sya gotrapatyásya = gáú-kaks-ya-sya (4.1.106) *imé = gáúkakṣ-ya + dN + Jaa*
(127) = *gau-kakṣ-áh* 'primary or advanced pupils of Gau.'

4.3.131 raivatiká=ādi-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *raivatiká* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120].

revdīty-āḥ āpatyam = revdīti+thdK (1.4) = *raivat-ik-d-* (1.46), *id-sya idám =*
raivat-ik-d+cha = raivat-ik-īya-m 'belonging to Raiv.'

4.3.132 'kaupiñjalá-²hāsti-pad-āt=āN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *kaupiñjalá-* and *hāsti-padá-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120].

kúpiñjala-sya āpatyam = kúpiñjala+dN = kaupiñjal-d-ḥ, id-sya idám =
kaupiñjal-d+dN = kaupiñjal-d-m 'belonging to Kaup.'; similarly *hāsti-padá-sya*
idám = hāsti-pad-d-m.

4.3.133 ātharvaniká-sya=ika-lopas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* 132 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem *ātharvaniká* 'who studies or knows the Atharva-Veda' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120] with substitute *lopa* (Ø) replacing the element *-ika-.

ātharvan-d prókta-m ādhīte véda vā = ātharvan+dN (1.83)+*thdK* (2.63)
ātharvan-ikd-ḥ, id-sya=idám = ātharvan-ikd+dN = ātharvan-Ø-dN =
ātharvan-d-m 'belonging to Ātharvaniká'.

4.3.134 tá-sya vi-kār-á-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote 'transformation of that' (*tá-sya vi-kār-á-ḥ*).

The repetition of the word [*tá-sya*] in this sūtra while it was available by *anuvṛtti* (recurrence) from 120 above is to block out the affixes introduced in the section

beginning with 2.92 onwards to convey the specific senses mentioned from here onwards.

The illustrations cover the following types of stems subject to this operation: (a) stems denoting inanimate objects or (b) having low-pitched accent (andāṭṭa) on the first syllable or (c) not containing the vowel phonemes [ā, ai, au] in the first syllable, members of the tyad-class or denoting place-names in the east with vowel phonemes [e, o] in their first syllable (1.1.73-75).

dēman-aḥ vi-kār-d-ḥ = *dēman+āN* = *dēmōḥ+d-ḥ* (by an interpreting vārttika on 6.4.144, contra 6.4.167) 'transformation of a rock or stone', but *dēman-d-* (6.4.167) 'belonging to the rock' (120).

4.3.135 avayav-é ca ¹prāñi(n)=²śaḍadhi-³vṛkṣé-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] signifying names of animals (prāñi-¹), herbs (°-śaḍadhi-²) or trees (°-vṛkṣé-bhyaḥ³) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'transformation of that' 134] in addition to (ca) 'this is its limb' (avayav-é).

1. prāñi: *kapōta-sya vikāra-ḥ/avayavā-d-ḥ* = *kapōta+āN* (154) = *kāpot-a-ḥ* 'modification/limb of a pigeon'.
2. śaḍadhi: *mārvā-yāḥ vikārā-d-ḥ/avayavā-d-ḥ* = *mārvā+āN* (1.83) = *maurv-a-ḥ* 'transformation/limb of mārva (kind of hemp)'.
3. vṛkṣá: *pāppala+āN* = *paippal-a-ḥ* 'modification/limb of Ficus Religiosa'.

4.3.136 bilvā=ādi=bhyaḥ=āN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with bilvā- 'wood-apple tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its transformation' 134 or 'its limb' 135].

bilvā-sya vi-kārā-d-ḥ/avayavā-d-ḥ = *bilvā+āN* = *bailv-a-ḥ*. This is a prior exception to [āN 140] and [māyaT 144] where these would have become applicable to members of this class: *ikṣu+āN* = *aikṣav-a-ḥ* instead of **aikṣav-a-ḥ*/**ikṣu-māya-ḥ*.

4.3.137 ká=upadhāt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 136] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its modification' 134 or 'its limb' 135].

Prior exception to [āN 139-40]: *tarkó-r vikārā-d-ḥ/avayavā-d-ḥ* = *tarkú+āN* = *tārkav-a-ḥ* 'modification or limb of a spindle'.

4.3.138 ¹trápu-²jātu-n-oḥ ṣuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 136 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] trápu- 'tin' and játu 'lac' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135] with the final increment [ṣ] inserted after the stem final [1.1.46].

trápu-n-o vikārd-h = *trápu+ṣ-dN* 'modification or transformation of tin'; similarly
jātu-n-o vikārd-h = *jātu-ṣ-d-h*.

4.3.139 o-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

devadārō-r vikārd-h/avayavā-d-h = *deva-dārā+aÑ* = *dāva-dārav-a-h*
'modification/limb of the Devadāru tree'. Exception to [áN 1.83 and 136ff.]
This rule supplements the succeeding rule by covering stems which have an udātta accent on their first syllable.

4.3.140 án-udātta=ādes=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 139] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing an ánudātta 'low-pitched' accent on the first syllable (án-udātta=āde-h) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

dadh-án-i tṣeṭh-a-ti = *dadhi-tthā-d-h, tāsya vikārd-h/avayavā-d-h* = *dadhi-tthā+aÑ* = *dādhi-tth-a-* 'produced from or a limb of the tree *Feronia Elephantus*'; similarly
kapitthā-sya vikārd-h/avayavā-d-h = *kāpitth-a-*.

4.3.141 palāśā=ādi-bhyaḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 139] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 1.3.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with palāśā- 'the *Butea Frondosa* tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

palāśā-sya vikārd-h/avayavā-d-h = *palāśā+aÑ/dN* = *pālāś-a-h/pālāś-d-h* 'produced from or a limb of P.' The difference in the two derivatives is in accent only
This class of stems consists of both udātta=ādi and ánudātta=ādi stems and the option applies to both.

4.3.142 śamy-ā-s=ṭlañ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭlañ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śamī 'the Prosopis Spicigera tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

śamy-ā-h vikārā-h/avayavā-h = *śamī+ṭlañ* = *śamī-la+ñIP* (1.15) = *śamī-l-r* 'made of Śamī (a ladle)'; *śamī-l-a-m bhāśa-ma* 'ash from the tree Ś.'

4.3.143 máyaṭ=vā=etáy-or bhāṣā-y-ām á-¹bhakṣyà=²ācchādanay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] máyaṭ is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] in these two (etáy-oḥ) [meanings: its modification 134 or limb 135] excluding food (°-bhakṣyà) or clothing (°-ācchādanīyoh) in colloquial speech (bhāṣā-y-ām).

dēman-o vikāra-h/avayavā-h = *dēman+māyaṭ/dN* = *dēma-māya-/dēm-ā-/dēman-ā-* (8.4.187).

4.3.144 nītyam ¹vṛddhá-²śara=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143] is necessarily (nītyam) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] belonging to the vṛddhá- type (1.1.73-75) and the class of words beginning with śará- 'a kind of reed, Saccharum Sara' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135, excluding food or clothing, in colloquial speech 143].

1. vṛddhá stems: *āmra-śya vikār-h/avayavā-h* = *āmra-māya-* 'modification or part of the mango tree'.

2. *śará-ñ-ām vikārā-h/avayavā-h* = *śara-māya-*.

In non-colloquial speech 143-44 do not apply: *bailv-ā-h khādir-ō vā yāpa-h*. Similarly: *maudgā-h sūpa-h (bhakṣyē)*, *kārpās-ā-m ācchādanam*.

4.3.145 gó-s=ca pūriṣ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gó- 'cow f., bull m.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to mean 'cowdung' (pūriṣ-e).

gó-r vikārā-h pūriṣam = *go-māya-m* 'cow-dung'; in other senses: *go+yaṭ* (160) = *gāv-ya-m* 'produced from the cow (such as milk, butter, etc.)'.

4.3.146 piṣṭ-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] piṣṭá- 'flour' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

piṣṭá-sya vikārá-ḥ = piṣṭa-máya- 'made of flour'.

4.3.147 samjñā-y-ām kaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 piṣṭá- 'flour' 146 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to derive a name (samjñā).

piṣṭá-sya vikārá-ḥ = piṣṭa+kaN = piṣṭa-ka-ḥ 'cake made of flour'.

4.3.148 vrīhē-ḥ puroḍāś-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vrīhí- 'rice' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to designate a sacrificial cake (puroḍāś-é).

vrīhí-n-ām vikārá-ḥ = vrīhi-máya-ḥ (puroḍāśá-ḥ).

4.3.149 á-samjñā-y-ām tīla-²yáva-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tīla- 'sesamum' and yáva- 'barley' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] when not forming a name (á-samjñā-y-ām)

tīla-sya vikārá-ḥ = tīla-máya- 'produced from sesamum'; so also yáva-sya vikārá-ḥ = yava-máya-; but as names: tīlā-d-m (1.83)/yávu-a-ka- (1.83; 5.4.29) 'sesamum oil/a particular item of food made of barley'.

4.3.150 dvy-áC-as=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic [nominal stem 1.1] (dvy-áC-as) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

parṇā-n-ām vikārá-ḥ = parṇa-máya-ḥ 'made of leaves'; so also darbha-máya-, śara-máya- 'made of grass, reeds'.

4.3.151 ná=¹uT-vát=²vārdhra-³bilv-āt

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 containing two syllables 150] (one of which is) short phoneme [u] (uT-vat) [and nominal stems 1.1] vārdhra- 'strap, thong' and bilvā- 'wood-apple tree, Aegle Marmelos' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135, in the domain of Chandas 150].

Exception to 150 above. *mūñja-sya vikārd-h* = *mūñja+dN* (1.83) = *mauñj-d* 'produced from Mūñja grass'; *garmūt-ah=vikārd-h* = *gārmūt-d* 'modification of Garmūt beans'; similarly *vārdhra-sya vikārd-h* = *vārdhra+dN+NIP* (1.15) = *vārdhr-f* 'leather strap'; *bilvā+dN* = *bailv-d* 'made from B.'

4.3.152 tāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1] āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with tāla- 'the Palmyra tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

tāla-sya vikārd-h = *tāla+dN* = *tāl-d* 'made from the Tāla tree'.

4.3.153 jātā-rūpe-bhyaḥ pari-māṇ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 1.3.2 nominal stems 1.1] signifying gold (jātā-rūpe-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] when the modification is one of weight or measure (pari-māṇ-e).

hātaka-sya vikārd-h niṣka-h = *hātaka+dN* = *hātak-d-h* 'transformation of gold into a niṣka coin'; similarly: *jāta-rūp-d*, *tāpaniy-d* but *hātaka-māy-I yaṣṭi-f-h* 'a stick made of gold' which is not a measure or weight.

152-153 are exceptions to [māyaṭ 143] and [aÑ 154].

4.3.154 ¹prāñi(n)-²rajatā=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating animals (prāñin-*) and the class of words beginning with rajatā- 'silver' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 145].

1. prāñin- : *kapōta-sya vikārd-h/avyayavā-d-h* = *kapōta+aÑ* = *kāpot-a* 'modification or limb of pigeon' and similarly *māyūr-a* 'modification or limb of a peacock'.

2. *rajaṭā=ādi: rāṇāt-a-* 'made of silver'; *śṣa-sya vikārd-h-* = *śaśa-a-* 'modification of lead'.

4.3.155 *Ñ-IT-as=ca tát-pratyay-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 154] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 with marker [Ñ] (*Ñ-IT-as*) [denoting the meanings of modification 134 and limb 135] (*tát-pratyay-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 only].

Exception to [máyaT 143]. The affixes denoting [*vikārd-/avayavá-*], ending in marker [Ñ] are: aÑ (139,154,168), ṭlaÑ (142), vuÑ (157), ḍhaÑ (159) and yaÑ (168).

dāivadāraṇa-sya vikārd-h-/avayavá-h- = *dāivadāraṇa+aÑ* = *dāivadāraṇa-a-* 'a post or stake made in the forest of D. trees' (139); similarly *dādhith-a-* (140), *pālās-a-* (141), *śāmī-la-* (142), *kāpot-a* (154), *aśṣṭrak-a-* (157), *aśṣey-a-* (159), *kāśa-ya-*, *pārśav-a* (168).

4.3.156 *krīta-vát parimāṇ-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying a measure (*parimāṇ-āt*) [to denote a modification 134 or limb 135] are identical with those introduced [in the section 5.1.18ff.] to denote 'purchased by him (*krīta-vát* 5.1.37).

Exception to [śN 1.83]. Numerals are included under 'measure' for this purpose.

niṣká-sya vikārd-h-/avayavá-h- = *niṣká+ṭhāK* (5.1.20) = *niṣk-ika-* 'modification of part of a N.' Similarly *śatá+ṭhāN/yāT* (5.1.21) = *śat-ika-/śat-ya-* 'modification or part of a hundred'.

4.3.157 *úṣṭr-āt=vuÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *úṣṭra-* 'camel' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

úṣṭra-sya vikārd-h-/avayavá-h- = *úṣṭra+vuÑ* = *aúṣṭr-aka-* 'produced from or a limb of a camel'.

4.3.158 ¹úmā=²úrṇay-or vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuṆ 157] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] úmā 'flax' and úrṇā 'wool' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

úmā-y-dḥ vikārd-h = úmā+vuṆ/dṆ (1.83) = aúm-aka-/aum-d- 'produced from flax'; similarly úrṇā-y-dḥ vikārd-h = aúrṇ-aka-/aurṇ-d- 'made of wool'.

4.3.159 eny-ḥḥ=ḍhaṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] enī 'antelope, doe' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

eny-dḥ vikārd-h/avayavā-dḥ = enī+ḍhaṆ = aṇī-ḥya- 'produced from or a limb of the doe antelope', but eṇa-sya vikārd-h/avayavā-dḥ = eṇa+dṆ = aṇī-a- (154).

4.3.160 ¹gó-²páyas-or yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] gó- 'cow, bull' and páyas- 'milk, water' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

gó-r vikārd-h/avayavā-dḥ = gó+yàT = gáv-ya- 'produced from the cow or its limb' similarly páyas-o vikārd-h = payas-yà- 'milk product'.

4.3.161 dró-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT 160 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] drú- 'wood' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

dró-dḥ vikārd-h = dru+yàT = dráv-ya- 'wood product'.

4.3.162 mán-e váya-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] váya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] drú- 'wood' 161 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to signify a measure (mán-e).

drór vikārdḥ = dru+váyā- = dru-váyā- 'a wooden measure'.

4.3.163 phál-e luK

luK (\emptyset^1) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135] when designating a fruit (phál-e).

āmalaky-āḥ vikārd-ḥ/avayavā-d-ḥ = *āmalaka*+*ĀN*S+(*māya*T 144→*luK*) *āmalaka*+ \emptyset^1
(1.2.49) = *āmalaka-m* 'the fruit of the Āmalaka tree'.

4.3.164 plakṣá=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *plakṣá-* 'the Ficus Religiosa tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when designating its fruit 163].

plakṣá-sya vikārd-ḥ/avayavā-d-ḥ phála-m = *plakṣá*+*āN* = *plakṣ-ā-m* 'the fruit of the Ficus Religiosa tree'.

4.3.165 jambv-āḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āN* 164] is optionally (*vā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *jambú* 'the rose-apple tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

jambv-āḥ vikārd-ḥ/avayavā-d-ḥ = *jambū*+*āN*/[*āN*→*luk*] = *jāmbav-dm/jambū* 'rose-apple'.

4.3.166 luP ca

luP (\emptyset^3) [optionally 165 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *jambú* 'rose-apple tree' 165 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

jambū+*āN*/[*āN*→*luK*]/[*āN*→*luP*] = *jāmbav-d-m/jambū/jambū*; by 1.2.51 when replacement of an affix by luP occurs the original stem retains its gender and number.

4.3.167 harṭakī=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP (0³)] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with harṭakī 'Myrobalan' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

harṭaky-āḥ vikārd-ḥ/avayavāḥ phālam = *harṭakī+dN→luP* = *harṭakī* 'the fruit of Myrobalan'.

4.3.168 ¹kaṁsfya-²paraśavyāy-or ¹yaÑ=²aÑ=au luK ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yaÑ and aÑ are introduced respectively (1.3.10) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kaṁsfya- 'bronze' and paraśavyā- 'iron' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] and luK (0¹) replaces [the affixes cha 5.1.1 and yāT 5.1.2 respectively (1.3.10) of these stems].

kaṁsfya-sya vikārd-ḥ = *kaṁsa+cha+yaÑ* = *kaṁsa+0¹+yaÑ* = *kāṁs-ya-* 'made of bronze'. *paraśavyā-sya vikārd-ḥ* = *paraśu+yāT+aÑ* = *paraśu+0¹+aÑ* = *pāraśav-a-* 'made of iron'.

4.4.1 prāk=váhate-s=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] (in this section) preceding (prāk) the sūtra [tád váhati rátha-yugá-prāsaṅgám (76 below)].

This is a governing rule [adhikāra-sūtra] and the affix [ṭhák] or its replacements will recur in the following sūtra-s 2-75.

4.4.2 t-éna dīv-ya-ti khán-a-ti jáy-a-ti ji-tá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote (a) plays with it (dīv-ya-ti), (b) digs with it (khán-a-ti), (c) wins with it (jáy-a-ti) and conquered with it (ji-tá-m).

1. *akṣ-aṣṭ dīv-ya-ti* = *akṣá+ṭhák* = *ākṣ-iká-h* 'who gambles with dice'.
2. *ābhry-ā khán-a-ti* = *ābhri+ṭhák* = *ābhr-iká-h* 'who digs with a spade'.
3. *akṣ-aṣṭ jáy-a-ti* = *akṣ-iká-h* 'who wins with dice'
4. *akṣ-aṣṭ ji-tá-m* = *ākṣ-iká-m* 'won with dice'.

4.4.3 sām-s-kr-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'seasoned or garnished with it' (sām-s-kr-ta-m).

dadh-n-ś sām-s-kr-ta-m = *dádhi+ṭhák* = *dádhi-ká-m* 'seasoned or garnished with curds'; similarly *marica+ṭhák* = *māric-iká-m* 'seasoned with pepper'.

4.4.4 'kulattha-²kā=upadh-āt=āN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kulattha- 'the pulse Dolichos Uniflorus' and those containing phoneme [k] as penultimate [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'seasoned or garnished with it' 3].

Exception to [ṭhák 1].

1. *kulatth-ena sām-s-kr-ta-m* = *kulattha+āN* = *kulatth-ā-m* 'mixed with pulse K.'
2. *tittidīk-ena sām-s-kr-ta-m* = *tittidīka+āN* = *taittidīk-ā* 'seasoned or spiced with tamarind'.

4.4.5 *tár-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhák* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'crosses with it' (*tár-a-ti*).

uḍup-éna tár-a-ti = *uḍupá+ṭhák* = *auḍup-iká-h* 'who sails across by boat'.

4.4.6 *go-pucch-át=ṭhaÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *go-pucchá-* 'ox-tail' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'crosses with it' 5].

go-pucch-éna tár-a-ti = *go-pucchá+ṭhaÑ* = *gau-pucch-ika-h* 'who goes across holding on to the tail of an ox'.

4.4.7 *naú-²dvy-ác-as=ṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *naú-* 'boat' and those containing two syllables (*dvy-ác-aḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'crosses with it 5].

1. *nāu-á tár-a-ti* = *naú+ṭhaN* = *nāu-ika-h* 'sailor (who crosses by boat).

2. *plāv-éna tár-a-ti* = *plāv-ika-h* 'sailor'; *bāhū-bhyām tár-a-ti* = *bāhu-ka-h* 'who swims across with his arms'.

4.4.8 *cár-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhák* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'moves or eats with it' (*cár-a-ti*).

śakaṭ-éna cár-a-ti = *śakaṭa+ṭhák* = *śakaṭ-iká-h* 'travels by a chariot'; *dadh-n-á cár-a-ti* = *dādh-iká-h* 'eats with curds'.

4.4.9 *ākaraṣ-át=ṢṭhaL*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṢṭhaL* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *ākaraṣá-* 'touch-stone' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'moves with it' 8].

ākars-ēna cār-a-ti = *ākarsa+ṢṭhaL* = *ākārs-ika-h* 'who moves with a touch-stone';
 a variant reading is *ākarsa-* with a derivative *ākārs-ika-*. Feminine derivative
 with *NfS* (1.41).

4.4.10 *parpá=ādi-bhyas=ṢṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṢṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1.1] beginning with *parpá-* 'wheel-chair' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'moves with it' 8].

parp-ēna cār-a-ti = *parpá+ṢṭhaN* = *pārp-ika-h* m./*parp-ik-f* f. (1.41) 'moves with a wheel-chair'

4.4.11 *śva-gaṇ-āt=ṭhaÑ=ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ*, in addition to (ca) [*ṢṭhaN* 10 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *śva-gaṇá-* 'a pack of dogs' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'moves with it' 8].

śva-gaṇ-ena cār-a-ti = *śva-gaṇá+ṭhaÑ/ṢṭhaN* = *śvā-gaṇ-ika-h/śvā-gaṇ-ika-h* 'who moves with a pack of dogs'.

4.4.12 *vétana=ādi-bhyaḥ=jīv-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *vétana-* 'wages' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'earns his livelihood with it' (*jīv-a-ti*).

vétan-ena jīv-a-ti = *vétana+ṭhāK* = *vaitan-ikā-h* 'who lives with wages'.

4.4.13 *¹vasná-²kraya-vikray-āt=ṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *vasná-* 'salary' and *kraya-vikrayá-* 'buying and selling' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'earns his livelihood with it' 12].

vasn-ēna jīv-a-ti = *vasná+ṭhaN* = *vāsn-ika-h* 'lives by earning salary or wages';
 similarly *krāya-vikray-ika-h* 'who earns his livelihood by buying and selling';
 separately *kray-ēna/vikray-ēna jīv-a-ti* = *krāy-ika-h/vikray-ika-h*.

4.4.14 ā-yudh-āt=cha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha in addition to (ca) [ṭhaN is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ā-yudh-a 'weapon' [ending in 1 1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'earns his livelihood with it' 12].

ā-yudh-ena jīva-a-ti = ā-yudh-a+cha/ṭhaN = ā-yudh-ṭya-h/ā-yudh-ika-h 'a mercenary who earns his livelihood with weapons'.

4.4.15 hār-a-ti=ut-saṅgá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with ut-saṅg-á- 'lap' [ending in 1 1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote the sense of 'carry away, bear' (hār-a-ti).

ut-saṅg-ena hār-a-ti = ut-saṅg-á+ṭhák = aut-saṅg-iká-h 'who carries with his lap'.

4.4.16 bhāstrā=ādi-bhyas=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with bhāstrā 'leather pouch or bag' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'carry away' 15].

bhāstray-ā hār-a-ti = bhāstrā+ṢṭhaN = bhāstr-ika-h m., -ikf f. 'who transports with a leathern bag'.

4.4.17 vibhāṣā ¹vivadhá-²vīvadh-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 16] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vivadhá- and vīvadhá- 'a shoulder yoke' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'carries or bears with it' 15].

vivadh-ena/vīvadh-ena hār-a-ti = vīvadhá+ṢṭhaN/ṭhák = vīvadh-ika-(m) ("-ikf f.) / vīvadh-ika- ("-ikf f.) / vaivadh-iká- (-ikf f.) 'who carries with a shoulder yoke'.

4.4.18 áN kūṭīlikā-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kūṭīlikā 'moving crookedly' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'carries or bears with it' 15].

kāṭīlikay-a hār-a-ti = kāṭīlikā + dN = kaurīlik-a-h mṛgd-h 'who carries while moving crookedly (said of an animal)'.

4.4.19 nīr-vṛt-t-e=akṣa-dyūtā=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhāk 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with akṣa-dyūtā- 'gambling with dice' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'originated or accomplished by it' (nīr-vṛt-t-e).

akṣa-dyūt-ēna nīr-vṛtta-m = akṣa-dyūtā + ṭhāk = akṣa-dyūt-ikā-m (vairām)
'(enmity) engendered by gambling with dice'.

4.4.20 Ktre-r maP=nītya-m

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] maP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktrī (3.3.38 occurring after verbal stems with marker ḌU as IT) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'originated or accomplished by it' 19] necessarily (nītya-m).

pāk-ēna nīr-vṛt-ta-m = ḌU-pac-AS + Ktrī + maP = pak=trī-ma-m 'completed by cooking'; similarly *kṛ-trī-ma-* 'artificial, accomplished by fashioning'.

4.4.21 'apa-mī-t-ya-²yācitā-bhyaṁ kāK= kaNau

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] kāK and kaN are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] apa-mī-t-ya- 'debt' and yāc-i-tā 'alms' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'originated or accomplished by it' 19.]

apa-mī-t-ya nīr-vṛt-ta-m = apa-mī-t-ya + kāK = āpa-mī-t-ya-kā-m 'achieved by barter' (according to Kāṇḍikā and S. Kaumudī) where [apa-mī-t-ya] is construed as a gerund, but the nominal stem occurs in AV. Similarly *yācit-ēna nīr-vṛt-ta-m = yācita-ka-m* 'received through alms'.

4.4.22 sām-sṛṣ-ṭ-e

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhāk 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'mixed with it' (sām-sṛṣ-ṭ-e).

dadh-n-ā sām-sṛṣ-ṭa-m = dādhi + ṭhāK = dādhi-kā-m 'mixed with curds'.

4.4.23 cūrṇ-āt=īnī-ḥ

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *īnī* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *cūrṇa-* 'powder' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'mixed with it' 22].

cūrṇ-ena sām-sṛṣ-ṭa-m = cūrṇa + īnī = cūrṇ-īnī- 'covered with powder'.

4.4.24 lavaṇ-āt=luK

luK (Ø¹) replaces [the taddhitā 1.72 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* 1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *lavaṇā-* 'salt' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'mixed with it' 22].

lavaṇ-ēna sām-sṛṣ-ṭa-m = lavaṇā + ṭhāK → luK = lavaṇā- 'salted; mixed with salt'.

4.4.25 mudg-āt=āN

[The taddhitā 1.72 affix 3.1.1] *āN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *mudgā-* 'Mung bean' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'mixed with it' 22].

mudgā + āN = maudg-ā- 'mixed with M. beans'.

4.4.26 vy-āñjan-air úpa-sik-t-e

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a condiment (*vy-āñjan-aiḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'sprinkled with' (*úpa-sik-t-e*).

dadh-n-ā úpa-sik-ta-m = dādhi + ṭhāK = dādhi-kā-m 'sprinkled with curds';
similarly *pāyas-ā úpa-sik-ta-m = pāyas-ikā-m* 'sprinkled with water/milk'.

4.4.27 ¹ójas=²sāhas=³āmbhas-Ī vārt-a-te

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *ójas-* 'strength', *sāhas-* 'violence' and *āmbhas-* 'water' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'proceeds with' (*vārt-a-te*).

ōjas-a vārt-a-te = *ōjas+ṭhāK* = *aujas-ikā-* 'endowed with strength'; similarly: *sāhas-ikā-* 'violent' and *ambhas-ikā-* 'aquatic'.

4.4.28 tát ¹prāti=²ānu-pūrva-m ¹īpa-²loma(n)=³kūla-m

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhāK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] °-īpā- 'water', °-loman- 'hair' and °-kūla- 'bank, shore' co-occurring with the preverbs prāti-° and ānu-° as prior members (°-pūrvam) (ending in 1.1.27) the second sUP triplet (tát) [to denote 'remaining with' 27].

pratīpā-m vārt-a-te = *pratīpā+ṭhāK* = *prātīp-ikā-* 'moving against the current'; similarly *ānu-īp-ikā-* 'moving with the current'; *prāti-lom-ikā-/ānu-lom-ikā* 'moving against/along the bank'.

4.4.29 pari-mukhā-m=ca

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhāK 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] parimukhā 'round or about the face' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'remaining with' 27].

pari-mukhā-m vārt-a-te = *pāri-mukh-ikā-* '(always) facing (the master) = attendant, servant'.

4.4.30 prā-yacch-a-ti garhyā-m

[The taddhitā 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhāK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'gives what is blameworthy' (prā-yacch-a-ti garhyā-m).

dvi-guṇā-m (= *dvi-guṇārthā-m*) *prā-yacch-a-ti* = *dvi-guṇa+ṭhāK* = *dvai-gun-ikā-h* 'who lends money for the purpose of doubling it (by usury)'.

4.4.31 ¹kūsīda-²daśa=ekādaś-āt ¹ṢṭhaN=²ṢṭhāC-au

[The taddhitā 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN and ṢṭhāC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *kūsīda-* 'interest-bearing loan' and *daśa=ekādaśā-* 'lending money at 10 % interest' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'gives what is blameworthy' 30].

kūsīda-m prā-yacch-a-ti = *kūsīda+ṢṭhaN* = *kūsīd-ika-h* (°-ikā f. 1.41) 'usurer,

money-lender'. Similarly *daśa-ekādaśa-m prā-yacch-a-ti* = *daśaikādaśa+SthāC* = *daśaikādaś-ikā-h* 'who charges 10 % interest'.

4.4.32 ūñch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'gleans it' (ūñch-a-ti).

badarā-n-i uñch-a-ti = *badara+ṭhāK* = *bādar-ikā-h* 'who gleanes or gathers jujube fruit'.

4.4.33 rākṣ-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'protects it' (rākṣ-a-ti).

samājā-m rākṣ-a-ti = *sāmāj-ikā-h* 'guardian of the assembly'.

4.4.34 ¹sābda-²dardura-m kar-ó-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *sābda-* 'sound' and *dardura-* 'a particular kind of pot' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'produces it' (kar-o-ti).

sābda-m kar-ó-ti = *sābda+ṭhāK* = *sābd-ikā-h* 'grammarian, linguist' similarly *dārdur-ikā-h* 'potter'.

4.4.35 ¹pakṣí(n)-²mátsya-³mṛgā-n hán-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] designating birds (*pakṣín-*), fish (*-mátsya-*) and animals (*-mṛgā-n*) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'kills them' (hán-ti).

pakṣín-aḥ hán-ti = *pakṣṭh+ikāK* (6.4.144) = *pākṣṭh-ikā-h* (6.4.148) 'bird hunter'; *māyār-ikā-h* 'hunter of peacocks'.

mátsya-n hán-ti = *mātsy-ikā-h* 'fisherman' (vārtt. on 6.4.149); similarly *sāphar-ikā-h* 'a fisherman catching Ś. fish'.

mṛgā-n hán-ti = *mārg-ikā-h* 'animal-hunter'; so also *sūkarā-n hán-ti* 'hunter of wild-boars': *saukar-ikā-h*.

4.4.36 *pari-panthá-m=ca tīṣṭh-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *pari-panthá-* 'by or on the way' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'remains' (*tīṣṭh-a-ti*) in addition to (*ca*) [kills, strikes' 35].

pari-panthá-m tīṣṭh-a-ti/hán-ti = *pari-panthá+ṭhák* = *pāri-panth-iká-* 'highway robber/murderer'.

Note that 35-36 constitute a natural hemistich of an anuṣṭubh verse.

4.4.37 *'māthá=uttara-pada-²padavī=³anupadā-m dhāu-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] co-occurring with *'-māthá-* 'way, road' as final member (*'-uttara-pada-* of a compound), and the words *padavī* 'footpath' and *anu-padā-* 'following closely' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 29] to denote 'runs' (*dhāu-a-ti*).

daṇḍa-māthá-m dhāu-a-ti = *daṇḍa-māthá+ṭhák* = *dāṇḍa-māth-iká-* 'who runs on a straight road'; similarly *padav-iká-* 'running on the sidewalk, footpath or pavement'; *ānu-pad-iká-* 'pursuer, shadower'.

4.4.38 *ā-krand-āt=thañ ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhañ* is introduced, in addition to (*ca*) [ṭhák 1 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *ā-krand-á* 'battle-field or place of lamentation' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'runs' 37].

ā-krand-ā-m dhāu-a-ti = *ā-krand-ā+ṭhañ/ṭhák* = *ā-krand-ika-h/ā-krand-iká-h* 'runs on the battle-field or a place of lamentation'.

4.4.39 *padā=uttara-pada-m gṛh-ṇā-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with *'padā-* as a final member (*'-uttara-pada-m* of a compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'grasps it' (*gṛh-ṇā-ti*).

pūruva-padā-m gṛh-ṇā-ti = *pūruva-padā+ṭhák* = *paurva-pad-iká-* 'who grasps the preceding member (of a compound)'.

4.4.40 ¹prati-kaṇṭhā=²ārtha=³lalāma-m ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.1 the nominal stems 1.1] prati-kaṇṭhā- 'throat by throat', ārtha- 'sense, import, meaning' and lalāma- 'an ornament' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'grasps it' 39].

prati-kaṇṭhā-m gṛh-ṇā-ti = *prati-kaṇṭhā+ṭhák* = *prati-kaṇṭh-ikā-* 'who seizes throat by throat'; similarly *ārth-ikā-* 'who grasps the meaning'; *lalām-ikā-* 'who holds the ornament'.

4.4.41 dhárma-m cár-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dhárma- 'law' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'observes or practises it' (cár-a-ti).

dhárma-m cár-a-ti = *dharma+ṭhák* = *dhārm-ikā-* 'who observes or practises law'.

4.4.42 prati-path-ám é-ti ṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1] as well as ṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prati-path-á- 'path by path' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'goes along it' (é-ti).

prati-path-ā-m é-ti = *prati-path-ā+ṭhaN/ṭhák* = *prāti-path-ika-/prāti-path-ikā-* 'who goes along each path'.

4.4.43 samavāyā-n sam-á-vaiti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying an assemblage (sam-ava=āyā-n) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'assembles it' (sam-áva+e-ti).

samavāyā-n sam-ávai-ti = *samavāyā+ṭhák* = *sāmvāy-ikā-* 'frequenter of communities'.

4.4.44 pari-śád-aḥ=Nyá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-śád- 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'frequents it' 43].

pari-ṣād-aṁ sam-āvai-ti = *pariṣad+Ṇyā-* = *pāri-ṣad-yā-* 'assemblyman, councillor'.

4.4.45 *sénā-y-āḥ=vā*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *Ṇyā* 44] is optionally (*vā*) introduced [after the nominal stem 1.1] *sénā* 'army' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'frequents it' 43].

sénā-m sam-āvai-ti = *sénā+Ṇyā/ṭhāK* = *sain-yā-/sain-īkā-* 'soldier'.

4.4.46 *saṁjñā-y-āṁ* ¹*lalāṭa-* ²*kukkuṭi-* *áu pásy-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhāK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *lalāṭa-* 'forehead' and *kukkuṭi* 'hen' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'sees it' (*pásy-a-ti*) when deriving a proper name (*saṁjñā-y-āṁ*).

lalāṭa-m pásy-a-ti = *lalāṭa+ṭhāK* = *lalāṭ-ikā-* 'a negligent servant'; *kukkuṭi-m pásy-a-ti* = *kaukkuṭ-ikā-ḥ* (*bhikṣú-ḥ*) 'wandering (monk)'. These meanings are derived from the fact that in the first case the person looks at the forehead of the master from a distance without performing his duties and in the second case he walks looking down on the ground.

4.4.47 *tá-sya dharm-yā-m*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhāK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote 'one's proper duty or obligation' (*dharm-yā-m*).

śulka-śālā-y-āḥ dharm-yā-m = *śulka-śālā+ṭhāK* = *śaulka-śāl-ikā-m* 'behavior proper to a custom-house'; similarly *ā-karā-sya dharmyā-m* = *ākar-ikā-m* 'miner's duty'.

4.4.48 *śṆ māhiṣī=ādi-bhyaḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *śṆ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *māhiṣī* 'principal queen' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'one's duty or obligation' 47].

māhiṣy-āḥ dharmyām = *māhiṣ-ā-m* 'duties proper to the principal queen'.

4.4.49 ṛT-ah=aṅ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aṅ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme short [ɹ] (ṛT-ah) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'one's proper duty' 47].

hót-ur dharmyām = hótṛ+aṅ = haútr-a-m 'duty of the Hótṛ-priest'.

4.4.50 ava-kray-á-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 47] to denote 'its revenue' (ava-kray-á-h).

śulka-śālā-y-āḥ ava-kray-á-h = śulka-śālā+ṭhák = śaulka-śāl-iká-h 'custom-house revenue'.

4.4.51 tád a-syá pánya-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'his commodity for sale' (a-syá pánya-m).

apūpá-h pánya-m a-syd = apūpá+ṭhák = apūp-iká-h 'a dealer in cakes'; similarly *módaka+ṭhák = maudak-iká-h* 'a dealer in sweetmeats'.

4.4.52 lavaṇ-āt=ṭhaṅ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaṅ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] lavaṇá- 'salt' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one's commodity for sale 51].

lavaṇ-m pánya-m a-syd = lavaṇá+ṭhaṅ = lávaṇ-ika-h 'salt dealer'.

4.4.53 kíśara=ādi-bhyas=Ṣṭhaṅ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṣṭhaṅ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kíśara- 'n.pr. of a perfume' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one's commodity for sale 51].

kíśara-h pánya-m a-syd = kíśara+Ṣṭhaṅ = kíśar-ika-h (*-ik-f f. 1.41) 'dealer in perfumery'

4.4.54 śālālu-n-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 53] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śālālu- 'n: of a perfume' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one's commodity for sale 51].

śālālu pānya-m a-syá = *śālālu+ṢṭhaN/ṭhák* = *śālālu-ka-h/śālālu-ká-h* 'dealer specializing in Ś. perfume'. Feminine derivatives are: *śālālu-kf/śālālu-kf* (resp. 1.41, 15).

4.4.55 śīlpa-m-

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote that 'it is one's art' (śīlpa-m).

mṛdanga-vādanā-m śīlpa-m a-syá = *mṛdanga+ṭhák* = *mārdang-iká-h* 'expert drum-player'; similarly *vaiṇ-iká-h* 'expert player on the Vīṇā'.

4.4.56 ¹maḍḍuka-²jharjar-āt=áN=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] maḍḍuka- and jharjhara- 'kinds of drums' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51 to denote one's art 55].

The option is with respect to the general affix [ṭhák 1].

maḍḍuka+áN/ṭhák = *māḍḍu-ká-h/māḍḍuk-iká-h* 'expert player on M. drum'; similarly *jhārjhar-á-h/jhārjhar-iká-h*.

4.4.57 pra-hár-aṇa-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote 'this is [one's 51] weapon' (pra-hár-aṇa-m).

aśi-h pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá = *aśi+ṭhák* = *aśi-ká-h* 'swordsmen'.

dhānuḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá = *dhānuḥ-ká-h* 'archer'.

4.4.58 paraśvadh-āt=ṭhaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced in addition to (ca) [ṭhák 1 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] paraśvadh- 'hatchet' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is one's' 51 weapon 57].

paraśvadh+ṭhaÑ/ṭhák = páraśvadh-ika-h/pāraśvadh-iká-h 'hatchet-man'.

4.4.59 'śakti-²yaṣṭy-ór IkáK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] IkáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śakti- 'dart, spear' and yaṣṭi- 'stick' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is one's' 51 weapon 57].

śakti-h pra-hár-ana-m a-syá = śakti-+IkáK = śákti-íká-h 'wielder of darts or spears';
so also *yāṣṭi-íká-h* 'whose weapon is a stick'.

4.4.60 'ásti-²násti-³diṣṭá-m matí-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] ás-ti 'there is', ná=as-ti 'there is not' and diṣṭá- 'fate' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is [one's 51] belief (matí-h)].

ás=ti matí-r a-syá = asti-+ṭhák = ást-iká-h 'theist'; so also *nást-iká-h* 'atheist' and *diṣṭ-iká-h* 'fatalist'.

4.4.61 śfla-m

[The taddhitá 1.72 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote '[this is one's 51] habit or nature' (śfla-m).

apāpa-(bhakṣan-ám) śfla-m a-syá = apāpá+ṭhák = āpāp-iká-h 'who has for his regular diet cakes'; similarly *audan-iká-h* 'accustomed to eat rice'.

4.4.62 cháttra=ādi-bhyaḥ=Ná-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with chát-tra- 'shelter, cover' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is one's 51 habit or nature 61].

chát-tra-m śfla-m a-syá = chat-tra+Ná = chát-tr-á-h 'accustomed to take shelter (under a preceptor), pupil'.

4.4.63 kārma=adhy-āyan-e vṛt-tā-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying an action (kārman) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote 'occurring in [one's 51] study' (adhy-āyan-e).

ēka-m anyād adhy-āy-an-e vṛt-tām = ekānyā+ṭhák = aikāny-ikā-h '(a pupil) who commits a single error in the course of his study'; similarly *dvaiyany-ikā-h/traiy-any-ikā-h*.

4.4.64 bahu=āC-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭhāC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhāC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with a polysyllabic prior member (bahu=āC-pūrva-pad-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote 'occurring in (one's 51) study' 63].

dvā-daśa anyā-n-i karmā-n-i adhy-āyan-e vṛt-tā-m = dvā-daśānyā+ṭhák = dvādaśāny-ikā-h '(a pupil) who commits twelve errors in his study'. The difference between the two affixes is with reference to the vṛddhi replacement of the first syllable: *trayodaśāny-ikā-h*.

4.4.65 hi-tā-m bhakṣā-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is his 51] wholesome diet (hi-tā-m bhakṣā-h).

odana-(bhakṣānā-m) hi-tā-m a-syā = odanā+ṭhák = audan-ikā-h 'whose wholesome diet is rice'.

4.4.66 tād a-smāi dī-yā-te nī-yuk-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tād) to denote 'is allotted to him rightfully' (a-smāi dī-yā-te nī-yuk-ta-m).

āgr-e bhāj-ana-m a-smāi nī-yuk-ta-m dī-yā-te = āgra-bhājana+ṭhák = āgra-bhajan-ikā-h 'entitled to be served first with food'

4.4.67 ¹śrāṇā-²māmsa=odan-āt=ṭiṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭiṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śrāṇā 'rice gruel' and māmsaudanā- 'rice mixed with meat' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is allotted to him rightfully' 55].

If only these two nominal stems were involved the affix [ṭhaN] might as well have been introduced in the place of [ṭiṭhaN]; the purpose of so introducing this affix is to indicate, according to interpretation, that besides the compound māmsaudanā-, odanā- also is subject to the same operation.

śrāṇā a-smāḥ dī-yā-te nī-yuk-ta-m = śrāṇā+ṭiṭhaN = śrāṇ-ika-h 'entitled to be served with rice gruel'; odanā+ṭiṭhaN = odan-ika-h 'entitled to be served with rice'.

4.4.68 bhak-t-āt=āN=anya-tarā-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] āN is optionally (anyatarāsyām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] bhak-tā- 'food' [ending in 1 1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'it is allotted to him rightfully 66].

bhaktām a-smāḥ nīyuktam dīyāte = bhaktā+āN/ṭhāK = bhakt-ā-h/bhakt-ikā-h 'entitled to be served with food'

4.4.69 tā-tra nī-yuk-ta-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhāK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tā-tra) to denote 'appointed or employed there'(nīyuktaḥ).

śulka-śālā-y-ām nīyuktaḥ = śulkaśālā+ṭhāK = śaulka-śāl-ikā-h 'employed at the custom-house'.

4.4.70 agāra=ant-āt=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with °-agāra- 'house' as a final member (agārānt-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'appointed or employed therein 69].

devāgār-ē nīyukta-h = devāgārā+ṭhaN = devāgār-ika-h 'temple employ, church employ'; so also bhāṇḍāgār-ika-h 'employed in the treasury'.

4.4.71 adhy-āy-in-i=ā-¹deśa-²kāl-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] specifying an improper place or time (ā-deśa-kāl-āt) and [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote a student (adhy-āy-in-i).

1. ā-deśa: śmaśān-e ddhī-te = śmaśāna-ṭhák = śmaśān-iká-h 'a pupil' studying in the crematorium'.
2. ā-kāla: caturdaśy-am ddhī-te = caturdaś-iká-h 'who studies on the fourteenth day of a fortnight'.

4.4.72 ¹kaṭhiná=anta-²pra-stār-ā-³saṁ-sthāne-ṣu vy-áva-har-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.16 attix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] co-occurring with "-kaṭhiná- 'thicket, clump, forest' as a final member (°-antāt of a compound) and the words pra-stār- 'jungle, forest' and saṁ-sthāna- 'public place' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'transacts business [there 69]' (vy-áva-iar-a-ti).

1. vāmśa-kaṭhin-e vy-áva-har-a-ti = vāmśa-kaṭhiná-ṭhák - vāmśa-kaṭhin-iká-h 'who transacts business in a bamboo thicket'.
2. pra-stār-e vy-áva-har-a-ti = pra-stār-iká-h 'who carries on business/trade in a jungle'.
3. saṁ-sthān-e vy-áva-har-a-ti = sāmsthan-iká-h 'who carries on business in a public place'.

4.4.73 nī-kaṭ-e vās-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] nī-kaṭa- 'near' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'he lives [there 69] (vās-a-ti).

- nīkaṭ-e vās-a-ti = nīkaṭa-ṭhák = nīkaṭ-iká-h (bhikṣā-h) 'lives near (a village) [said of an ascetic]'.

4.4.74 ā-vas-āth-āt=ṢṭhaL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ā-vas-āth-a- 'house' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'one lives (there 69)'73].

ā-vas-dīh-e vās-a-ti = *ā-vas-dīh-a+ṢṭhaL* = *ā-vas-dīh-ika-h* m. ("ikf l. 1.41) 'who resides in a house'

4.4.75 *prāk=hi-t-āt=yàT*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] beginning with this section up to 5.1.5 below [*tá-smai hi-tá-m*].

This constitutes a governing rule (*adhikāra*) and the affix [*yàT*] recurs in all subsequent rules of this section unless otherwise specified up to 5.1.4 inclusive.

The section governing the affix [*thák* 1ff.] ends here.

4.4.76 *tád váh-a-ti* ¹*rátha*-²*yugá*-³*prāsaṅgá-m*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *rátha*- 'chariot', *yugá*- 'yoke' and *prāsaṅgá*- 'a kind of yoke for cattle' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet [*tád*] to denote 'bears or carries that' (*tád váh-a-ti*).

rátha-m váh-a-ti = *ratha+yàT* = *rāth-ya-h* (6.1.13) 'which draws the chariot'.
yugá-m váh-a-ti = *yūg-ya-h* 'yoke-bearer'; *prāsaṅgá-m váh-a-ti* = *prāsaṅg-ya-h*.

4.4.77 *dhúr-aḥ=yàT=ḍhák-au*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *yàT* and *ḍhák* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *dhúr*- 'beam of a plough' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries that' 76].

dhúr-am váh-a-ti = *dhúr+yàT/ḍhák* = *dhúr-ya-h/ḍhaur-eyá-h* '(a beast) carrying the beam of a plough'.

4.4.78 *kha-h sarva-dhur-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sarva-dhur-á* 'entire burden' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries that' 76].

sarva-dhurá-m váh-a-ti = *sarva-dhurá+kha* = *sarva-dhurá¹-ṇa-h* 'bearing the whole burden'.

4.4.79 *eka-dhur-āt=luK ca*

luK (θ¹) also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 78 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *eka-dhur-ā* 'a single shaft' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries it' 78].

eka-dhur-ā-m vāh-a-ti = eka-dhurā+kha/kha→luk = eka-dhur-ā-h/eka-dhur-ā-h
(1.2.49) 'bearer of a single shaft'.

4.4.80 *śakaṭ-āt=áN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *śakaṭa-* 'cart' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries it' 76].

śakaṭa-m vāh-a-ti = śakaṭa+áN = śakaṭθ¹+á-h (6.4.148) 'who draws the cart'.

4.4.81 *¹hala-²sīr-āt=ṭháK*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1.] *halá-* and *sīra-* 'plough' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries it' 76].

halá-m/sīra-m vāh-a-ti = hald/sīra+ṭháK = hál-iká-h/sair-iká-h 'who bears the ploughshare'.

4.4.82 *samjñā-y-ām jāny-āḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *jānī* 'a young married woman' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries her' 76 to form a name (*samjñā-y-ām*)].

jānī-m vāh-a-ti = jānī+yàT+TāP (1.4) = *jānθ-yā* (6.4.148) 'bridesmaid (who introduces the bride to the bridegroom)'.

4.4.83 *vīdh-ya-ti=á-dhanuṣ-ā*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'pierces with [it 76]' (*vīdh-ya-ti*) other than with a bow (*á-dhanuṣ-ā*).

padd-m vīdh-y-anti = padd+yàT+Jas = pad+yàT+Jas (6.3.53) = *pád-yāḥ*

(*sárkara-h*) 'piercing the foot (said of gravel)'. But *pád-aé vdh-ya-ti dhánus-a* 'pierces the feet with a bow'.

4.4.84 ¹dhána-²gaṇá-m lab-dhá

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dhána- 'wealth' and gaṇá- 'troop' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'receives [that 76]' (lab-dhá).

dhán-an lab-dhá = *dhána+yàT* = *dhánθ-ya-h* 'wealthy'; similarly *gaṇá-m lab-dhá* = *gaṇ-ya-h* 'who acquires a multitude'.

4.4.85 ánn-āt=Ná-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ánna- 'food' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76 to denote 'obtains [that 76]' 84].

ánna-m lab-dhá = *ánna +Ná* = *ánna-á-h* 'one who gets food'.

4.4.86 vása-m ga-tá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1.] vása- 'control, subjection' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'has gone to or under [that 76]' (ga-tá-h).

vása-m ga-tá-h = *vása+yI* = *vás-ya-h* 'subjected, gone under subjection or control of'.

4.4.87 padá-m a-smín dṛś-ya-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] padá- 'foot-print' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (padá-m) to denote 'is to be seen or visible in this' (a-smín dṛś-ya-m).

padá-m a-smín (kardám-e) dṛś-ya-m = *padá+yI* = *pád-ya-h (kar-dáma-h)* '(mud) in which a footstep is to be seen'.

4.4.88 mûla-m a-syá=ā-barhí

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mûla- 'root' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (mûla-m) to denote 'fit for eradication or uprooting' (ā-barhí).

mûla-m e-sām (māṣā-ñ-ām ā-barhí) = mûla+yaT+Jas = mûl-yā-h (māṣā-h) 'these plants of M. beans are fit for uprooting'.

4.4.89 samjñā-y-ām dhenuṣyā

(The irregular expression) dhenuṣyā is introduced as a name (samjñā-y-ām) 'a cow whose milk has been pledged as repayment of a debt' [irregularly derived with the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75].

dhenu+yàT = dhenu+ṣyK+yàT+TāP = dhenu-ṣ-yā

4.4.90 gr̥ha-patí-nā sām-yuk-t-e Ñya-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gr̥ha-patí- 'master of the house' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (gr̥ha-patí-nā) to denote 'joined with' (sām-yuk-t-e)].

gr̥ha-patí-nā sām-yuk-ta-h (agní-h) = gr̥ha-patí+Ñya + gārha-pat̥h-ya-h 'domestic [fire] joined with the master of the house'.

4.4.91 ¹naú-²váyas=³dhárma-⁴vīṣa-⁵mûla-⁶mûla-⁷sītā-⁸tulā-bhyas=¹tār-yà-²túl-ya-³prāp-ya-⁴vád̥h-ya=⁵ā-nām-yà-⁶samā-⁷sá-mita-⁸sām-mi-te-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naú 'boat', váyas- 'age', dhárma- 'law,' vīṣa- 'poison', mûla-¹ 'root', mûla-² 'capital, value', sītā 'furrow made by a plough', and tulā 'balance' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'to be crossed' (tār-yà-), 'equal to' (túl-ya-), 'to be attained' (prāp-ya-), 'to be killed' (vád̥h-ya-), 'to be bent down' (ā-nām-yà-), 'equivalent to' (samā-), 'measured out' (sá-mita-), and 'equal to' (sām-mita-).

1. *naú-ā tār-yā-m = naú+yàT = naú-yā-m (6.1.79,213) 'to be crossed by boat, navigable'.*

2. *váyas-ā túl-ya-h = vayas-yā-h 'companion, friend (of the same age group)'.*

3. *dhārm-ena prāp-ya-m* = *dhārm-ya-m* 'attainable by law, righteous'.
4. *viṣ-ena vādh-ya-ḥ* = *viṣ-ya-ḥ* 'to be killed by poison'.
5. *mūl-ena¹ ā-nām-yā-m* = *mūl-ya-m¹* 'to be uprooted/extirpated'.
6. *mūl-ena² samā-ḥ* = *mūl-ya-ḥ²* 'equivalent in value'.
7. *śṭay-ā śd-mi-ta-m* = *śṭ-ya-m* (*kṣetra-m*) '(a field) measured by the number of furrows'.
8. *tulāy-ā śdm-mi-ta-m* = *tūl-ya-m* 'having the same weight, equivalent'.

4.4.92 ¹dhārma-²pāthi(n)=³ārtha-⁴ny-āy-āt=án-ape-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *dhārma-* 'law', *pāthin-* 'path', *ārtha-* 'interest' and *ny-āy-ā-* 'rule, law' [ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (°-ny-āy-āt) to denote 'not deviating from' (*án-ape-t-e*).

dhārm-āt án-ape-ta-m = *dhārma+yàT* = *dhārm-ya-m* 'not deviating from law, legal, moral'; similarly *pāth-ya-m* (6.4.144) 'not diverting from the path'; *ārthāt ānapetam* = *ārth-ya-m* 'not departing from interest'; *ny-āy-ya-m* 'not deviating from the rule'.

4.4.93 chāndas-o nír-mi-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *chāndas-* 'wish, desire' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'created' (*nír-mi-t-e*).

chāndas-ā nír-mi-ta-ḥ = *chāndas+yàT* = *chands-yā-ḥ* 'willingly created'.

4.4.94 úrasa-aḥ=áN ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced in addition to (ca) [yàT 75 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *úras-* 'chest, bosom' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'created' 93].

úras-ā nír-mi-ta-ḥ = *úras+yàT* = *uras-yā-ḥ* 'produced from one's bosom, legitimate'. *úras+dN* = *auras-d-*.

4.4.95 hṛdaya-sya priy-ā-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *hṛdaya-* 'heart' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*hṛdaya-sya*) to denote 'dear to' (*priy-ā-ḥ*).

hṛdaya-sya priy-ā-h = *hṛdaya+yāT* = *hṛd+yāT* (6.3.50) = *hṛd-ya-h* 'dear to one's heart, hearty'.

4.4.96 bāndh-an=e ca=ṛṣ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *hṛdaya-* 'heart' 95 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 95] to denote a Vedic Incantation (ṛṣ-au) which bewitches (bāndh-an-e) or 'casts a spell'.

hṛdaya-sya bāndh-ana-m ṛṣi-h = *hṛd-ya-h (māntra-h)* 'a Vedic spell for bewitching'.

4.4.97 ¹matá-²jána-³hal-āt ¹kárapa-²jalpá-³kárṣe-su

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *ma-tá-* 'knowledge', *ján-a-* 'individual' and *halá-* 'plough' [ending in 1.1.72] in the sixth sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'a means' (*kár-apa-*), 'gossip' (*jalp-á-*) and 'dragging' (*kárṣ-a-*).

ma-tá-sya kár-apa-m = *ma-tá+yāT* = *mát-ya-m* 'means of acquiring knowledge'; similarly *jána-sya jalpá-h* = *ján-yah* 'rumor, gossip'; *halá-sya kárṣ-ā-h* = *hál-ya-h* 'dragging of the plough'.

4.4.98 tá-tra sādḥú-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*tá-tra*) to denote 'it is good for it' (*tátra sādḥú-h*).

The expression [*sādḥú-* 'good'] also denotes 'proper, suitable, expert in'. *sāma-su sādḥú-h* = *sāman+yāT* = *sāman-yā-h* (6.4.168) for retention of [n] 'expert in Sāma Veda'. Similarly *kárman-i sādḥú-h* = *karman-yā-h* 'good in action'.

4.4.99 pratiJaná=ādi-bhyḥ khañ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *khañ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *prati-janá-* 'each person/adversary' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for it' 98].

prati-jan-ā sādḥú-h = *prati-janá+khañ* = *prāti-jan-ma-h* 'good/suitable for each person/adversary'.

4.4.100 bhak-t-āt=Ná-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] bhak-tá- 'food, nourishment' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for it' 98].

bhak-t-ē sādḥá-h = *bhakta+Ná* = *bhák-t-d-h* (*sáti-h*) '(rice) suitable as nourishment'.

4.4.101 pari-śád-aḥ=Nyá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-śád- 'assembly' ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for it' 98.

pari-śád-i sādḥá-h = *pari-śád+Nya* = *pāri-śad-yá-h* 'proper/fit for the assembly'.

4.4.102 kathā-ādi-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kathā 'narrative, story' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for that' 98].

kathā-y-ām sādḥá-h = *kathā+ṭháK* = *kāth-ika-h* 'suitable for a narrative'.

4.4.103 guḍá=ādi-bhyas=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with guḍá- 'molasses' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

guḍ-ē sādḥá-h = *guḍá+ṭhaÑ* = *gaúḍ-ika-h* 'good for molasses'.

4.4.104 ¹páthi(n)-²átithi-³vasáti-⁴svapatéh=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] páthin- 'path', á-tithi- 'guest', vas-á-ti 'residence', sva-pati- 'one's master' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

path-i sādḥá-h = *páthin+dhaÑ* = *páthaṭṭ+eya-* (6.4.144) = *páth-eya-* 'good or suitable for the road'. Similarly: *átithi+dhaÑ* = *átith-eya-* (6.4.148) 'proper for the guest'; *vásat-eya-* 'suitable for a residence' and *svá-pat-ya-* 'good for one's master'.

4.4.105 sabhā-y-āḥ=yā-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yā is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sabhā 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

sabhā-y-āḥ sādhdū-h = *sabhā+yā-* = *sabhā+yā* (6.4.148) = *sabh-yā-h* 'fit for the assembly'.

4.4.106 dha-s=chandas-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stem 1.1 sabhā 'assembly' ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

sabhā-y-āḥ sādhdū-h = *sabh-āya-h*.

4.4.107 sa-mān-a-tīrth-é vās-ī

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sa-māna-tīrthā- 'the same preceptor' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98] to denote 'residing there' (vās-ī).

samāna-tīrth-é vās-ī = *samāna-tīrthā+yāT* = *sa-tīrthā+yāT* (6.3.87)
sa-tīrth-yā-h 'living with the same preceptor, co-disciple'.

4.4.108 sa-māna=udar-é śāy-itā-s=ó ca=udātta-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sa-māna=udarā- 'the same womb' [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'lying [therein 98]' (tā-tra śāy-i-tā-h) with phoneme [ó] bearing the udātta accent.

samānodar-é śāy-i-ta-h = *samānodarā+yāT* = *samānódar-ya-h* (*bhrāta*) 'uterine brother'.

4.4.109 sódar-āt=yā-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yā is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sódara- 'the same womb' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'lying (therein 98)' 108].

sa-mān-e udar-e śāy-i-ta-h = *sa+udara+yā* (6.3.88) = *sodar-yā-h* 'uterine brother'.

4.4.110 bhāv-e chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98] to denote 'occurring or being [therein 98]' [tá-tra 98] (bhāv-e).

namo médh-yā-ya ca vidyut-yā-ya ca: médh-e bhāva-h = médha+yāT = médh-ya-h
'wise one'; similarly *vi-dyut-i bhāva-h = vi-dyūt+yāT = vidyut-yā-h* 'brilliant one'.

4.4.111 ¹pāthas=²nadī-bhyām DyāN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] DyāN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pāthas- 'heaven' and nadī 'river' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring [therein 98]'. 110].

From hereon up to the end of this chapter these rules pertain to the domain of Chandas (110).

pāthas-i bhāva-h = pāthas+DyāN = pāthāṭṭ+yā (6.4.143) = pāth-yā-h 'heavenly';
similarly *nadī+DyāN = nādī+yā = nād-yā-* 'fluvial, riverine'.

4.4.112 ¹veśantā-²himāvad-bhyām āN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] veśantā- 'pool' and hima-vāt- '-snow-clad peak or mountain' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'occurring or being [therein 98]' in the domain of Chandas 110].

veśant-ē bhāv-ā = veśantā+āN+ÑñP (1.15) = vaiśant-f 'being or occurring in the pool'; so also *hima-vāt+āN+ÑñP = haima-vat-f* 'occurring in the snow-clad mountains' etc. (referring to water)'.

4.4.113 srótas-āh=vibhāṣā ¹DyāT=²Dy-añ

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] DyāT and Dyā are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] srótas- 'river' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

srótas-i bhāva-h = srótas+DyāT/Dyā/yāT = srótāṭṭ-ya-h/srot-yā-h
(6.4.143)/*srótas-yā-h* 'being or occurring in the river'.

4.4.114 ¹sa-garbhá-²sa-yūthá-³sa-nu-t-āt=yaN

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sa-garbhá- 'same womb', sa-yūthá- 'same herd' and sanutá- [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

1. sa-garbh-é bháva-h = sa-garbhá+yaN = sá-garbhā-ya-h 'uterine brother' in: *ānu-bhrātā sá-garbh-ya-h*.
2. sa-yūth-é bháva-h = sa-yūthá+yaN = sá-yūth-ya-h 'belonging to the same herd' in: *ānu-sakhā sáyūth-ya-h*.
3. sa-nu-t-é bháva-h = sá-nu-t-ya-h 'furtive'.

The word *sanuta-* is not found in Chāndas, but the form there is *sanutar-* ind. 'aside, secretly, clandestinely' and *sanu-tara-* mfn. 'furtive'. Nyāsa glosses it in two ways: *samāndm nu-tá-m yá-sya* as a Bahuvrīhi or *samānd-m ca tad nutá-m ca* as a Karmadhāraya compound while Padamañjari glosses *nutá-* as *nūti-* which is also the gloss of SK.

4.4.115 túgr-āt=ghaN

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ghaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] túgra- 'n.pr. of Bhujyu's father' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

túgr-e bháva-h = túgra+ghaN = túgrā-īya-h 'descendant of T.'

4.4.116 ágr-āt=yàT

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ágra- 'tip' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

ágr-e bháva-h = ágrā-ya-h (ágra+yàT) 'at the top, foremost'.

4.4.117 ¹gha=²ch-au ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá affixes 3.1.1] gha and cha are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ágra- 'tip' 116 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

ágr-e bháva-h = ágra+gha/cha = agr-fya-h/agr-fya-h.

4.4.118 ¹samudrá=²abhr-át=gha-h

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] samudrá- 'sea, ocean' and abhrá- 'cloud' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring [therein 98]' 110].

1. *samudr-é bháva* = *samudrá+gha* = *samudrē-ya+TāP* = *samudr-ŷyā* 'belonging to the sea': *samudr-ŷyā-n-ām nadf-n-ām*.
2. *abhr-é bháva-h* = *abhrá+gha* = *abhr-ŷya-h* 'occurring in the cloud' in *abhr-ŷya-sya=iva ghósa-h*.

4.4.119 barhís-i dat-tá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] barhís 'layer of kusa grass' [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh triplet (barhís-i) to denote 'given' (dat-tá-m).

barhís-i dat-tá-m = *barhís+yāT* = *barhís-yā-m* 'oblation offered on the B.'

4.4.120 dūtá-sya¹bhāga-²kárman-i

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dūtá- 'messenger, ambassador' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (dūtá-sya) to denote (his) role (bhāga-°) or function (°-kárman-i).

dūtá-sya bhāga-h/kárma vā = *dūtá+yāT* = *dūt-ya-m* 'role or function of an ambassador'.

4.4.121 ¹rákṣas=²yātū-n-ām hán-an-i

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] rákṣas- 'demon' and yātú- 'sorcerer' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (°-yātū-n-ām) to denote 'destruction, killing' (hán-an-i).

rákṣas-ām hán-an-i = *rákṣas+yāT+TāP* = *rákṣas-y-ā* 'killing demons'. Similarly *yātū-n-ām hán-an-i* = *yātú+yāT+TāP* = *yātau-y-ā* 'destruction of sorcerers'.

4.4.122 ¹revātī-²jāgatī-³haviṣyā-bhyaḥ pra-śās-y-e

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] revātī 'n. of a lunar mansion', jāgatī 'n. of a metre' and haviṣyā 'what is suitable for oblation' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote 'praise or eulogy' (pra-śās-y-e).

1. revātī-āḥ pra-śās-ya-m = revātī+yàT = revatī+yā-m (8.4.143) 'eulogy of R.'; similarly: jāgat-yā-m 'praise of J.'; haviṣyā+yàT = haviṣyā+yāT (8.4.148) = haviṣ+yā- (8.4.64) = haviṣ-y-ā 'eulogy of items suitable for oblation'.

4.4.123 áśura-sya svá-m

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] áśura- 'demon' [ending in 1.1.78] the sixth sUP triplet (áśura-sya) to denote 'property of' (svá-m).

áśura-sya svá-m = áśura+yàT = ásur-yā-m 'property of an A.'

4.4.124 māyā-y-ām áN

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] áśura- 'demon' 123, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 123] to denote 'his illusion' (māyā-y-ām).

áśura-sya māyā = áśura+dN+ÑP (1.15) = ásur+ā+dN+ÑP = ásur-ā+f 'illusion created by an Asura'.

4.4.125 tát-vān ā-sām upa-dhā-n-o mántra=iti iṣṭakā-su luK ca matO-ḥ

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] matUP (tát-vān) and [terminating in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet denoting a sacred formula (upa-dhāno mántra-ḥ) to designate the bricks (iṣṭakā-su) and luK (θ¹) replaces [the affix] matUP (luK ca matO-ḥ).

vārcas-vān upa-dhā-n-o mántra-ḥ ā-sām iṣṭakā-n-ām = vārcas-vat+yàT = vārcas-θ¹+yàT+TāP+Jas = varcas-y-ā-ḥ 'bricks set up with the upadhāna mantra containing the word [vārcas-vat-]'.

4.4.126 *śvī-mān āN*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *śvī-mat-* 'containing the word [*śvīn-*] [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 125 denoting an upadhāna mantra for setting up sacrificial bricks to designate those bricks and *luK* replaces the affix *matUP* 125].

śvī-mān upa-dhān-o māntra-h-ā-sām īṣṭakā-n-ām = śvī-mat+dN = śvīn+θ¹+dN+NIP+Śas = śvīn-ī-h ūpa-dadhā-ti 'he lays down the bricks set up with the upadhāna māntra containing the word [*śvīn-*]'.
 11

4.4.127 *vayasyā-su mūrdh-n-6 matUP*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.2] *matUP* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *mūrdhān-* 'head' to denote the *vayasyā* bricks.

The upadhāna māntras which contain both the words *vāyas-vat-* and *mūrdhān-vat* may be signified by either of these two words; in the case of [*vayasyā*] rule 125 has operated; by this rule the affix [*matUP*], replaced by 125, is re-introduced.

mūrdhan-vātUP+NIP = mūrdhan-vāt-ī+Śas (6.1.176; 8.2.18) = *mūrdhan-vāt-ī-r ūpa-dadhā-ti* 'he lays down the bricks set up with the upadhāna mantra containing the word [*mūrdhan-vāt-*]'.
 12

4.4.128 *matU=arth-e ¹māsa-²tanv-6h*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yāT* 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] with the sense of [affix] *matUP* when designating names of months (*māsa-*) or the body (*-tanv-6h*).

nābhā-m-ei vīd-ya=ante yā-emin māsa-e sā-h : nābhas+yāT = nābhas-yā-h 'a cloudy month'; *ōjāḥ a-syām tanv-ām vīd-ya-te sā : ōjas+yāT+TāP* (1.4) = *ōjas-y-ā tanv-ā-h* 'powerful body'.
 13

4 4.129 *mādhv-r Ña ca*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *Ña* is introduced in addition to (*ca*) [*yāT* 75 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *mādhv* 'honey' [to denote the sense of affix *matUP* to designate a month or body 128].

mādhū vīd-ya-te a-smīn mān-e = *mādhū+īNa/yāT* = *mādhav-a-h/madhav-yā-h* (8.4.146; 1.79) 'the month of honey (second month of spring)'. By interpretational extension *luK* (125) also is introduced: *mādhū-h*.

mādhū vīd-ya-te a-syām tanu-ām = *mādhū+īNa/yāT+īāP* = *mādhav-ā/madhav-y-ā/mādhū-h* 'a body fit to drink Soma'.

4.4.130 *ójas-aḥ=āhan-i 'yāT-²kh-au*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *yāT* and *kha* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *ójas-* 'power' [to denote the sense of affix *matUP* 128] for designating a day (*āhan-i*).

ójah a-smīn āhan-i vāri-a-te = *ójas+yāT/kha* = *ójas-yā-m/ójas-fna-m dhah* 'a powerful day'.

4.4.131 *'veśás=²yásas=āde-r bhága-āt=yaL*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yaL* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *bhága-* 'fortune', co-occurring with *veśás-* 'strength' and *yásas-* 'glory' as prior members (°-*āde-h* in composition) [to denote the sense of affix *matUP* 128].

veśo-bhagā-h vīd-ya-te yá-sya sá-h = *veśo-bhagā+yaL* = *veśo-bhág-ya-h* 'possessing nourishing strength'; so also *yáso-bhag-ó vīd-ya-te yá-sya sá-h* = *yáso-bhág-ya-h* 'rich in glory'.

4.4.132 *kha ca*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* also (*ca*) is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *bhága-* co-occurring with *veśás-°* and *yásas-°* as prior members in composition 131 to denote the sense of the affix *matUP* 128].

veśo-bhagā-/yáso-bhagā+kha = *veśo-bhag-fna-h/yáso-bhag-fna-h*. A separate rule has been framed in order to block the operation of metarule 1.3.10.

4.4.133 *pūrv-aiḥ kṛ-tá-m 'īn]-²y-áu ca*

[In the domain of Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *īn* and *yá* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *pūrva-* 'ancient' [ending in 1.1.72] the third *sUP* triplet (*pūrv-aiḥ*) to denote 'made by' (*kṛ-tá-m*) in addition to (*ca*) [the affix *kha* 132].

pūru-aiḥ kṛ-ta-m = *pūru+in/yá/kha* = *pūru-in- /pūru-yá-/ pūru-ḥa-* : 'created by ancestors'.

4.4.134 *ad-bhíḥ sám-s-kṛ-ta-m*

[In Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *áp-* 'water' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*ad-bhíḥ*) to denote 'sanctified with' (*sám-s-kṛ-ta-m*).

ad-bhíḥ sám-s-kṛ-ta-m = *áp+yàT* = *áp-ya-m* (*háviḥ*) '(oblation) sanctified/purified with water'.

4.4.135 *sahásr-ena sám-mit-aiḥ gha-h*

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *gha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sahásra-* 'a thousand' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*sahásr-ena*) to denote 'equal to, comparable, on a par with' (*sám-mit-au*).

sahásr-ena sám-mit-aiḥ = *sahásra+gha* = *sahasrṭ-ḥya-h* 'a thousandfold, on a par with a thousand'.

4.4.136 *mat-AU ca*

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *gha*] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *sahásra-* '1000' ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet] to denote the meaning of the affix *matUP*.

sahásra-m a-syá víd-ya-te = *sahásra+gha sahasrṭ-ḥya-h* 'possessing a thousand'.

4.4.137 *sóma-m árh-a-ti yá-h*

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yá* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sóma-* 'n. of the sacred drink' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*sóma-m*) to denote 'deserves it' (*árh-a-ti*).

sóma-m árh-a-ti = *sóma+yá-* = *som-yá-* 'deserving of *sóma* = fit for participating in a sacrifice'.

4.4.138 máy-e ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yá 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 sóma- 137] also to denote the sense of the affix máyaṭ.

[máyaṭ] is introduced by the following rules: 4.3.82, 143ff., 148ff.; 5.2.47; 4.21ff. with different sUP triplets of the stems. The same will apply in the case of this stem.

sóma-m pra-ky-tá-m = soma-maya-m = soma+yá = somθ-yá-m (5.4.21) 'consisting of soma'.

4.4.139 mádho-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàṭ 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mádhu- 'mead, honey' [to denote the sense of the affix máyaṭ 138].

mádhu pra-ky-tá-m a-smín = mádhu+yàṭ = madhav-yá- = madhu-máya-
'consisting wholly of honey'.

4.4.140 váso-ḥ sam-ūh-é ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàṭ is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vásu- 'excellent, good, riches' to denote 'a collection' (sam-ūh-é) as well as (ca) [the sense of affix máyaṭ 139].

vásu+yàṭ = vasav-yá- 'a collection of riches/consisting wholly of excellence' (5.4.21).

4.4.141 nákṣatr-āt=gha-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] nákṣatra- 'asterism' in (a pleonastic) sense.

nákṣatra+gha = nakṣatrθ-īya- 'asterism'.

4.4.142 sárva-dev-āt tātīL

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tātīL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sárva- 'all' and devá- 'divinity' (in a pleonastic sense).

sárva+tātīL = sarvá-tāti - 'all'; so also devá-tāti- 'god, divinity'.

4.4.143 ¹śivá-²śám=³āriṣṭa-sya kar-é

[In the Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tātīL 142 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śivá- 'favorable', śám 'auspicious' and āriṣṭa- 'freedom from injury' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote 'performance, doing' (kar-é).

śivá-sya kará-h = *śivá-m kar-á-ti* = *śivá-tāti-h* 'making auspicious, favorable';
similarly *śám-tāti-h*; *āriṣṭá-tāti-h* 'making free from injury'.

4.4.144 bhāv-é ca

[In the Chāndas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tātīL is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 śivá- 'favourable', śám- 'auspicious' and āriṣṭa- 'freedom from injury' 143 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote 'the state or condition of' (bhāv-é).

śivá-sya bhāv-á-h = *śivá-tāti-h* 'the state of blissfulness'; *śám-tāti-h* 'the state of blessedness'; *āriṣṭá-tāti-h* 'the state of being free from injury'.

5.1.1 $\text{prāk=krīt-āt=cha-h}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 9.1.1] in this section beginning here and extending up to and including 36 below [*prāk krīt-āt: t-éna krī-tá-m* 37] to denote the senses indicated therein.

This is a governing rule heading this section, and the affix [*cha*] as the (*utsarga*) will recur in the subsequent rules unless otherwise specified.

5.1.2 ${}^1\text{u-}{}^2\text{gáv=ādi-bhyaḥ=yàT}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [*u*] and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *go-* 'cow, bull' [to denote the meanings listed prior to 37 below 1].

The meanings listed are: [5. *tá-smai hi-tá-m*; 12. *tad-arthá-m vi-kṛ-te-h pra-kṛ-t-au*; 16. *tád a-syá tád a-smín syāt*].

1. ${}^1\text{-u: śāriká+yàT} = \text{śārikó+yàT}$ (6.4.146) = *śārikav-yá-* (6.1.79) 'suitable for a stake'.
2. $\text{gó+yàT} = \text{gáv-ya-}$ 'suitable or proper for a cow/bull'.

5.1.3 $\text{kambál-āt=ca saṃjñā-y-ām}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 2 is introduced] also (*ca*) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *kambála-* 'blanket, rug' to designate a name (*saṃjñā-y-ām*).

kambála+yàT = *kambalā-yá-m* 'a measure of wool equal to 100 [pala-s]'; in other senses *kambála+cha* = *kambal-fya* (1).

5.1.4 $\text{vibhāṣā}{}^1\text{hávís=}{}^2\text{apūpá=ādi-bhyaḥ}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 2] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *hávís-* 'sacrificial offering' and the class of words beginning with *apūpá-* 'cake' [in the meanings listed prior to 37 below 1].

1. $\text{hávís+yàT} = \text{hávīṣ-yá-}$ 'suitable for an oblation'; this word stands for itself as well as its synonyms (by interpretation, and by its inclusion in the [gó]-class, 2 above) *yàT* is necessarily introduced, but the option holds good for its synonyms: *amikṣa+yàT/cha* = *a-mikṣ+yá-m/a-mikṣ-fya-m* (*dddhi*) 'suitable for making (curds)'.

2. *apūpā+yāT/cha* = *apūp-yā-/apūp-īya-* 'suitable for making cakes'.

5.1.5 *tā-smai hi-tām*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 listed prior to 37 below are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (*tā-smai*) to denote 'good or beneficial for it (*tā-smai hitām*)'.

vatsē-bhyaḥ hi-tā-ḥ go-dhūk = *vatsē+cha* (1) = *vats-īya-ḥ* 'suitable for the calves (such as cow's milk)'. So also *haviṣ-e hi-tā-m* = *haviṣ-yā-m*; *apūpā-ya hi-tā-m* = *apūp-īya-m*.

5.1.6 *śarīra=avayav=āt=yāT*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yāT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting members of the body (*śarīra=avayav-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to signify 'good/beneficial for it' 5].

Exception to [cha 1]. *dānte-bhyaḥ hi-tā-m* = *dānta+yāT* = *dānt-ya-m* 'beneficial to the teeth'; similarly *kāñṭh-ya-m/ōṣṭh-ya-m/nābh-ya-m/nāś-ya-m* 'good for the throat/lips/navel/nose'.

5.1.7 ¹*khāla*-²*yāva*-³*māṣa*-⁴*tilā*⁵*vṛṣa*-⁶*brāhmān-as=ca*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yāT* 6] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *khāla* 'threshing floor', *yāva* 'barley', *māṣa* 'a kind of lentil, Phaseolus Radiatus', *tilā* 'sesamum', *vṛṣa* 'bull' and *brāhmān* 'n. of an officiating priest' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet denote 'good/beneficial for it' 5].

khālā-ya hi-tā-m = *khālā+yāT* = *khāl-ya-m* 'good for the threshing floor'; so also: *yāv-ya-m/māṣ-ya-m/til-ya-m/vṛṣ-ya-m/brāhmaṇ-yā-m*.

5.1.8 ¹*ajā*=²*āvi*-*bhyaṁ thyaN*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *thyaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *ajā* 'goat' and *āvi* 'sheep' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good/beneficial for it' 5].

ajā-ya hi-tā = *ajā-thyaN+TāP* (4.1.4) = *ajā-thy-ā* 'yellow jasmine (which is good for the goat)'. Similarly *āvi-thy-ā* 'n. of a plant (supposed to be beneficial to sheep)'.

5.1.9 ¹ātman=²viśva-janā=³bhóga=uttara-pad-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] ātman- 'one's self'. viśva-janā- 'all men, mankind' and expressions co-occurring with °-bhóga- as a final member (°uttara-pad-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good or beneficial for that' 5].

1. *ātman-e hi-tá-m* = *ātman+kha* = *ātman-fna-m* (6.4.167) 'beneficial to one's self';
2. *viśva-janā-bhyo hi-tá-m* = *viśva-janā-fna-m* 'good/fit for all mankind';
3. *māty-bhoga-ya hi-ta-ḥ* = *māty-bhogā-fna-ḥ* 'good for the enjoyment of the mother'.

5.1.10 ¹sarvā=²puruṣā-bhyām ¹Ná=²ḍhaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] Ná and ḍhaÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarvā- 'all' and puruṣa- 'person' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good/beneficial for that' 5].

- sarva-smai hi-tá-m* = *sarvā+Ná* = *sarvā-m* 'beneficial to all'; *puruṣa-ya hi-tá-m* = *puruṣa+ḍhaÑ* = *puruṣā-ḍha-m* 'beneficial/proper to a person'.

5.1.11 ¹mānavā=²cārakā-bhyām khaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] mānava- 'pupil' and cāraka- 'wandering student' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good/beneficial for that' 5].

- mānavā-ya hi-tá-m* = *mānavā+khaÑ* = *mānavā-fna-m* 'beneficial for a pupil'; similarly *cārakā-fna-m* 'proper for a wandering student'.

5.1.12 tad-arthā-m vi-kṛ-te-ḥ pra-kṛ-t-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced prior to 37 below are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] signifying a by-product (vi-kṛ-te-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5] to denote the source (pra-kṛ-t-au).

- āngāre-bhyaḥ hi-tá-n-i kṛtā-n-i* = *āngāra+cha(1)+Śi* = *āngārā-fya-n-i* 'wood serviceable for turning into charcoal'; similarly *prākārā-ya hi-tá-ḥ* = *prākārā-fya-ḥ=śtaka-ḥ* 'bricks suitable for building a wall'; *śāṅkū+yāT* = *śāṅkūyā-m* (2) *dāru* 'wood suitable for turning into a stake'.

5.1.13 ¹chadís=²upa-dhí-³balé-ḥ=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] chadís- 'roof', upa-dhí- 'part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference, spokes' and balí- 'sacrificial offering' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5 and denoting a by-product to denote the source 12].

chadís-e hi-tá-ni tñā-n-i = chadís+ḍhaÑ = chádís-eyā-ñi 'grass suitable for thatching a roof'; similarly *upadhí+ḍhaÑ = aúpadhí-ya-m dāru* 'wood suitable for connecting the nave to the circumference as spokes'; *balí+ḍhaÑ = balí-eyā-ḥ (tandulá-ḥ)* '(grains of rice) suitable as a sacrificial offering'.

5.1.14 ¹ṛṣabhá-²upānāḥ-or Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ṛṣabha- 'bull' and upānāḥ- 'sandal' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5, signifying a by-product to denote the source 12].

ṛṣabha+Ñya = āṛṣabhí-ya-ḥ vatsá-ḥ 'a calf destined to grow into a bull'. Similarly *upānāḥ+Ñya = aúpānah-ya-ḥ muñja-ḥ* 'muñja grass suitable for being made into a sandal'.

5.1.15 cārman-ah=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] cārman- 'leather, hide, pelt' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5 to designate a by-product to denote its source 12].

vardhr-aí idám = vardrhí+aÑ = vārdhrí-a-m cārma 'leather suitable for making a strap or thong'; similarly *varatrá-y-aí idám = varatrá+aÑ = vāratrí-a-m cārma* 'ib.'

5.1.16 tát a-syá tát a-smín s-yāt=iti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 listed prior to 37 below 1 occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tát) to denote 'may possibly be (s-yāt) of it (a-syá) or in it (a-smín).

prāsāddá-ḥ ā-ām śaṭakā-n-ām s-yāt = prāsāddá+cha(1)+Jas = prāsāddí-śyā-ḥ śaṭakā-ḥ 'bricks of which a mansion may possibly be built'; *parikhá a-syám s-yāt = parikhá+ḍhaÑ = pārikhí-eyí dhūmí-ḥ* 'earth in which a moat may possibly be built' (17).

5.1.17 parikhā-y-āḥ=ḍhañ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhañ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] parikhā 'moat, ditch' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'it may possibly of or in it' 16].

Example cited above under 16.

5.1.18 prāk=váte-s=ṭhañ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhañ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 an appropriate sUP triplet to denote the senses] indicated in this section beginning here and extending up to 115 below [t-éna túlya-m kriyā cét váti-ḥ].

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-ā-) within another governing rule (1) but extending beyond it. The affix [ṭhañ] will recur in each of the subsequent rules unless otherwise specified.

5.1.19 ā=ārḥ-āt=a-¹go-pucchā-²samkhyā-³pari-māṇ-āt=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding go-pucchā- 'cow's tail', number-words (sam-khyā) and names of measures (pari-māṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplet to denote the senses indicated in the section] beginning here and extending up to 63 below [tád árḥ-a-ti].

This is also a governing rule within another governing rule (18) forming a sub-section of the preceding (18), and affix [ṭhák] will normally recur in the subsequent rule unless otherwise specified, up to 63 below. The exclusion of the words [go-pucchā-, etc.] will be illustrated at the appropriate places (37 etc.).

Within the governing sphere of affix [ṭhañ (18-115)] its exception is introduced in this sub-section 19-63.

5.1.20 á-sam-ās-e niṣkā=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák 19 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with niṣkā- 'n. of a coin' when not forming a compound (á-sam-ās-e) [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the senses introduced in the section (19-63) 19].

niṣk-éna kri-tá-m = niṣká+ṭhák = naiṣkṭh-iká-m 'purchased with the niṣká'; here the affix [ṭhák] blocks out the more general affix [ṭhañ 19], but in composition (samās-e) affix [ṭhañ] operates: ut-tama-niṣk-éna kri-tá-m =

ut-tama-niṣka+ṭhañ = *ūt-tama-naiṣk-ika-m* (7.3.17). The difference between these two affixes is in accentuation only. The exclusion of compounds in this section does not debar them from the normal affix in the earlier section: e.g., *go/su-go+yāT* = *gāv-ya-/su-gav-yā-/ati-su-gav-yā-* etc.

5.1.21 śat-āt=ca 'ṭhaN-²yāT-au=ś-śat-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaN and yāT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śatá- 'hundred' [to denote the senses listed in this section 19-63] also (ca) [when not forming a compound 20] and not denoting the number 100 (ś-śat-e).

śat-éna krī-tá-m = *śatá+ṭhaN/yāT* = *śatīṭh-ika-m/śatīṭh-ya-m* 'bought for a hundred pieces' but *śatá-m prā-māṇ-a-m a-syá* = *śatá+kaN* (22) = *śata-ka-m* 'measuring a hundred'.

dvaś ca śatá-m ca = *dvīṭh-śata-m*, *i-éna krī-tá-m* = *dvī-śataṭh+kaN* (22) = *dvī-śata-ka-m* 'bought for 200'. But *śatá-m pari-māṇa-m a-syá* = *śata+kaN* = *śata-ka-m* (22,57-8).

5.1.22 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=ś-¹ti-²śat=antā-y-āḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] designating number words (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) excluding those [ending in 1.1.72] °-ti and °-śat [to denote meanings listed in the section 19-63].

Exception to [ṭhañ 18]. *pāñca-bhiḥ krī-tá-h* = *pāñcan+kaN* = *pāñcaṭh-ka-h* (8.1.7) 'bought with 5 pieces', but *saptaty-á krī-tá-h* = *saptatī+ṭhañ* (18) *śāptatīṭh-ika-h* 'bought with 70' and *catvāriṁśatī+ṭhañ* = *cātvarīṁśat-ka-* 'bought with 40'.

5.1.23 vatO-r iṭ=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 22] with optional (vā) initial increment i(ṭ) inserted at its head (1.1.46) is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 designating numerals 22 ending in 1.1.72 the affix] °-vatU [to denote the meanings listed in the section 19-63].

tā-vat-a krī-tá-m = *tāvat+kaN/iṭ-kaN* = *tā-vat-ka-m/tā-vat-i-ka-m* 'bought for so much'.

5.1.24 ¹vimsatī-²trimsāt=bhyām DvuN á-samjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] DvuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vimsatī- '20' and trimsāt- '30' [to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section] when not forming a name (á-samjñā-y-ām).

vimsaty-ā kri-tā-h = *vimsatī+DvuN* = *vimsaṭṭh+aka-* (6.4.142) = *vimsā-aka-h*
'bought for 20'; similarly *trimsā-aka-h* 'bought for 30'.

5.1.25 kams-āt=ṬiṭhaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬiṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kamsā- 'n. of a particular measure equal to two ādhaka-s' [to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

kams-ēna kri-tā-h = *kamsā + ṬiṭhaN* = *kamsaṭṭh-ika-h* m./ '-kri (f. 4.1.15) 'bought with the price of a kamsa'.

5.1.26 sūrp-ād aÑ anyā-tarā-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is optionally (anyā-tarā-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sūrpa- 'winnowing basket' [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63].

sūrp-ena kri-tā-m = *sūrpa+aÑ* = *śaúrpa-a-m/sūrpa+ṭhaÑ* *śaúrpa-ika-m*
'purchased by the winnowing basket' (18).

5.1.27 ¹śatā-māna-²vimsatika-³sahasra-⁴vāsan-āt=áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śatāmāna- 'n. of a weight', vimsatika-, sahasra- 'names of monetary units' and vāsana- 'cloth' [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63].

śatāmān-ena kri-tā-m = *śatāmāna+áN* = *śātamānṭh-a-m* 'bought with the ś. weight'; similarly: *vaimśatikṭh-a-m/sahasrṭh-a-m* 'bought with 20/1000 pieces (of money)' and *vāsanṭh-a-m* 'purchased with cloth'.

5.1.28 ¹ádhi=ardha-pūrva-²dvigó-r luK á-saṁjñā-y-ām

luK (Ø¹) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with ádhy-ardha- ° ‘one and a half’ as a prior member (°-pūrva- in composition) and a Dvigú compound [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63] when not forming a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

adhy-ardha-karṣa-ēna kri-tā-m = adhy-ardha-karṣā+TṛiṭhaN̄ (25) = adhy-ardha-karṣa+TṛiṭhaN̄→luk = adhy-ardha-karṣā-m ‘bought with 1 1/2 karṣas’.

dviḍ-bhyān karṣā-bhyān kri-tā-m = dviḍ-karṣā+ḍ¹ = dvi-karṣa-m ‘bought with 2 karṣas’. Of. 6.2.122 for accent.

When a name is formed: *pāñca lohina-ḥ parimāṇam a-syā = pāñca+lohitā+N̄iP (4.1.39)+ṭhaN̄ (57) = pāñca-lohitḍ+ḍ+ṭhaN̄ (1.2.49) pāñca-lohit-ika-* ‘n.pr. of a measure equal to five lohini-s’.

5.1.29 vibhāsā kārṣāpaṇa-sahasrā-bhyām

[luK (Ø¹)] optionally (vibhāsā) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kārṣāpaṇa- ‘n. of a coin’ and sahasra- ‘1000’ [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha- ° as a prior member in composition or a Dvigú compound 28 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

adhy-ardha-kārṣapaṇa-ēna kri-tā-m = adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇa+(TṛiṭhaN̄→ḍ¹)/TṛiṭhaN̄ = adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇā-m/adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇḍ-ika-m ‘bought with 1 1/2 k.’

Similarly *dvi-kārṣāpaṇā-m/dvi-kārṣā-paṇḍ-ika-m*.

ádhy-ardha-sahasra-ēna kri-tā-m = adhy-ardha-sahasrām/adhy-ardha-sāhasrḍ-ā-m; dvi-sahasrā-m/dvi-sāhasrḍ-ā-m (27; 7.3.17).

5.1.30 ¹dvi-²trī-pūrv-āt niṣk-āt

[luK (Ø¹)] optionally 29 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] niṣkā- ‘n. of a coin’ co-occurring with dvī- ° or trī- ° as a preceding member (°-pūrv-āt in composition) in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section.

dviḍ-bhyān niṣkā-bhyān kri-tā-h = dviḍ+niṣka+ṭhaN̄/ṭhaN̄→luK = dvi-naiṣkḍ-ika-h (18)/dvi-niṣkā-h ‘purchased with 2 n.’; similarly *trī-naiṣk-ika-h/tri-niṣkā-h*.

5.1.31 bist-āt=ca

[luK 28 optionally replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bista- 'n. of a coin' [co-occurring with dvi-° or tri-° as preceding members in a Dvigú compound 30 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

dvi-bistá+thaN/thaN→luK = *dvi-baist-ika-/dvi-bistá-* 'purchased with 2 b.',
similarly: *tri-baist-ika-/tri-bistá-*.

5.1.32 víṃśatik-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] víṃśatika- 'n. of a coin' [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha-° as a preceding member in composition or final member of a Dvigú compound 28 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

adhy-ardha-viṃśatik-éna kṛt-tá-m = *adhy-ardha-viṃśatiká+kha* =
adhy-ardha-viṃśatikḥ-īna-m; similarly *dvi-viṃśatik-īna-m*.

5.1.33 khāry-āḥ=īkaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] īkaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] khārī 'n. of measure' [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha-° as a preceding member in composition and as final member in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

ádhy-ardha-khāry-ā kṛt-tá-m = *ádhy-ardha-khārī+īkaN* = *ádhy-ardha-khārḥ-īka-m*
'bought by 1 1/2 kh.' Similarly *tri-khār-īka-m*.

5.1.34 ¹pañá-²pādá-³māṣa-⁴śat-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pañá-, pādá-, māṣa- and śatá- 'names of measures' [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha-° as preceding member in composition or at the end of a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 in this section].

adhy-ardha-pañá+yàT = *adhy-ardha-pañḥ-yà-m/dvi-pañ-yà-m*; *adhy-ardha-pād-yà-m/dvi-pād-yà-m*;
adhy-ardha-māṣ-yà-m/dvi-māṣ-yà-m; *adhy-ardha-śat-yà-m/dvi-śat-yà-m*.

5.1.35 śāṇ-āt=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 34] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śāṇa- 'n. of a coin' [co-occurring with adhy-ardha-° as final member in composition or as final member in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

adhy-ardha-śāṇ-éna kri-tá-m = *adhy-ardha-śāṇá+yàT/ṭhaÑ* (18)→*luK* (28)
adhy-ardha-śāṇṭh-yá-m/adhy-ardha-śāṇá-m; dvi-śāṇ-yá-m/dvi-śāṇá-m.

5.1.36 'dvi-²tri-pūrv-āt=áÑ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áÑ, in addition to (ca) [yàT 35 and ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 śāṇa- 35] co-occurring with dvi-° '2' and trí-° '3' as preceding members (°-pūrv-āt in composition) to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section.

dvá-bhyāṁ śāṇá-bhyāṁ kri-tá-m = *dvāṭ+śāṇá+áÑ/yàT/ṭhaÑ* →*luK* (28) =
dvai-śāṇṭh-á-m/dvi-śāṇ-yá-m/dvi-śāṇá-m; similarly tri-śāṇ-ám/tri-śāṇ-yá-m/
tri-śāṇá-m.

5.1.37 t-éna krī-tá-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'bought/purchased with' (krī-tá-m).

Thirteen affixes are involved here: 1. ṭhaÑ (18), 2. ṭháK (19), 3. ṭhaN (21), 4. kaN (22); 5. yàT (21, 34, 39); 6. iT+kaN (23); 7. DvuN (24); 8. TīṭhaN (25); 9. aÑ (26); 10. áÑ (27); 11. luK (28-31); 12. kha (32); and 13. ikaN (33).

The illustrations are given under the particular sūtra-s introducing these affixes.

5.1.38 tá-sya nimitta-m 'saṁ-yogá=²ut-pāt-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 8 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'the reason (nimitta-m) in the form of either a connection (saṁ-yogá-°) or a portent (°ut-pāt-aú)'.

1. *śatá-sya nimitta-m dhana-patī-nā saṁ-yogá-h* = *śatá+yàT/ṭhaN* (21) = *śátṭh-ya-h/śátṭh-ika-h* 'an understanding with a rich person for the loan of a hundred pieces (such as a pledge or promissory note)'.
2. *śatá-sya nimitta-m ut-pātá-h dakṣiṇāksī-spānd-ana-m* = *śát-ya-m/śát-ika-m* 'the twitching of the right eye as an omen for gaining a hundred pieces'.

5.1.39 go-dvy-áC-aḥ=a¹saṁkhyā²pari-māṇa=ásva=ade-r yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] gó- 'cow, bull', and dissyllabic words (dvy-C-aḥ) excluding the class of words denoting numbers (saṁkhyā) or measures (°parimāṇa-°) or those beginning with ásva- 'horse' [to denote 'the reason in the form of either a connection or a portent' 38].

1. gó+yàT = góv-ya- 'cause or portent for gaining a cow'.
2. dvy-áC: yáśas+yàT = yáśas-ya- 'reason or portent for acquiring fame or renown'.
3. Exceptions: [saṁkhyā]: pañcā-nām nimittam saṁ-yogā-h/utpāda-h = pañca+kañ (22) = pañca-ka-h; similarly [parimāṇa]: praethā+ṭhañ (57) = prāsthā-ika-h and [ásva= 3di]: áśva+ṭhāK = āśvā-ikā-h.

5.1.40 putr-āt=cha=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT 39 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] putrá- 'son' [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote the reason/cause in the form of either a connection or a portent 38].

putrá-sya nimitta-m saṁ-yogā-h/utpāda-h = putrá+cha/yàT = putrā-īya-h/
putrā-ya-h.

5.1.41 ¹sarva-bhūmí-²prthiví bhyām ¹āN²aÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] āN and aÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarva-bhūmí- 'whole earth' and prthiví 'earth' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'the reason/cause in the form of connection or portent 38].

sarva-bhūmí-r nimittam saṁ-yogā-h/utpāda-h = sarva-bhūmí+āN =
sārvā-bhāumā-ā-h (7.3.20); prthiví+aÑ = pārthivā-a-h.

5.1.42 tá-sya=īś-varā-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 āN and aÑ 41 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 sarva-bhūmí- and prthiví 41 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'its lord or ruler' (īś-varā-h)

The repetition of [tá-sya] in this rule when it was already recurring from 38 above is to block out the meanings indicated in that rule.

sarva-bhūmī-h/ṛthiv-āḥ 16-*varā-h* = *sārva-bhaum-d-h/pārthiv-a-h* (41) 'king, sovereign, emperor'.

5.1.43 *tá-tra vid-i-tá iti ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 *áN* and *aN* 41 are respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 *sarva-bhūmī-* and *ṛthiv-* 41 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*tá-tra*) to denote 'known as' (*vid-i-tá iti*).

sarva-bhūm-āḥ/ṛthiv-ām *vid-i-tá-h* = *sārva-bhaum-d-h/pārthiv-a-h* 'world-renowned'.

5.1.44 ¹*loká-²sarva-lok-āt=ṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *loká-* 'world' and *sarva-loká-* 'entire world' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'known therein as' 43].

lok-é/sarva-lok-é *vid-i-tá-h* = *loká/sarva-loká+ṭhaN* = *lauk-ika-/sārva-lauk-ika-* (7.3.20) 'known in the (whole) world'.

5.1.45 *tá-sya vāp-á-h*

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote 'its field' (*vāp-á-h*).

prasthá-sya vāp-á-h (*kṣētra-m*) = *prasthá+ṭhaN* (18) = *prásth-ika-m* '(a field) sown with a quantity of seed measuring a *prasthá*'; similarly *drauṇ-ika-m* *kṣētra-m*.

5.1.46 *pātr-āt=ṢṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṢṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pātra-* 'a measure of capacity' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'its field' 45].

pātra-sya vāp-á-h *kṣētra-m* = *pātra+ṢṭhaN* = *pātr-ika-m* '(a field) sown with a quantity of seed measuring a p.' *pātr-ik-f* (*NTS* 4.1.41) *kṣētra-bhak-ti-h* 'part of a field so sown'.

5.1.47 *tád a-smín* ¹*vṛd-dhi*=²*āyá*-³*lābhá*-⁴*śulká*=⁵*upa-dā* *dī-yā-te*

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote 'an interest (*vṛddhi*-'), rent ('=*āyá*-'), profit ('=*lābhá*-'), tax ('=*śulká*-') or bribe ('=*upa-dā*) is given (*dī-yā-te*) in it (*a-smín*)'.

pāñca a-smín vṛd-dhi-h/āyá-h/lābh-á-h/śulká-h/upa-dā dī-yā-te = *pāñca+kaN* (22) = *pāñca-ka-h* 'five pieces given in it'; so also *śatā-m a-smín dī-yā-te* = *śatā+thaN/yaT* (21) = *śatā-ika-/śat-ya-*.

5.1.48 ¹*pūraṇa*=²*ardh-āt*=*ṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] signifying ordinals (*pūraṇa*-') and the expression *ardhá*- 'half' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given in it 47].

Exception to [*ṭhāK* 19] and [*ṬiṭhaN* 25]. *dvi-tīya-h vṛddhi-r ādi-r a-smín dī-yā-te* = *dvi-tīya+ṭhaN* = *dvi-tīyā-ika-* 'an operation or transaction in which interest etc. is doubled'; Similarly *ārdhā-ika-* 'a deal in which interest etc. is halved'.

5.1.49 *bhāg-āt*=*yāT*=*ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yāT*, in addition to (*ca*) [*ṭhaN* 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *bhāgá*- 'share' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given in it 47].

bhāg-á-h vṛddhi-ādi-r a-smín dī-yā-te = *bhāgá+yāT/ṭhaN* = *bhāgā-ya-/bhāgā-ika-* 'an operation in which interest etc. is halved or divided'.

In 48-9 the words [*ardhá*-], [*bhāgá*-] denote half [*rūpaka*-] according to *Kāśikā*.

5.1.50 *tád*=*hār-a-ti*=*vāh-a-ti*=*ā-vah-a-ti*
bhār-āt=*varṇśa*=*ādi-bhyaḥ*

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *bhārā*- 'load', co-occurring with the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1].beginning with *varṇśá*- 'bamboo' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote 'carries' (*hār-a-ti*), 'conveys' (*vāh-a-ti*) or 'brings it' (*ā-vah-a-ti*).

varṣā-bhārd-m hār-a-ti/vāh-a-ti/āvah-a-ti = varṣā-bhārd+ṭhāK (19)
vāṁśā-bhārṭh-ikā- 'who carries/conveys/brings a load of bamboos'.

This rule is also interpreted as: "introduced after the class of nominal stems beginning with *varṣā-*, denoting weight [*bhār-āt*] etc.", which gives the string: *bhāra-bhātā-n varṣā-n hār-a-ti etc = varṣā+ṭhāK = vāṁś-ikā-* yielding the same sense, but a different string.

5.1.51 ¹vasnā-²dravyā-bhyām ¹ṭhaN-²kaN-au

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* and *kaN* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *vasnā-* 'salary, wages' and *dravya-* 'money' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'carries/conveys, brings it' 50].

vasnā-m hār-a-ti/vāh-a-ti/āvahati = vasnā+ṭhaN = vāsnṭh-ika-; *dravya+kaN = dravya-ka-*.

5.1.52 ¹sām-bhav-a-ti=²āva-har-a-ti-³pāc-a-ti

[The thirteen taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50] to denote 'capable of containing' (*sām-bhav-a-ti*), 'taking away' (*āva-har-a-ti*) or 'cooking' (*pāc-a-ti*).

prasthā-m sām-bhav-a-ti/āva-har-a-ti/pāc-a-ti = prasthā+ṭhaN (18) = *prāsthṭh-ika-* 'capable of containing/taking/cooking one [*prasthā*] measure (of grains)'; *prasthā-m pāc-a-ti brāhmaṇi = prāsth-ika+ṆIP* (4.1.15) = *prāsthikṭh-i* 'a brahmin lady capable of cooking one *prasthā* (of grains)'.

5.1.53 ¹āḍhaka=²ācita-³pātr-āt kha-ḥ=anya-tarā-syām

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is optionally (*anya-tarā-syām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *āḍhaka-*, *ācita-* and *pātra-* 'names of measures of capacity' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50 to denote 'capable of containing/taking away/cooking' 52].

āḍhaka-m sām-bhav-a-ti/āva-har-a-ti/pāc-a-ti = āḍhaka+ṭhaN (18)/*kha = āḍhak-ika-/ṭhikṭh-i* f./*āḍhakṭh-fna-* (ṭhā f. 4.1.4) 'capable of holding/taking away/cooking one āḍ.'; similarly: *ācit-ika-/ācit-fna-*; *pātr-ika-/pātr-fna-*.

5.1.54 dvigó-s=ṢṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]ṢṭhaN in addition to (ca) [kha is optionally 53 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound [ending in 1.1.72 ādhaka-, ácita or pátra- 53, ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'capable of containing/taking away/cooking' 51].

With reference to the affixes [kha 55, ṢṭhaN 54] operation of [luK] introduced by 28 above is blocked, while it governs the affix [ṭhaN 18].

dvý-ādḥakā-m sām-bhav-a-ti/dva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti = *dvý-ādḥaká+ṢṭhaN/kha/ṭhaN→luK* (28) = *dvý-ādḥakṭh-ika-/dvý-ādḥakṭh-fna-/dvý-ādḥaká* 'capable of containing/taking away/cooking 2 ādhaka-s', the corresponding fem. forms being *dvý-ādḥak-ikf* (4.1.41), *dvý-ādḥak-fnā* (4.1.4), *dvý-ādḥakf* (4.1.15).

Similarly the feminine forms for the other two derivatives are: *dvý-ácit-ikf*, *dvý-ácit-fnā*, *dvý-ácit-f*; *dvi-pātr-ikf*, *dvi-pātr-fnā*, *dvi-pātr-f*.

5.1.55 kulij-āt=¹luK-²kh-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] luK (0¹) and kha are also (ca) optionally 53 introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kulija- 'name of a measure' [occurring at the end of a Dvigú compound 54 and terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50 to denote 'capable of holding, taking away or cooking' 52 in addition to affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 54].

Since the option applies also to luK, 28 above becomes optional with reference to a Dvigú ending in [-kulija-] and consequently four forms result: *dvé kulij-e sām-bhav-a-ti/dva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti* = *dvi0+kulijá+ṢṭhaN/kha/ṭhaN→luK* (18,28)/*ṭhaN* (18) = *dvi-kulijṭh-ik-f/dvi-kulij-fnā/dvi-kulij-ā/dvaś-kulij-ikf* 'capable of holding, taking away or cooking 2 kulija-s'.

5.1.56 sá-ḥ=a-syá=¹ámśa-²vasná-³bhftay-aḥ

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaN 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-ḥ) to denote his (a-syá) share (ámśa-ḥ), price (vasná-) or salary (bhfti-).

pánca ámśa-ḥ/vasná-m/bhfti-r a-syá = *pánca+kaN* (22) = *pánca-ka-ḥ* 'whose share, price or salary is five pieces'.

5.1.57 *tád a-syá pari-māṇa-m*

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote its (*a-syá*) measure (*pari-māṇa-m*).

prasthá-h pari-māṇa-m a-syá = *prasthá+ṭhaN* (18) = *prásthṭh-ika-h rāśi-h* 'a heap measuring one prastha'; *khāri pari-māṇa-m a-syá* = *khārf+ṭkaN* = *khārṭh-ika-h* (33); *śatá+yaT/ṭhaN* (21) = *śat-ya-h/śat-ika-h*.

5.1.58 *samkhyā-y-āḥ¹ saṃjñā² saṃghā³ sūtra⁴ adhy-āy-ane-ṣu*

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a numeral (*saṃ-khyā*), [designating measures and ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 57] to denote its name (*saṃ-jñā*), group (*saṃghā*), aphorism (*sūtra*) or study (*adhy-āy-ana*).

1. *saṃ-jñā*: *pāñca eva* = *pāñca+kaN* (22) = *pāñca-kā-h* 'the five' (*śakānaya-ah* birds)'.
2. *saṃ-ghā*-. *pāñca pari-māṇa-m a-syá* = *pāñca-ka-h* 'a collection of five'.
3. *sūtra*-. *aṣṭ-au adhy-āy-āḥ pari-māṇa-m a-syá sūtra-sya=āṣṭa-ka-m* 'another name for Pāṇini's sūtra-s'.
4. *adhy-āy-ana*-. *āṣṭa-ka-h adhi-tā-h* 'studied eight times'.

5.1.59 *pañk-ti¹ vimśā-ti² trīṃśāt³ catvāriṃśāt⁴ pañcāśāt⁵ ṣaṣṭi⁶ sapta-ti⁷ aṣṭi⁸ navatī⁹ śatā¹⁰-m*

The expressions *pañk-ti*- 'n. of a metre', *vimśā-ti*- '20', *trīṃśāt*- '30', *catvāriṃśāt*- '40', *pañcāśāt*- '50', *ṣaṣṭi*- '60', *sapta-ti*- '70', *aṣṭi*- '80', *nava-ti*- '90' and *śatā*- '100' are introduced [as derived with various affixes [*ti*, *śat* and *ta*] to denote 'its measure' 58].

pāñca pari-māṇa-m a-syá = *pañcan+ti* = *pañcṭh+ti* = *pañk-ti*-. *dv-au daśāt-au pari-māṇa-m a-syá* = *vin+śāti* = *vimśā-ti*-. similarly for other forms which are introduced as finished expressions by a process called [nipātana] since framing individual rules will increase the number of statements.

5.1.60 ¹pañcat=²daśāt-au varg-e vā

The expressions pañcāt- 'consisting of 5' and daśāt 'consisting of 10' are optionally (vā) introduced [to denote 'its measure' 57] to designate a class (varg-e).

pañcan +Dātī = pañcōṭṭ-āt/pānca-ka-h vārga-h 'a class of 5'; similarly *daś-āt/dāśa-ka-h vārga-h*.

5.1.61 saptān-aḥ=aṅ chāndas-i

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aṅ is introduced, in the domain of Chāndas, [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] saptān- '7' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'its measure' 57] to designate a class 60].

saptā pari-māṇa-m e-ṣām vārgā-n-ām = sapta+aṅ = sāptiṭ-a- in *saptā sāptā-n-i=d-ṣṭj-a-t* 'he created seven classes each consisting of seven'.

5.1.62 ¹trīṁśāt=²catvāriṁśāt-or brāhmaṇ-é samjñā-y-ām ḌāN

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌāN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] trīṁśāt- 'thirty' and catvāriṁśāt- 'forty' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'its measure' 57] when designating a Brāhmaṇā (text).

The locative [brāhmaṇ-é] in this rule is not indicative of domain (viśaya-saptamī) but of sense only (abhi-dheya-saptamī) and therefore signifies both the Brāhmaṇā and secular texts.

trīṁśāt adhy-āy-āḥ pari-māṇa-m e-ṣām brāhmaṇā-n-ām = trīṁśat+ḌāN+Śi= trāiṁṣōṭṭ-ā-n-i brāhmaṇā-n-i 'a Br. text consisting of 30 chapters'; similarly *catvāriṁś-ā-n-i brāhmaṇā-n-i*.

5.1.63 tād ārh-a-ti

[The thirteen taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaN 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tād) to denote 'deserves it' (ārh-a-ti).

śveta-cchatrā-m ārh-a-ti = śveta-cchatrā+ṭhāK (19) = śvaṭa-cchatrō-śkā=h 'who deserves a white umbrella'; *śatā-m ārh-a-ti = śata+ṭhaN/yaT (21) śātiṭ-ika-h/śātiṭ-ya-h* 'deserving a hundred pieces'.

5.1.64 chéda=ādi-bhyaḥ nītyam

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaṆ* 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *chéda-* 'cutting off' and [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 83] necessarily (*nītya-m*) ['deserves 'it' 63].

chéda-m nītya-m drh-a-ti = *chéda+ṭhák* = *haidṭh-iká-h* 'who necessarily deserves mutilation'.

5.1.65 śīrṣa-cched-āt=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT*, in addition to (*ca*) [*ṭhák* 19 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *śīrṣa-cchedá-* 'decapitation' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 63 to denote 'necessarily deserves it' 63].

śīrṣa-cchedd-m nītya-m drh-a-ti = *śīrṣa-cchedá+yàT/ṭhák* = *śīrṣa-cchedṭh-yà-h/śāīrṣa-cchedṭh-iká-h* 'necessarily deserving decapitation'.

5.1.66 daṇḍá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 65 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *daṇḍá-* 'punishment' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

The reading of this sūtra is according to *Kāśikā* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī*; *Boehtlingk* and *Renou* have [*daṇḍādi-bhyaḥ*] instead, but the accentuation of certain accented words thus formed denote affix [*yàT*] instead, and it is also confirmed by *Patañjali* on 3.1.92 (2) where he confirms the introduction of [*yàT*] after [*han-*] with optional replacement of the verbal stem by [*vadhá-*], which is included in this class. Besides this, the three other words in this class are: *āh-ya-*, *gūh-ya-*, *médh-ya-*.

daṇḍá-m drh-a-ti = *daṇḍa+yàT* = *dāṇḍṭh-ya-h* 'who deserves punishment'; *vadhá-m drh-a-ti* = *vādh-ya-h* 'deserves death'.

Note: there is the reading [*yàT*] in the place of [*yá*] recorded by *Boehtlingk* and *Renou*; the repetition of this word here when it is already available from the preceding sūtra is to block out the recurrence of [*nītya-m*] from 69

5.1.67 chāndas-i ca

In the domain of *Chāndas* [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 65 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

Exception to the remaining twelve affixes beginning with *thaN* 18.

udakā-m drh-a-ti = *udakā+yāT+Jas* = *udakθ-y-ā-h*; *yāpa-m drh-a-ti* = *yāpθ-ya-h*
palāśā-h 'p. which deserves to be used as a sacrificial post'.

5.1.68 *pātr-āt=ghaN=ca*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ghaN* is introduced, in addition to (ca) [yāT 65 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pātra-* 'vessel' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

pātra-m drh-a-ti = *pātra+ghaN/yāT* = *pātrθ-ya-h/pātrθ-ya-h* 'worthy or fit to partake of a meal'.

5.1.69 *kaḍaṅkarā-dākṣiṇ-āt=cha ca*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* as well as (ca) [yāT 65 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.4] *kaḍaṅkarā-* 'stalks of pulses' and *dākṣiṇā* 'fees, gratuity' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

kaḍaṅkarā-m drh-a-ti = *kaḍaṅkarā+cha/yāT* = *kaḍaṅkarθ-ḥya-h / kaḍaṅkarθ-yā-h*
gau-h 'a bull worthy of being fed with straw' and similarly *dākṣiṇā-m drh-a-ti* =
dākṣiṇā+cha/yāT dākṣiṇθ-ḥya-h/dākṣiṇθ-yā-h 'deserving gratuity'.

5.1.70 *sthāṇ-bil-āt*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 *cha* 69 and *yāT* 65 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sthāṇ-bilā-* 'interior or hollow of a cooking vessel' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

sthāṇ-bilā-m drh-a-ti = *sthāṇ-bilā+cha/yāT* = *sthāṇ-bilθ-ḥya-/sthāṇ-bilθ-ya-* '(a dish) worthy of being cooked within the cooking vessel'.

5.1.71 *¹yajñā=²ṛtv-īg-bhyām ¹gha-²khaN-au*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *gha* and *khaN* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *yajñā-* 'sacrifice' and *ṛtv-īj-* 'n. of an officiating priest' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

yajñā-m drh-a-ti = *yajñā+gha* = *yajñθ-ḥya-h* 'worthy of performing a sacrifice';
ṛtv-īj-am drh-a-ti = *ṛtv-īj+khaN* = *ārtvij-ma-* 'worthy of officiating as a *ṛtv-īj*'.

5.1.72 *pārāyaṇa-turāyaṇa-cāndrāyaṇā-m vart-āy-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *pārāyaṇa-* 'reading through', *turāyaṇa-* 'n. of a sacrifice' and *cāndrāyaṇā-* 'fast regulated by the phase of the moon' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet] to denote 'performs' (*vart-āy-a-ti*).

pārāyaṇa-m/turāyaṇa-m/cāndrāyaṇā-m vart-āy-a-ti = *pārāyaṇā-ika-h/*
turāyaṇā-ika-h/cāndrāyaṇā-ika-h 'who reads through a full text/performer of the
T. sacrifice/observer of the O. fast'.

5.1.73 *saṁ-sāy-ām ā-panna-h*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *saṁ-sāy-ā-* 'doubt' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'fallen into' (*ā-pan-na-h*).

saṁ-sāy-d-m ā-pan-na-h = *saṁ-sāy-ā+ṭhaÑ* = *sāṁ-sāyā-ika-h* 'doubtful,
uncertain'.

5.1.74 *yójana-m gácch-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *yójana-* 'n. of a unit of distance' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'goes, covers, traverses' (*gácch-a-ti*).

yójana-m gácch-a-ti = *yójana+ṭhaÑ* = *yádjanā-ika-h* 'who covers a distance of one
yojana'.

5.1.75 *path-áh=ṢkaN*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṢkaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *páthin-* 'path' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet] to denote 'goes, covers' 74].

pánthā-n-am gácch-a-ti = *páthin+ṢkaN* = *páthiṭ-ka-h* (*-kfl. 4.1.41) 'way-farer'.

5.1.76 *pánth-o Ná nitya-m*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *Ná* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *páthin-*, ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 74] to denote

'necessarily (nītya-m) [goes or covers' 74] and the substitute pānth- replaces the [whole 1.1.55] stem.

pānthān-am nītya-m gācch-a-ti = pānthin+īNā = pānth-d-ḥ 'who necessarily travels a road each day, an almsman'.

5.1.77 ut-tara-path-éna=ā-hṛ-ta-m ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ut-tara-path-ā- 'northern route' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'brought or conveyed through it' (ā-hṛ-ta-m) in addition to (ca) [goes or travels by it 74].

ut-tara-path-éna ā-hṛ-ta-m = ut-tara-pathā+ṭhaÑ = aūt-tara-path-ika-m 'brought via the northern route'; *uttara-path-éna gācch-a-ti = aūt-tara-path-ika-ḥ* 'a traveler going via the northern route'.

5.1.78 kāl-āt

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting time (kāl-āt) in the section beginning here and extending up to 96 inclusive below.

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-ā) and the word [kāl-āt] will recur in all the subsequent rules of this section.

5.1.79 t-éna nīr-vṛt-ta-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'accomplished within it' (nīr-vṛt-ta-m).

dhan-d nīr-vṛt-ta-m = dhan+ṭhañ = āhñn-ika-m (8.4.134) 'to be completed or accomplished within a day'; similarly *ṣaṇ-māsa-ika-m/ārdha-māsa-ika-m* 'accomplished in six months/a fortnight'.

5.1.80 tám ādhīṣṭa-ḥ bhṛ-tā-ḥ=bbū-tā-ḥ=bhāvī

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tā-m) to denote the senses of (1)

invited to teach (ádhiṣ-ta-ḥ), hired (bhṛ-tá-ḥ), lasted (bhú-tá-ḥ) or will last (bhāví).

māsa-m ādhiṣ-ta-ḥ/bhṛ-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāvī = *māsa+ṭhaN̄* (18) = *māseṭh-ika-ḥ* = *adhy-āp-aka-ḥ/karma-kārd-ḥ/vy-ādḥ-f-ḥ/ut-sav-ā-ḥ* '(a) invited to teach for a month; (b) hired for a month; (c) lasted for a month; (d) will last for a month'.

5.1.81 *mās-āt=váyas-i* 'yàT-²kh-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *māsa-* 'month' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' (bhú-ta-ḥ) 80] to designate age (*váyas-i*).

Though the meaning conditions of 80 recur in the succeeding rules, here only the third meaning is pertinent.

māsa-m bhū-tá-ḥ = *māsa+yàT/kha* = *māseṭh-ya-ḥ/māseṭh-īna-ḥ* 'one month old (= born a month back)'.

5.1.82 *dvigó-r* yaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound [ending in 1.1.72 the time-word 78 *māsa-* 'month' 81 and terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' 80 to designate age 81].

dv-au mās-au bhū-tá-ḥ = *dvigó+māsa+yaP* = *dvigó-māseṭh-yá-ḥ* 'aged two months'.

5.1.83 *ṣaṇ-mās-āt=NyàT=ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] NyàT, in addition to (ca) [yaP 72 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *ṣaṇ-māsá-* 'six months' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' 80 to designate 'age' 81].

ṣaṇ-māsa-m bhū-tá-ḥ = *ṣaṇ-māsa+NyàT/yaP* = *ṣaṇ-māseṭh-yá-ḥ* / *ṣaṇ-māse-yá-ḥ* 'aged six months'; with the governing affix [ṭhaN̄ 18] which is covered by [ca] also: *ṣaṇ-māse-ika-ḥ*.

5.1.84 *ś-vayas-i* ṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN, in addition to (ca) [NyàT 83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *ṣaṇ-māsá-* 'six months' 83 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'lasted' 80] when not designating age (*ś-vayas-i*).

ṣaṭ=māsā-n bhū-tā-h = *ṣaṇ-māsā+ṭhaN/NyāT* = *ṣān-māsṭh-ika-h* / *ṣāṇ-mās-yā-h*
(*roga-h*) '(a malady) which has lasted six months'.

5.1.85 *sāmā-y-āḥ kha-h*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sāmā* 'year' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80].

sāmā-m dāhṭṣ-ta-h/bhṛ-tā-h/bhū-tā-h/bhāv-f = *sāmā+kha* = *samṭh-fna-h* 'invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last for a year'.

5.1.86 *dvigó-r vā*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 85] is optionally (va) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *sāmā* 'year' 85 occurring at the end of 1.1.72] a *Dvigú* compound [terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 and 'accomplished' 79].

Beginning here and extending up to 93 below the meaning conditions prescribed in 79 and 80 recur in each *sūtra*.

The option is with reference to the governing affix [ṭhaN].

dv-é sām-e nṛ-vṛt-ta-h/dāhṭṣ-ta-h/bhṛ-tā-h/bhū-tā-h/bhāv-f *vā dvi-samā+ṭhaN/kha* = *dvai-samṭh-ika-h/dvi-samṭh-fna-h* 'accomplished/invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last two years'.

5.1.87 ¹*rātri*=²*āha(n)*-³*saṁ-vatsar-āt=ca*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 85 is optionally 86 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *rātri*- 'night', *āhan*- 'day' and *saṁ-vatsarā*- 'year' [occurring as final members of a *Dvigú* compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished 79, invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80].

The option is with reference to the governing affix [ṭhaN 18]

dvā-bhyām rātri-bhyām nṛ-vṛt-ta-h, dv-é rātri-I dāhṭṣ-ta-h/bhṛ-tā-h/bhū-tā-h/bhāv-f *vā* = *dvi-rātri+ṭhaN/kha* = *dvai-rātrṭh-ika-h/dvi-rātrṭh-fna-h* 'accomplished within, or invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last two nights'.

Similarly: *dvafy-ahn-ika-h* (7.3.3)/*dvṛ-ah-fna-h* (6.4.134); *dvī-sām-vatsar-ika-h* (7.3.15)/*dvi-samvatsar-fna-h*.

5.1.88 varṣ-āt=luK ca

luK (=Ø¹) optionally 86 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 or kha 85 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1' varṣá- 'year' [forming the final member of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished within 79 or invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80].

*duā-bhyām varṣā-bhyām nṛ-ṽt-ta-h, dv-aú varṣ-aú ádhṛ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-tā-h/
bhū-ta-h/vā = dvi-varṣá+ṭhaÑ/kha-/→luk = dvi-varṣa-ika-h (7.3.18)/
dvi-varṣ-ṇa-h/dvi-varṣā-h* 'accomplished within two years, or invited to
teach/hired/lasted'

*bhāu-ṛ : *duā-varṣ-ika-h* [+ṭhaÑ 18] (7.3.18).

5.1.89 citta-vát-i nitya-m

[luk (Ø¹) 88] necessarily (nitya-m) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 varṣá- 'year' 88 forming a final member of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 or in the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished by' 79] to designate an animate item (citta-vát-i).

*dv-aú varṣ-aú ádhṛ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-tā-h/bhū-tā-h/bhāu-ṛ vā, duā-bhyām varṣā-bhyām
nṛ-ṽt-ta-h = dvi-varṣá+Ø¹ = dvi-varṣā-h (dāra-ka-h).*

5.1.90 śaṣṭi-k-āḥ śaṣṭi-rātr-éṇa pac-y-ānte

The expression śaṣṭi-ka- is introduced to denote the sense of 'ripened in sixty nights' (śaṣṭi-rātr-éṇa pac-y-ānte).

By interpretation affix kaN is introduced after the Dvigú compound [śaṣṭi-rātr-á] with Ø replacement of [*rātra-]: *śaṣṭi-rātr-éṇa pac-y-ānte = śaṣṭi-Ø+kaN = śaṣṭi-ka-* 'name of a particular type of rice (ripening in 60 nights)'.

5.1.91 vatsarā=ant=āt=cha-s=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vatsarā- 'year' occurring as a final member ('-ant-āt of a compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 or in the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished with' 79].

*id-vatsarā-m/ida-vatsarā-m ddhṛṣ-ṭa-h/bhṛṣ-id-h/bhā-tā-h/bhāv-ī, id-vatsar-ēṇa/
ida-vatsar-ēṇa nṛ-vṛt-taḥ = id-vatsarā/ida-vatsarā+cha = id-vatsarṭh-ṣya-h/
ida-vatsarṭh-ṣya-h.*

The words *id-vatsarā-/ida-vatsarā-* are defined by Padamañjarī as *pañca-varṣ-ś
yug-ś dvay-ś varṣāy-ś saṃjñā-ś* 'one of the names given to two single years in a
period of five years'.

5.1.92 ¹sām-²pāri-pūrv-āt kha ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 91 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* in addition to (ca) [cha 91 is introduced after 3.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *vatsarā-* 'year' 91] co-occurring with the preverbs *sām-°* and *pāri-°* as prior members (*°-pūrv-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 or the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished within' 79].

*sam-vatsarā-/pari-vatsarā+cha/cha = samvatsarṭh-ṣya-h/°-ṣya-h;
pari-vatsar-ṣya-h/°-ṣya-h; cf. preceding sūtra for sense.*

5.1.93 t-éna ¹pari-jáy-ya-²lābh-ya-³kār-ya-⁴su-kār-am

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhañ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*t-éna*) to denote 'to be conquered (*pari-jáy-ya-*), gained (*lābh-ya-*), accomplished (*kār-ya-*) or easily achieved (*su-kār-am*)'.

*māsa-ena pari-jáy-ya-h/lābh-ya-h/kār-ya-h/su-kār-am = māsa+ṭhañ = māsaṭh-ika-h
'to be conquered, gained, accomplished or easily achieved within a month'.*

5.1.94 tát a-syá brahma-cār-ya-m

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhañ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*tát*) to denote 'this is the duration of his (*a-syá*) practice of abstinence' (*brahma-cārya-m*).

māsa-m brahma-cārya-m a-syá = māsa+ṭhañ = māsaṭh-ika-h 'who practises continence for a period of one month'.

An alternate interpretation is: the affix *ṭhañ* is introduced after a time-word (78) ending in the first sUP triplet (*tát*) to denote 'this is his period of continence': *māsa-h a-syá brahma-cārya-sya = māsa-ika-m* 'the period of his continence is one month'.

5.1.95 tá-sya ca dáksina yajñá=ākhya-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] designating names of sacrifices (*yajñá=ākhya-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote 'this is his gratuity or sacrificial fee (*dáksina*)'.

agni-ṣtomá-sya dáksina = *agni-ṣtomá+ṭhaÑ* = *ágni-ṣtomá-ik-ṛ* (4.1.15) 'sacrificial fee for the A. sacrifice'. Similarly *vāja-pey-ikṛ*, *rāja-sāy-ikṛ* etc.

5.1.96 tá-tra ca dī-yá-te kār-yà-m bhav-a-vát

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 which is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*tá-tra*) to denote 'is given in that' (*dī-yá-te*) or 'is to be done therein' (*kār-yà-m*) is the same as that introduced to denote a state or condition (*bhav-a-vát* 4.3.53ff.).

māsa-e dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m - *māsa+ṭhaÑ* (4.3.11) = *māsa-ika-m* 'what is given or to be done in a month' as in the case of *māsa-e bhav-a-m* (4.3.53).

5.1.97 vy-ùṣṭa=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *vy-ùṣṭa* 'dawn' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'it is given or done in that' 96].

vy-ùṣṭ-e dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m *vā* = *vy-ùṣṭ-a+āN* = *vaiy-uṣṭ-ā-m* (7.3.3) 'what is given or to be done at dawn'.

5.1.98 t-éna'yathā-kathā-cá-²hástā-bhyām ¹Ná-²yàT-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *Ná* and *yàT* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *yathā-kathā-cá* 'in any manner' and *hástā* 'hand' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*t-éna*) [to denote 'is given or to be done 96] by it'.

yathā-kathā-cá dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m *vā* = *yathā-kathā-cá+Ná* = *yāthā-kathā-cā-ā-m* 'is given or to be done in any manner or somehow'; *hást-ena dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m* *vā* = *hástā+yàT* = *hástā-ya-m* 'is given or to be done by hand'.

5.1.99 sam-pād-in-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaṆ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 98] to denote 'is fit or suitable for' (sam-pād-in-i).

kārṇa-veṣṭakā-bhṛāṁ sam-pād-i = kārṇa-veṣṭakā+ṭhaṆ = kārṇa-veṣṭakā-ika-m '(a face) fit for earrings'.

5.1.100 ¹kārma(n)-²véṣ-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kārman- 'action' and véṣa- 'costume' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'is fit or suitable for it' 99].

kārman-ā sam-pād-i = kārman+yàT = kārman-yā-m (śarīra-m) (8.4.168) '(body) fit for activity'; *véṣ-ṇa sam-pād-i = véṣa+yàT = véṣṭ-ya-h (nāṭa-h)* '(an actor) fit for (wearing) costumes'.

5.1.101 tá-smai prá-bhav-a-ti sam-tāpá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaṆ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sam-tāpá- 'penitence' [ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (tá-smai) to denote 'is equal to or capable of' (prá-bhav-a-ti).

sam-tāpá-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = sam-tāpá+ṭhaṆ=sām-tāpá-ika- 'capable of heating or warming up'; similarly *sam-grāmā-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = sām-grām-ika-h* 'capable of fighting'.

5.1.102 yóga-āt=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT, in addition to (ca) [ṭhaṆ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] yóga- 'union' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'is equal to or capable of' 101].

yóga-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = yóga+yàT/ṭhaṆ = yóga-ya-/yógā-ika- 'capable of attaining union'.

5.1.103 kārman-aḥ=ukaṅ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ukaṅ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kārman- 'action, activity' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'is equal to or capable of' 101].

kārman-e prā-bhav-a-ti = kārman+ukaṅ = kārmaṭṭh-uka-m (8.4 144) 'n.pr. of a bow (lit. capable of action)'.

5.1.104 samayá-s tād a-syá prā-p-ta-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thaṅ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] samayá- 'opportune moment' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tād) to denote 'has arrived for it' (a-syá pr-āp-ta-m).

samayá-h pr-āp-ta-h a-syá = samayá+thaṅ = sāmayaṭṭh-ika-m (kār-yā-m) '(an action) for which the opportune moment has arrived'.

5.1.105 ṛtú-r áṅ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṅ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ṛtú- 'season' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'has arrived for it' 104].

ṛtú-h pr-āp-ta-h a-syá = ṛtú+áṅ = ṛtav-ā-m (pūspā-m) 'seasonal (flower)'.

5.1.106 chándas-l ghaS

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ghaS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ṛtú- 'season' 105 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'has arrived for it' 104].

ay-ām te yóni-r ṛtu-hya-h (RV 3.29.10) = *ṛtú-h pr-āpta-h a-syá (ṛtú+ghaS)* 'seasonal'. The marker [S] of the affix indicates that the stem before it is a padá (1.4.16) and therefore blocks the operation of 6.4.146.

5.1.107 kāl-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kālā- 'time' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'has arrived for it' 104].

kāld-h pr-āp-ta-h a-syá = kāld+yàT = kālṭh-ya-h (tāpḥ) '(heat) occurring in proper time, seasonal'.

5.1.108 pra-kṛṣ-ṭ-é thaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 kálá- 'time'¹⁰⁷ ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104] signifying 'long-standing' (pra-kṛṣ-ṭ-é) [to denote 'its' (a-syá) 104].

pra-kṛṣ-ṭá-h = dṛghá-h kálá-h a-syá = kálá+thaÑ = kálā-ika-m (ṛnd-m) 'long-standing (debt)'.

5.1.109 pra-yóḥ-ana-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104] to denote [its 104] 'purpose, object, or proper occasion' (pra-yóḥ-ana-m).

indra-mahá-h pra-yóḥ-ana-m a-syá = indra-mahá+thaÑ = aindra-mahā-ika-m 'whose object, purpose or proper occasion is the festival in honor of Indra'

5.1.110 ¹vi-śākhā=²aṣāḍh-āt áN ¹manthá-²daṇḍáy-oh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] viśākhā and a-ṣāḍh-ā 'names of asterisms' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109 to signify respectively 1.3.10] a churning stick (manthá-) and a staff (-daṇḍáy-oh).

vi-śākhā pra-yóḥ-ana-m a-syá = vi-śākhā+áN = vai-śākhā-ā-h manthá-h 'a churning stick used on the occasion of V.' Similarly a-ṣāḍh-ā-h daṇḍá-h 'a staff carried by an ascetic on the occasion of Pūrvāṣādhā'.

5.1.111 anu-pra-vác-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ=cha-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with anu-pra-vác-ana- 'repetition of a Vedic passage' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109].

anu-pra-vác-ana-m pra-yóḥ-ana-m a-syá = anu-pra-vác-ana+cia = anu-pra-vác-anā-fya-m 'whose object, purpose or proper occasion is repetition of a Vedic passage'.

5.1.112 sam-āp-an-āt sā-pūrva-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 111 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sam-āp-ana- 'accomplishment, achievement' co-occurring with a prior member (in composition: sā-pūrva-pad-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109].

chandaḥ-sam-āp-anā-m pra-yōj-ana-m a-syá = *chandaḥ-sam-āp-anā+cha* = *chandaḥ-sam-āp-anā-īya-m* 'whose object, purpose or occasion is the achievement of the study of Chāndas'.

5.1.113 aśkāgārikaṭ caur-é

The irregular expression aśkāgārika-(Ṭ) is introduced to denote a thief (caur-é) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18].

ekāgāra-m pra-yōj-ana-m a-syá = *ekāgāra+ṭhaÑ* = *aśkāgārika-* (literally) 'whose object is an empty house (eka+agāra)' = a thief. This rule has been contradicted by the Vārttika-kāśa and Patañjali since they accept the position that the word has the udātta accent on the first syllable. Others indicate the irregularity in confining the meaning to a thief only, while a third view of interpretation holds that the affix is [ikaṬ] with irregular vṛddhi of the initial syllable *aikāgar-ika-, and the marker[Ṭ] then provides for the feminine form *aikāgār-īk-ī (4.1.15) while [ṭhaÑ] yields *aśkāgār-ik-ī* (4.1.15).

5.1.114 ā-kāl-ika-Ṭ=ādy-antā-vac-an-e

The (unusual) expression ākalikaṬ is introduced to denote beginning and end (of an action: an instantaneous action) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 by 109 above].

This rule also is contradicted by the Vārttikakāśa, but Patañjali tries to justify it by indicating that the expression [samāna-kālā-] is the original stem which is irregularly replaced by [ā-kāla- = ā-vṛtta-kāla-]; the unusualness of the expression is with respect to its meaning only. Some interpreters (including Kāśa) posit, as in 112, the affix [ikaṬ] and both Vārt. and Bhāṣ. add another affix [ṭhaÑ].

samāna-kāl-ādy-ant-ādy a-syá = *akāla+ṭhaÑ/(ṭhaÑ)* = *ā-kāl-ik-ī/(ā-kāl-ik-ā)* = *vi-dyūt* '(lightning which is) momentary or instantaneous'; *ā-kāl-ika-ḥ* = *etan-ay-īnu-ḥ* '(thunder which is) instantaneous' (= having the beginning and ending at the same moment). The difference between the two affixes is with reference to feminine forms only. If [ikaṬ] is regarded as the affix in question the form would be: *ā-kāl-ika- (m.)/'-ik-ī*.

5.1.115 t-éna túl-ya-m kriyá céd vátj-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátj is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote only an action similar to that (t-éna túl-ya-m céd).

brāhmaṇ-éna túl-ya-m vát-a-te = brāhmaṇa-vát 'like a Br.'

5.1.116 tá-tra tá-sya=iva

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátj 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) or in the sixth (tá-sya) to denote the meanings associated with iva 'like, similar'.

1. *mathurā-y-ām iva = mathurā-vát* 'as in Mathura'.

2. *deva-dattā-sya iva = deva-datta-vát* 'like Devadatta's'.

5.1.117 tád arh-á-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátj 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'deserves it' (tád arh-á-m).

rājān-am ár-h-a-ti = rājan+vát = rājā-vát (8.1.7) 'deserving the king'.

5.1.118 upa-sárg-āt=chándas-i dhātv-arth-é

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátj 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising pre-verbs (upa-sárg-āt) to denote the meanings of verbal stems (dhātv-arth-é).

úd+vátj = ud-vát = úd-gatā 'height, elevation'; similarly *ní-vát = ní-gatā* 'depression, declivity'.

5.1.119 tá-sya bhāṇ-á-h=¹tvá-²taL-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tvá and taL are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote its essential state or condition (tá-sya bhāṇ-á-h)

dśva-sya bhāṇ-á-h = dśva+tvá/taL = dśva-tvā/dśvā-tā 'the state, nature or condition of being a horse, horseness'.

5.1.120 á ca tv-ât

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 tvá and taL 119] are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] under conditions listed in the subsequent rules up to 136 below. i.e., the end of the pāda[brahmaṇa-s-tvā-h 136].

This rule provides for the introduction of these two affixes (as governing affixes) in addition to those specifically mentioned in each of the succeeding rules.

5.1.121 ná náÑ-pūrv-āt tatpuruṣ-āt=a-¹cátura-²sañ-gatá-³lavaṇá-⁴vaṭa-⁵yudhá-⁶kata-⁷rása-⁸lása-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced hereafter] do not occur [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising tatpuruṣa compounds co-occurring with the privative particle náÑ as a prior member (°-pūrv-āt) excluding [the nominal stems 4.1.1] cátura- 'able', sañ-ga-tá- 'harmonious', lavaṇá- 'salt', vaṭa 'bunyan tree', yudhá- 'fighter', kata- 'name of a Vedic seer', rása- 'taste' and lása- 'active'.

There is a variant reading [budhá-] for [yudhá-]. accepted by Boehtlingk and Renou meaning 'wise man'.

By 128 below affix [yáK] is introduced after a compound stem ending in the word [°-pati-] but the compound náÑ+pati = a-pati- has only two forms to denote its state or condition: a-pati+tvā-m/a-pati-tā. Exceptions stated in this rule are: ā-catur-yá-m, ā-sañ-gat-yá-m, ā-lavaṇ-yá-m, ā-vaṭ-yá-m, ā-yudh-yá-m/ā-budh-yá-m, ā-kat-yá-m, ā-ras-yá-m and ā-las-yá-m (124).

5.1.122 prthú=ādi-bhyaḥ=imánīC=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ImánīC is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with prthú- 'broad, wide' and [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential state or condition 119].

prthó-r bhāv-d-h = prthú+imánīC /tvā/taL (119)/dN (131) = prathō-imān- (8.4.161)/prthu-tvā/prthū-tā/pārthav-d- 'wideness, expanse'.

5.1.123 ¹várṇa-²dṛḍhá-ādi-bhyaḥ ŚyaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ŚyaÑ, in addition to (ca) [imánīC 122 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of color words (várṇa-°) and the class of words beginning with dṛḍhá- 'firm' [ending in

1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their essential condition or state 119].

1. *śuklā-śya bhāu-ā-ḥ* = *śuklā+ŚyaN̄/imāṇiC* = *śauklīṭh-ya-m/śukl-imān-, śukla-tvā-m/śuklā-tā* 'whiteness'.
2. Similarly *dārdhī-ya-m/dārdha-tvā-m/dārdhā-tā/dārdh-imān-* 'firmness'.

5.1.124 ¹guṇa-vāc-ana-²brāhmaṇá=ādihyaḥ kármaṇ-i ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *SyaN̄* 123 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of qualifying words (*guṇa-vāc-ana-°*) and the class of words beginning with *brāhmaṇá-* 'brahmin' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 119] to denote 'his function or duty' in addition to (ca) [his essential condition or state 119].

Beginning here, up to the end of this pāda both [*bhāv-ā* 119 and *kárman-*] denote the significance of forms generated by these rules.

1. *jāḍa-śya bhāu-ā-ḥ/kárma vā* = *jāḍa+ŚyaN̄* = *jāḍīṭh-ya-m/jāḍa-tvā-m/jāḍā-tā jāḍimāṇ-* 'stiffness, inertia'.
2. *brāhmaṇá-śya bhāu-ā-ḥ/kárma vā* = *brāhmaṇīṭh-ya-m/brāhmaṇa-tvā-m/brāhmaṇā-tā* 'state or duty of a brahmin'.

5.1.125 *sten-āt=yàT=na-lopa-s=ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *stená-* 'thief' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote his essential condition or state 119 or his function or duty 124] and *ṭh* (*lopa*) replaces the syllable [*na*] of the stem.

stend-śya bhāu-ā-ḥ/kárma vā = *stend+yàT* = *steṭṭh-ya-* = *sté-ya-m* 'the state or function of a thief'.

5.1.126 *sákhy-ur yá-ḥ*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yá* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sákhi-* 'friend, companion' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

sákhy-ur bhāu-ā-ḥ/kárma vā = *sákhi+ya* = *sakhīṭh-yā-m* 'companionship or its duty/function'.

5.1.127 ¹kapí-²jñāty-ór ḍhák

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kapí- 'ape, monkey' and jñāti- 'kin' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its duty/function 124].

kapé-r bhāv-d-h/kārma vā = kapí+ḍhák = kápṭh-eyd-m 'the state or duty of an ape or monkey'; similarly *jñātṭh-eyd-m* 'the state or function of kinship'.

5.1.128 ¹pāti=anta-²puró-hita=ādi-bhyaḥ=yák

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yák is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] terminating in °-pāti- (in composition: °-anta-) and the class of words beginning with puró-hita- 'chaplain' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

1. *senā-patē-r bhāv-d-h/kārma vā = senā-patí+yák = sainā-patṭh-yd-m* 'the state or function of an army general'.
2. *puró-hita-sya bhā-vā-h/kārma vā = puró-hita+yák = pauro-hitṭh-yd-m* 'the state or duties of chaplainship'.

5.1.129 ¹prāṇa-bhṛt=jāti-²vayo-vác-ana=³ud-gā-tṛ=ādi-bhyaḥ=añ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] añ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing species of animate beings (prāṇa-bhṛt-jāti-), and those expressing age (°vayo-vác-ana-°) and the class of words beginning with ud-gā-tṛ- 'chanter' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or duty 124].

1. *ásva-sya bhāv-d-h/kārma vā = ásva+añ = ásvṭh-a-m* 'state or function of being a horse'. *kaú-mar-d-m* 'state or duty of k.'
2. *ud-gā-tū-r bhāv-d-h/kārma vā = ud-gā-tṛ+añ = aúd-gā-tr-a-m* 'state or duties of a chanter'.

5.1.130 ¹hāyaná=anta-²yúva(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ=án

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] án is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-hāyaná- 'year' as final member (°-anta-° in composition) and the class of words beginning with yúvan-

'youth' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

1. *dvi-hāyanā-sya bhāu-d-h kārma vā* = *dvi-hāyanā+dN* = *dvai-hāyanθ-d-m* 'state or activity of two years'.
2. *yūn-aḥ bhāu-d-h kārma vā* = *yūvan+dN* = *yauvan-d-m* 'state or duties of being a youth'.

5.1.131 iK=ant-āt=ca laghú-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 130 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme comprised by the siglum iK (= i,u,ṛ,ḷ) preceded by a light vowel (laghú-pūrv-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its duty/function 124].

śúce-r bhāu-d-h kārma vā = *śúci+dN* = *śaucθ-d-m* 'the state or function of being pure', but *kaṇḍā-tvā-m* 'the state or function of itchiness'.

5.1.132 ya=upadh-āt=gurú=upottam-āt=vuN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] containing phoneme [y] as penultimate (°-upadh-āt) and a heavy penultimate syllable (gurú=upottam-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition/state 119 or its duty/function 124].

ram-añña-sya bhāu-d-h kārma vā = *ram-añña+vuN* = *rām-aññθ-aka-m* 'state or function of beauty, loveliness' but *ksatriya-tvā-m* 'state or function of being a ksatriya'.

5.1.133 'dvañdvá-²mano-jñá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 132] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising Dvañdvá compounds and the word-class beginning with mano-jñá- 'lovely' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its condition/state 119 or duty/function 124].

1. *go-pāi-a-paśu-pāi-ā-n-ām bhāu-d-h kārma vā* = *go-pāi-a-paśu-pāi+dN* = *gavī-pāi-a-paśu-pāiθ-ik-ā* (TāP 4.1.4; 7.3.44) 'the state/duties of cowherds and herdsmen'.
2. Similarly *mano-jñá+vuN* = *māno-jñāθ-aka-m* 'the state or function of loveliness'.

5.1.134 ¹go-trá-²cāraṇ-āt ¹ślāghā=²aty-ā-kārā-³tad-ave-té-ṣu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuṆ 132 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting patronymics (gotrá-°) or names designating Vedic schools (°-cāraṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its condition or state 119 or its duties/functions 124] when signifying boasting (ślāghā°), contempt (°-aty-ā-kāra-°) or acquired knowledge (°-tad-av-té-ṣu).

gārgya-tv-éna ślāgh-a-te = *gārgya+vuṆ* = *gārgθθ+aka+TāP* (6.4.148,151; 4.1.4) = *gārg-ikθ-ā* (7.3.44): *gārg-ikay-ā ślāgh-a-te/aty-ā-kur-u-te* 'boasts as belonging to the G. family / shows contempt to others'. Similarly *gārg-ika-m ave-tā-ḥ* 'acquired the knowledge of the G. family'.

5.1.135 hótrā-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising cognates of hótrā (names of sacrificial priests) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its state/condition 119 or duty/function 124].

acchā-vākā-sya bhāv-ā-ḥ kārma vā = *acchā-vākā+cha* = *acchā-vākθ-īya-m* 'state or duty of being an A. priest'.

5.1.136 brāhmaṇ-as tvā-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tvā is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] brāhmaṇ- 'officiating priest' [forming a cognate of hótrā 135, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its state/condition 119 or duty/function 124].

brāhmaṇ-aḥ bhāv-ā-ḥ kārma vā = *brāhmaṇ+tvā* = *brahmθ-tvā-m* 'the state or duties of the Brāhmaṇ priest'.

5.2.1 dhānyā-n-ām bhāv-an-e kṣētr-e khañ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] khañ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting names of grains (dhānyā-n-ām) [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet to denote the field (kṣētr-e) in which they are grown (bhāv-an-e).

mudgā-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣētra-m = mudgā+khañ = maṁdgṭh-īna-m 'a field in which Mung beans are grown'; similarly *kulāttha+khañ = kaḍlatthṭh-īnam* 'a field in which K. grain is grown'.

5.2.2 ¹vrihī²sāly-or ḍhāk

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhāk is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vrihī- 'rice' and sāli- 'rice' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet [to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

vrihī-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣētra-m = vrihī+ḍhāk = vrahīṭh-eyā-m/sālīṭh-eyā-m 'rice field'.

5.2.3 ¹yāva-²yāva-ka-³śaṣṭi-k-āt=yàT

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yāva-, yāva-ka- 'barley' and śaṣṭi-ka- 'a variety of rice' (1.90) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

yāvā-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣētra-m = yāva+yàT = yāvṭh-ya-m; yāva-ka+yàT = yava-k-yā-m 'barley field'; similarly *śaṣṭikṭh-yā-m* 'rice field'.

5.2.4 vibhāṣā ¹tilā-²māṣa=³úmā-⁴bhaṅgā-⁵āṇu=bhyaḥ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tilā- 'sesamum', māṣa- 'Phaseolus Radiatus', úmā 'flax', bhaṅgā 'hemp' and āṇu- 'Panicum Miliatus' [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

tilā-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣētra-m = tilā+yàT/khañ (1) = tilṭh-ya-m/taṭṭh-īna-m;
similarly: *māṣ-ya-m/māṣ-īna-m; úm-ya-m/úm-īna-m; bhaṅg-ya-m/bhaṅg-īna-m; āṇav-yā-m/āṇav-īna-m.*

5.2.5 *sarva-carmāṇ-aḥ kṛ-tā-ḥ* 'kha-²khaṅ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *kha* and *khaṅ* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sarva-carmāṇ-* 'entire or whole leather' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'wholly made of' (*kṛ-tā-ḥ*).

The word [*sarvá-*] here is really connected with the verbal derivative [*kṛ-tā-*] rather than with [*cárman-*].

sarva-carmāṇ-a kṛ-tā-ḥ = *sarva-carmāṇ+kha/khaṅ* = *sarva-carmṭ-ṇa-ḥ/sárva-carm-ṇa-ḥ* 'wholly made of leather'.

5.2.6 *yathā-mukhā- saṁ-mukhā-sya dāś-ana-ḥ kha-ḥ*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *yathā-mukha-m* 'face to face' and *saṁ-mukha-* 'facing' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*-sya*) to denote a mirror or reflecting surface (*dāś-ana-ḥ*).

yathā-mukhā-m/saṁ-mukhā-sya dāś-ana-ḥ = *yathā+mukhā+kha/saṁ-mukhā+kha* = *yathā-mukhṭ-ṇa-ḥ/saṁ-mukhṭ-ṇa-ḥ* 'looking straight at (said of a mirror)'.

5.2.7 *tāt sarvá=āde-ḥ* ¹*pathi(n)*=²*aṅgá*-³*kárma(n)*=⁴*páttra-pátra-m vy-āp-no-ti*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *páthin-* 'path', *aṅgá-* 'limb', *kárman-* 'action', *páttra-* 'conveyance' and *pátra-* 'vessel', co-occurring with *sarvá-* as a prior member (*-āde-ḥ* in composition) [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*tad*) to denote 'covers' (*vy-āp-no-ti*).

sárva-m pánthān-am = *sarudṭ-path-a-m* (4.74) *vy-āp-no-ti* = *sarva-pathṭ-ṇa-ḥ* 'covering or traversing the whole route'; likewise: *sarvāṅg-ṇa-ḥ* (8.4.2) 'covering all limbs'; *sarva-karm-ṇa-ḥ* 'performing all acts'; *sarva-pattr-ṇa-ḥ* 'occupying the whole conveyance'; *sarva-pātr-ṇa-ḥ* 'covering the entire vessel'.

5.2.8 *ā-pra-padá-m pr-āp-no-ti*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *ā-pra-padá-m* 'up to the forepart of the foot' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote 'reaches' (*prāp-no-ti*).

ā-pra-praddā-m pr-āp-no-ti = *ā-prapaddā+kha* = *ā-prapadθ-fna-* 'reaching up to the forepart of the foot (said of a cloth)'.

5.2.9 ¹*anu-padā*-²*sarvā-anna*=³*aya=an-ay-ām* ¹*baddhā*-²*bhakṣ-āy-a-ti*-³*néye-ṣu*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *anu-padā*- 'length of the foot', *sarvānna*- 'all nourishment' and *ayānayā*- 'right and left moves in chess' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'bound (*baddhā*), eats (*bhakṣ-āy-a-ti*) and to be led (*né-ye-ṣu*)'.

1. *anu-paddā-m baddhā* = *anu-paddā+kha* = *anu-padθ-fna-* 'fitting the foot';
2. *sarvānna-m bhakṣ-dy-a-ti* = *sarvānn-fna-* 'who consumes all the food';
3. *ayānayā-m né-ya-ḥ* = *ayānayθ-fna-* 'moving from right to left and from left to right (said of chessmen)'.

5.2.10 ¹*parovarā*-²*param-parā*-³*putra-pautrā-m* *ānu-bhav-a-ti*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *parovarā*- 'higher and lower', *param-parā*- descend-ent starting with the greatgrandson' and *putra-pautra*- 'son and grandson' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote 'experiences, enjoys' (*ānu-bhav-a-ti*).

1. *pārā-n=ca dvarā-n=ca ānu-bhav-a-ti* = *parovara+kha* = *paro-varθ-fna-ḥ* 'experiencing the higher and lower (generations)';
2. *pārā-n=ca pāra-tarā-n=ca ānu-bhav-a-ti* = *param-parā+kha* = *param-parθ-fna-ḥ* 'enjoying grandsons and greatgrandsons';
3. *putra-pautrā-n ānu-bhava-ti* = *putra-pautrθ-fna-ḥ* 'experiencing the sons and grandsons'.

5.2.11 ¹*avāra-pārā*=²*aty-antā*=³*anu-kāmā-m gām-f*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *avāra-pārā*- 'this and the opposite banks', *aty-antā*- 'absolute, perfect' and *anu-kāmā*- 'desire, longing' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote 'proposes to go' (*gām-f*).

1. *avāra-pārā-m gām-f* = *avāra-pārā+kha* = *avāra-pārθ-fna-ḥ* 'who proposes to cover both shores';

2. *aty-antā-m gām-I* = *aty-antθ-fna-h* 'who intends going to the very end'; (c) *anu-kāmθ-fna-h* 'who is apt to act as he pleases, self-indulgent'.

5.2.12 *samā-m-samā-m vi-jā-ya-te*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *samā-m-samā-m* 'year by year, every year' to denote 'gives birth to' (*vi-jā-ya-te*).

samā-m-samā-m vi-jā-ya-te = *samā-m-samā-θ+kha* = *samā-m-samθ-fna+TāP* = *samā-m-sam-fn θ+ā (gāú-h)* '(a cow) bearing a calf every year'.

5.2.13 *adya-śv-fn-ā ava-ṣṭab-dh-e*

The (irregular) expression *adya-śv-fn-ā* is introduced to denote one whose delivery is imminent (*āva-ṣṭab-dh-e*).

The affix kha is introduced after the irregular compound *adya+śvās* with θ replacement of stem-final [s]: *adya-śvaθ+kha* = *adya-śvθ-fn-ā (gāú-h)* 'a cow in parturition, about to give birth'. Some interpreters, however, do not accept the recurrence of [*vi-jā-ya-te*] in this rule, yielding expressions like *adya-śv-fna-m mār-aṇa-m* 'imminent death', and *adya-śv-fna-h vi-yog-ā-h* 'imminent separation'.

5.2.14 *ā-gav-fna-h*

The (irregular) expression *ā-gav-fna-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6].

āN+gō+kha = *ā-gav-fna-h* 'a person who serves in return for the loan of a cow until the debt is repaid'.

5.2.15 *anu-gú=alam-gām-f*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha 6 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *anu-gú* 'behind or following the cow' to denote 'competent to look after or guard (*alam-gām-f*)'.

anu-gú+kha = *anu-gav-fna-h* '(a cowherd) able to guard the cow he follows'.

5.2.16 ádhvan-ah=¹yàT-²kh-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ádhvan- 'road' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7 to denote 'competent to traverse 15].

ádhvān-am alam-gām-f = *ádhvān+yàT/kha* = *adhvan-yà-h/adhvan-fna-h*
'competent to traverse the road, traveler'.

5.2.17 abhy-a-mitr-āt=cha ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT and kha 16, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] abhy-a-mitrá-m 'against the enemy' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7 to denote 'competent to encounter' 15].

abhy-a-mitrā-m alam-gām-f = *abhy-a-mitrā+cha/yàT/kha* = *abhy-a-mitrθ-fya=h/*
'-mitr-yà-h/'-mitr-fya-h 'competent to encounter the enemy'.

5.2.18 goṣṭh-āt khaÑ bhū-ta-pūrv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] goṣṭhā- 'cow pen' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote 'was formerly' (bhūta-pūrv-e).

bhūta-pūrv-d-h goṣṭhā-h = *goṣṭha+khaÑ* = *gaviṣṭhθ-ma-h* 'a place which was formerly a cow shed'.

5.2.19 áśva-sya=eka=aha=gamá-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] áśva- 'horse' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet to denote '(distance) covered in one day' (ekāha-gam-á-h).

āśva-sya ekāha-gam-d-h = *āśva+khaÑ* = *āśvθ-fna-h* 'distance covered by a horse in one day'.

5.2.20 ¹śāl-ina-²kaúp-īn-e ¹á-dhṛṣ-ṭa-²á-kāryay-oh

The expressions śāl-ina- and kaúp-ina- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'modest' (á-dhṛṣ-ṭa-) and 'indecent attire' (-á-kāryay-oh).

śāla-pra-veś-ana-m ārh-a-ti = *śāla+khañ* = *śāl-ma-h* 'worthy of admission to a hall or assembly'; *kūpa-ava-tār-aṇa-m ārh-a-ti* = *kūpa+khañ* = *kaúpṭ-ma-m* 'suitable for going down in a well or hole, cod piece, loin cloth, swim briefs'.

5.2.21 vrāt-ena jīv-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khañ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *vrāta-* 'group of peripatetic laborers' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'lives by' (jīv-a-ti).

vrāt-ena jīva-a-ti = *vrāta+khañ* = *vrātṭ-ma-h* 'living by itinerant labor'.

5.2.22 śāpta-pad-īna-m sakh-yá-m

The expression *śāpta-pad-īna-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khañ 18] to denote 'companionship' (*sakh-yá-m*).

saptá-bhiḥ pad-añ dv-āp-ya-te = *sapta-padá+khañ* = *śāpta-padṭ-ma-m* 'amity', *śāpta-pad-ma-h* = *sákhā* 'companion'.

5.2.23 hāfyañ-gav-īna-m samjñā-y-ā

The expression *hāfyañ-gav-īna-m* 'clarified butter; biestings' is introduced to form a name (*samjñā-y-ām*).

By interpretation this is derived as follows: *hyas-tana-go-dohā-sya vi-kār-ā-h* = *hīyañ-gu+khañ* = *hāfyañ-gav-ma-m* (7.3.3) to denote [ghṛ-tá] 'clarified butter, ghee'.

5.2.24 tá-sya ¹pāká-²mūl-e ¹pīlú=adi-²kárṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹kuṇaP=²jāhāC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *kuṇaP* and *jāhāC* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the classes of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *pīlú-* 'a species of tree' and *kárṇa-* 'ear' to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'its season for ripening' (*pāká-*) and 'its roots' (*-mūl-e*).

pīlú-n-ām pāká-h = *pīlú+kuṇaP* = *pīlú-kuṇa-h* 'season for the ripening of the P. fruit'. *kárṇa-sya mūla-m* = *kárṇa+jāhāC* = *kárṇa-jāhā-m* 'root of the ear'

5.2.25 pakṣ-āt tī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *tī* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pakṣá-* 'lunar fortnight' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its root 24].

pakṣá-sya mūla-m = pakṣá-tī = pakṣa-tī-ḥ 'beginning or first day of the lunar fortnight'.

5.2.26 t-éna vit-tá-ḥ ¹cuñcuP-²caṇaP-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *cuñcuP* and *caṇaP* are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*t-éna*) to denote 'known by it' (*vit-tá-ḥ*).

vidyá-ā vit-tá-ḥ = vidyá-cuñcu-ḥ/vidyá-caṇa-ḥ 'well-known or renowned by knowledge'.

5.2.27 ¹ví-²nāñ-bhyām ¹nā-²nāñ-au nā-sahá

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *nā* and *nāñ* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pre-verb particle *ví-* ° and *nāñ-* ° to denote the sense of separation (*nā-sahá*).

vi-nā 'without'; *nāñ+nāñ = nā-nā* 'variously, diversely'.

5.2.28 vé-ḥ ¹śālāC-²śaṅkatāC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *śālāC* and *śaṅkatāC* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising the preverb particle *ví-* ° to denote a pleonastic sense.

vi+śālāC = vi-śālā- 'extended, wide'; similarly *vi-śaṅkatā-*.

5.2.29 ¹sām-²prá-³úd-as=ca kaṭáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kaṭáC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pre-verb particles *sām-* °, *prá-* ° and *úd-* ° as well as (*ca*) [*vi-* ° 28 to denote a pleonastic sense 28].

vi-kaṭá-m/sam-kaṭá-m/prá-kaṭá-m/ut-kaṭá-m 'dreadful, large/crowded together, contracted/manifest, evident/immense'.

5.2.30 áv-āt kuṭārāC ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kuṭārāC, in addition to (ca) [kaṭāC 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising the preverb particle áva-° [to denote a pleonastic sense 28].

áva+kuṭārāC/kaṭāC = *áva-kuṭārā-m/áva-kaṭā-m* 'deep, profound'.

5.2.31 na-t-é nāsikā-y-āḥ saṃjñā-y-ām ¹ṭṭāC-²nāṭāC-³bhrātāC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭṭāC, nāṭāC and bhrātāC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb particle áva-° 30 to denote a snub nose [na-t-é nāsikā-y-āḥ].

nāsikā-y-āḥ na-tā-m = *áva-ṭṭā-/áva-nāṭā-/áva-bhrātā-* 'snub-nosed' m., 'snub nose' u.

5.2.32 né-r ¹biḍāC-²birīsāC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] biḍāC and birīsāC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb ní-° [to denote a snub nose 31].

ní-biḍā-m/ní-birīsā-m = *nāsikā-y-āḥ na-tā-m* 'snub nose'.

5.2.33 ¹ināC-²piṭāC-¹cika-²ci ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ināC and piṭāC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb particle ní-° 32 [to denote a snub nose 31] and the substitutes cika- and ci- [respectively 1.3.10] replace it before these affixes.

ní+ināC = *cika+ināC* = *cikṭ-inā-ḥ*; *cí+piṭāC* = *ci+piṭā-ḥ*.

5.2.34 ¹úpa=²ádhi-bhyām tyakaN ¹ś-sa-na=²ś-rū-ḍhay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyakaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the preverb particles] úpa-° and ádhi-° to denote [respectively 1.3.10] proximity (ś-sa-na-°) and elevation (°-ś-rū-ḍhay-oḥ).

úpa+tyakaN = *úpa-tyaka+TāP* = *úpa-tyakṭ-ā* 'low land, place near a hill or mountain'; similarly *ádhi-tyak-ā* 'highland, plateau, tableland'. Because of the governing word [saṃjñā-yām 31] operating here, 7.3.34 does not apply.

5.2.35 *kārmaṇ-i ghaṭā-ḥ=aṭhāC*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *aṭhāC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *kārman-* 'activity' [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'zealously engaged in'.

kārmaṇ-i ghaṭā-ḥ = *kārman+aṭhāC* = *karmṭṭ-aṭhā-ḥ* 'zealously engaged in activities'.

5.2.36 *tād a-syā sām-jā-ta-m-tārakā=ādibhyaḥ itāC*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *itāC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *tārakā* 'star' [ending in 1.1.72] in the first sUP triplet (*tād*) to denote where they are manifested (*a-syā sām-jā-ta-m*).

tārakā-ḥ sām-jāta-ḥ a-syā (*nābhas-aḥ*) = *tārakā+itāC* = *tārakṭṭ-itā-m* (*nābha-ḥ*) 'the sky, studded with stars'; similarly *pūṣpā-ṇ-i sām-jā-tā-n-i a-syā* (*vykṣā-sya*) = *pūṣpṭṭ-itā-ḥ* (*vykṣā-ḥ*) '(a flowering tree) in full blossom'.

5.2.37 *pra-māṇ-e ¹dvayasāC-²daghnāC-³mātrāC-aḥ*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *dvayasāC*, *daghnāC* and *mātrāC* are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'it is the measure of this' (*pra-māṇ-e*)].

arū-ḥ pra-māṇa-m a-syā (*pūruṣa-sya*) = *arū-dvayasāC/-²-daghnāC/-³-mātrāC* 'as high as the thigh'.

5.2.38 *'pūruṣa-hastī-bhyām āN ca*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN*, in addition to (ca) [*dvaya-sāC*, *daghnāC* and *mātrāC* 37, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *pūruṣa-* 'person' and *hastī-* 'elephant' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'it is the measure of this' 37].

pūruṣa-ḥ pra-māṇa-m a-syā = *puruṣa+āN/dvayasāC/daghnāC/mātrāC* = *pauruṣṭṭ-ā/puruṣa-dvayasāC/-²-daghnāC/-³-mātrāC* 'as high as a person or man'; similarly *hāstin-ā* (6.4.164)/*hasti-dvayasāC/-²-daghnāC/-³-mātrāC* 'as tall as an elephant'.

5.2.39 ¹yád=²tád=³eté-bhyaḥ pari-māṇ-e vatUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vatUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yád- 'which', tád- 'that' and etád- 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote its volume (pari-māṇ-e).

yát pari-māṇa-m a-syá = yád+vatUP = yád-vat- = yád-vat (6.3.91) = yád-vat- 'as large as'; similarly tá-vat-/etá-vat- 'that large/this large'.

5.2.40 ¹kím=²idám-bhyaṁ v-aḥ gha-h

The element gha (=iy) replaces the phoneme [v] of [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vatUP 39 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kím 'who, what, which' and idám 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote its volume 39].

kím pari-māṇa-m a-syá = kím+vatUP = kím+gh-atUP = kí+gh-atUP (6.3.90) = kí+iy-a-t (7.1.2) = kí-íy-at (6.4.84) 'how large (in size or volume)', similarly idám+vatUP = í-iy-at = í-íy-at- 'this large'.

5.2.41 kím-aḥ saṁkhyā-pari-māṇ-é Dāti ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Dāti, in addition to (ca) [vat-UP 39 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kím- 'which' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote numerical dimension (saṁkhyā-pari-māṇ-é).

ká saṁ-khyā pari-māṇa-m e-sām = kím+Dāti = kíḥ+āti (6.4.143) = k-āti+(Jas→ḥ¹ 7.1.22) 'how many?': besides kíyat+Jas (40) = kíyant-aḥ.

5.2.42 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=ava-yav-é tayaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tayaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of numerals (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote 'this is the number of its parts (ava-yav-é).

pāñca ava-yav-āḥ a-syá = pāñcan+tayaP = pāñcaḥ-taya- 'consisting of five parts'.

5.2.43 ¹dví-²trí-bhyaṁ taya-sya=ayáC=vā

The substitute element ayáC optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] taya introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal

stems 4.1.1 consisting of the number words 42] *dví-* '2' and *trí-* '3' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'this is the number of its parts' 42].

du-ad ava-yav-ad a-syá = *duf+tayaP* = *duf+ayáC/tayaP* = *duθ-ayá-/duf-taya-* 'consisting of two'; similarly *tr-ayá-/trí-taya-* 'consisting of three'.

5.2.44 *ubh-āt udāttaḥ nitya-m*

[The substitute element *ayáC* 43] necessarily (*nitya-m*) replaces [the *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *tayaP* 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *ubhā-* 'both' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'this is the number of its parts' 42] and bears the *udātta* accent (on its first syllable).

ubh-ad pari-māṇa-m a-syá = *ubhā+tayaP* = *ubha+ayaC* = *ubhθ+áya* 'of both kinds'.

5.2.45 *tád a-smínn ádhi-ka-m iti dáśa=ant-āt Dá-ḥ*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *Dá* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ending in °-*dáśa*-(°-*ant-āt* in composition) [terminating in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote 'it is in excess in this' (*a-smín=ádhi-ka-m*).

ekā-daśa ádhi-ka-m a-smínn = *ekā-daśan+Dá* - *ekā-daśθθá-* (6.4.144) = *ekā-daś-d-m śatá-m* '111'.

5.2.46 *śát=anta=²vimsáté-s=ca*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *Dá* 45] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42] °*śát* and *vimsatí* '20' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote 'it is in excess in this 45'.

trimsát ádhi-ka-m a-smín śat-é = *trimsát+Dá* = *trimsát+Dá* = *trimsθθ+d-*, (6.4.143) = *trims-d-m śatá-m* '130'; similarly *vimsatí+Dá* = *vimsaθθ+d* (6.4.142) = *vims-d-m śatá-m* '120'.

5.2.47 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=guṇā-sya ni-mān-e māyaṭ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] māyaṭ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of number-words (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 45] to denote 'equivalent value for barter of this' (guṇā-sya ni-mān-e).

yāvā-n-ām dv-au bhāg-au ni-māna-m a-ayā udaśvit-bhāgā-sya = 'a mixture of water and buttermilk is twice as costly as barley' = *dvi+māyaṭ* = *dvi-māya-m udaśvit yāvā-n-ām*.

5.2.48 tā-sya pūr-aṇ-e Dāṭ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Dāṭ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 47 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tā-sya) to denote an ordinal (pūr-aṇ-e).

ekā-daśā-n-ām pūr-aṇa-h = *ekā-daśan+Dāṭ* = *ekā-daśāṇ-d-* (6.4.143) 'eleventh'

5.2.49 na=ant-āt=ā-saṁkhyā=āde-r maṭ

The initial increment maṭ is inserted at the head of [1.1.46 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Dāṭ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a numeral 47] ending in the phoneme [n] (na=ant=āt), not co-occurring after another numeral (°-ādeḥ) as a prior member in composition [to denote its ordinal 48].

pañcā-n-ām pūr-aṇa-h = *pañcan+Dāṭ* = *pañcāṇ-/m-d-h* (6.4.143) 'fifth'; similarly: *sapta-mā-/aṣṭa-mā-/nava-mā-/daśa-mā-* '7th/8th/9th/10th' but *ekā-daś-d-h* (48) '11th'.

In the sūtra-s 49-53 the elements introduced are increments instead of affixes, which is proved by 53 where [tithuK] indicates its true nature as an increment since the derived form has the accent on the final syllable (53).

5.2.50 thaṭ ca chāndas-i

The initial increment thaṭ is inserted at the head of [1.1.46 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Dāṭ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a numeral 47 ending in the phoneme /n/ and not co-occurring with other numerals as a prior member in composition 49 and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote an ordinal 48] in the domain of Chandas.

pañcā-n-ām pūr-āṇa-h = *pañcan + DāT* = *pañcaθ+th-d-h* = *pañca-th-d-h* '5th'; so also *sapta-th-a-h* '7th'. The particle [ca] in the rule denotes that as an alternative [maT] also functions as an initial increment and the forms cited under 49 occur optionally.

5.2.51 ¹śaṭ-²kāti-³katipayā-⁴catūr-ām *thuyK*

The final increment *thuyK* (1.1.46) is inserted at the end of [the nominal stems 4.1.1] śaṭ- 'six', kāti- 'how many?', katipayā- 'several, some' and catūr- 'four' [before the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 DāT 48 introduced after 3.1.2 them, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their ordinals 48].

ṣaṇ-n-ām pūr-āṇa-h = *ṣaṣ+DāT* = *ṣaṣ+th-d-h* 'sixth'; similarly *kati+th-d-* 'how-manieth?', *katipaya+th-d-* 'so-manieth' and *catur+th-d-* 'fourth'.

5.2.52 ¹bahú-²pūga-³gaṇā-⁴saṁghā-sya *tithyK*

The final increment *tithyK* is inserted at the end of (1.1.46) [the nominal stems 4.1.1] bahú- 'many', pūga- 'mass', gaṇā- 'series' and saṁghā- 'collection, group' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 DāT 48 introduced after 3.1.2 them, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their ordinals 48].

bahú-n-ām pūr-āṇa-h = *bahú+DāT* = *bahu+tith-d-h* 'manieth'; similarly: *pūga-tith-d* 'who completes a pūga'; *gaṇa-tith-d* / *saṁ-gha-tith-d* 'who completes a gaṇā / saṁ-ghā'.

5.2.53 *vatOr* *ithyK*

The final increment *ithyK* is inserted at the end of (1.1.46) [the nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *vatU(P)*, [denoting a numeral 1.1.23, before 1.1.66 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 DāT to denote its ordinal 48].

yā-vat-ām pūr-āṇa-h = *yā-vat+ith-d-h* 'how-manieth' and *tā-vat+ith-d-h* 'that-manieth'.

5.2.54 *dvé-s* *tīya-h*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *tīya* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the numeral 47] *dvī-* 'two' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48].

dvāy-ṇ pūr-ṇa-h = *dvī+tfya-h* = *dvī-tfya-h* 'second'.

5.2.55 tré-ḥ sam-pra-sār-ṇa-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *tīya* 54 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 47] *trī* 'three' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48], and *sam-pra-sār-ṇa* (1.1.45) replaces its semi-vowel before that affix.

trayā-ṇ-ām pūr-ṇa-h = *trī+tfya* = *tī-tfya-h* (6.1.108) 'third'.

5.2.56 vimśatī=ādi-bhyaḥ tamaṬ=anya-tará-syām

The initial increment *tamaṬ* is inserted at the head of (1.1.42) [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *DāṬ* 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising numerals 47] consisting of the class of expressions beginning with *vimśatī* '20' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinals 48] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*).

vimśatī-h pūr-ṇa-h = *vimśatī+DāṬ* (48)/*vimśatī+tamaṬ-DāṬ* = *vimśaṭṭ+d* = *vimś-ā-h/vimśatī+tama+d* = *vimśatī-tam-ā-h* (6.1.97) '20th'; similarly *triś-ā-h/triśatī-tam-ā-h* '30th' etc.

5.2.57 nītya-m¹śatā=ādi-²māsa=³ardha-māsā-⁴saṁ-vatsar-āt=ca

[The initial increment *tamaṬ* 56] is necessarily inserted at the head of [1.1.42 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *DāṬ* 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising numerals 47] beginning with *śatā* '100' and the words *māsa* 'month', *ardha-māsā* 'half-month/fortnight' and *saṁvatsarā* 'year' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet denoting ordinals or completing of it' 48].

śatā-sya pūr-ṇa-h = *śatā+tamaṬ-DāṬ* = *śata-tama+d* = *śata-tam-ā-h* '100th', and similarly *sahasra-tam-ā-h* '1000th'; *māsa-tam-ā-h* 'completing the month, i.e., last day of the month'; *ardha-māsa-tam-ā-h* 'last day of the fortnight'; *saṁvatsara-tam-ā-h* 'end or last day of the year'.

5.2.58 ṣaṣṭi-āde-s=ca=á-saṁkhyā-āde-ḥ

[The initial increment tamaṬ 56 is necessarily 57 inserted at the head of 1.1.42 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the numerals 47] beginning with ṣaṣṭi- '60', not co-occurring with a numeral as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48].

ṣaṣṭi-n-dm pūr-ana-ḥ = ṣaṣṭi+tamaṬ-DáṬ = ṣaṣṭi-tam-d-ḥ '60th'; similarly: *saptati-tam-d-ḥ* '70th', but *eka-ṣaṣṭi-d-ḥ/eka-ṣaṣṭi-tam-d-ḥ* (56) '61st'.

5.2.59 matAU cha-ḥ ¹sūktá-²sāmn-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] to denote the meanings of (affix) matUP for designating a hymn (sūktá-°) or a melody (°-sāmn-oḥ).

1. sūktá: *acchā-vāka-sabdā-d-ḥ a-smīn ds-ti = acchā-vākd+cha = acchā-vāk-īya-m sūktá-m* 'a hymn in which the word [acchā-vāka] occurs'.
2. sāman: *vāra-vanta-sabdā-d-ḥ a-smīn ds-ti = vāra-vanta+cha = vāra-vantḥ-īya-m sāmā* 'a sāman chant in which the word [vāra-vant-] occurs'.

5.2.60 ¹adhy-āyá-²anu-vākáy-or luK

The substitute luK (0¹) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 59 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of the affix matUP 59] for designating a chapter (adhy-āyá-°) or a passage or section (°-anu-vākáy-oḥ) [of a sacred text].

By interpretation this replacement is made optional.

gardabhāṇḍa-sabdā-d-ḥ a-smīn ds-ti = gardabhāṇḍd+cha→luK/cha = gardabhāṇḍd-ḥ/gardabhāṇḍḥ-īya-ḥ adhy-āya-ḥ 'a chapter in which the word [gardabhāṇḍa-] occurs' or *anu-vāko vā*.

5.2.61 vi-muk-ta=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vi-muk-ta- 'a word occurring in a sacred text' [to denote the meanings of matUP 59 for designating a chapter or section (of a sacred text) 60].

vi-muk-ta-sabdā-d-ḥ a-smīn ds-ti = vi-muk-ta+áN = vai-muk-tḥ-d-ḥ adhy-āyá-ḥ/anu-vākd-ḥ 'a chapter or section (of a sacred text) containing the word [vi-muk-ta-]'.

5.2.62 go-ṣād=ādi-bhyaḥ vuN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with go-ṣād- 'a word cited in a sacred text' [to denote the senses of affix matUP 59 to designate a chapter or section (of a sacred text) 69].

go-ṣād=śabdāḥ a-smān ds-ti = goṣād+vuN = goṣād-aka-ḥ adhy-āyāḥ anuvāko vā
'chapter or section containing the word go-ṣād-'.
[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ā-karṣ-ā- 'magnet' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'skilled in it' (tá-tra kúsala-ḥ)].

5.2.63 ta-tra kúsala-ḥ path-āḥ

path-i kúsala-ḥ = pāthin+vuN = pāthāḥ-aka-ḥ (6.4.144) 'skilled in roads, guide'.

5.2.64 ā-karṣā=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN

There is a variant reading [ā-karṣ-ā- 'touchstone'].
ā-karṣ-é kúsala-ḥ = ā-karṣ-ā+kaN = ā-karṣa-ka-ḥ 'specialist in magnetism'; with
v.l. *ā-karṣa-ka-ḥ* 'goldsmith'.

5.2.65 'dhána-'hiraṇya-āt kām-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dhana- 'riches, wealth' and hiraṇya- 'gold' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 83] to denote 'a desire for' (kam-e).

dhán-e kāmá-ḥ = dhána+kaN = dhána-ka-ḥ 'cupidity, covetousness'. Similarly
hiraṇya-ka-ḥ 'avidity or eagerness for gold'.

The reason for introducing [kaN] while the preceding [vuN] affix would have yielded the required surface forms is with respect to stems of the [ā-karṣ-a-] class ending in [°u] and [°i] which should not come under the operation respectively of 6.4.146, 148.

5.2.66 sva=aṅgé-bhyaḥ prá-si-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing limbs of one's body (sva-aṅgé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 63] to denote 'is attached to or engaged in it' (prá-si-t-e).

kéśe-gu prá-si-ta-h = kéśa+kaN = kéśa-ka-h 'bestowing care upon the hair';
similarly *dántaustha-ka-h, kéśa-ndkha-ka-h*.

5.2.67 udár-āt=ṭháK=ā-dyū-n-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] udára- 'stomach' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 63] to denote 'is attached to or engaged in' 66] for designating 'voraciousness' (ā-dyū-n-é).

udár-e prá-si-ta-h = udára+ṭháK = audarṭ-iká-h 'glutton'.

5.2.68 sasy-éna pári-jā-ta-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sasyá- 'good quality, merit' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'abundantly provided with' (pári-jā-ta-h)

sasy-éna pári-jā-ta-h = sasyá+kaN = sasya-ka-h 'richly meritorious'.

5.2.69 árnśa-m hār-í

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] árnśa- 'share, division' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'necessarily inheriting' (hār-í 3.3.170).

árnśa-m hār-í = árnśa+kaN = árnśa-ka-h 'legal heir'.

5.2.70 tánt-r-āt=ś-cira=apa-hṛ-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tánt-r- 'loom' [ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'just taken off or removed from' (ś-cira-apa-hṛ-t-e).

tánt-r-āt ácirāpahṛ-ta-h = tánt-r+kaN = tánt-r-ka-h paṭa-h '(cloth) just removed from the loom, fresh from the loom'.

5.2.71 ¹brāhmaṇa-ka=²uṣṇi-k-e saṁjñā-y-ām

The expressions brāhmaṇa-ka- 'n. of a country' and uṣṇi-kā- 'rice broth' are introduced as proper names (saṁjñā-y-ām) [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64].

a-yudh-a-jñu-sn-aḥ a-smīn dēś-e s-ānti = brāhmaṇā+kaN = brāhmaṇa-ka-h; āpa-m ānna-m yā-syām śā = uṣṇā+kaN+TāP (4.1.4) = uṣṇi-kṇ-ā (7.3.44) = yavagṛh-ḥ.

5.2.72 ¹śītā=²uṣṇa-bhyām kārīṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śītā- 'cold' and uṣṇā- 'hot' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'works thus' (kārīṇ-i).

śī-tā-m kar-ś-ti = śī-ta+kaN = śī-ta-ka-h 'slack or negligent workman'; similarly uṣ-ṇā-m kar-ś-ti = uṣ-ṇa-ka-h 'fast or competent worker'.

5.2.73 ādhi-ka-m

The expression ādhi-ka- 'excessive' is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64].

ādhy-ś-rū-dha-ḥ = adhi+kaN = ādhi-ka- 'grown beyond, more, in excess' as in ādhi-ka-ḥ drōṇa-ḥ khāry-āḥ 'the dr. measure is larger than the kh. measure'.

5.2.74 ¹ānu-ka=²ābhi-ka=³ābhī-ka-h kam-i-tā

The expressions ānu-ka-, ābhi-ka and ābhī-ka are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64] to denote a lover (kam-i-tā).

ānu-/abhi-/kaN = ānu-ka-/ābhi-ka-/ābhī-ka- = kam-i-tā.

5.2.75 pāśv-éna=ānv-icch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pāśvā- 'fraudulent means' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'desires to seek' (ānv-icch-a-ti).

pāśv-éna ānv-icch-a-ti = pāśvā+kaN = pāśva-ka-h 'seeking by fraudulent means'.

5.2.76 'ayah-sūlā-²daṇḍa=ajinā-bhyaṁ 'ṭhāK-²ṭhaÑ-au

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhāK and ṭhaÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ayah-sūlā- 'iron dart' and daṇḍa=ajinā- 'a staff and antelope skin' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'desires to seek' 75].

The word [ayah-sūlā-] has a derived meaning of 'a violent or painful act'.
ayah-sūl-ēna dnu-icch-a-ti = *ayah-sūla+ṭhāK* = *ayah-sūlθ-ikā-h* 'who seeks to gain things by violence'; similarly *daṇḍajinā+ṭhaÑ* = *dāṇḍajinθ-ika-h* = *dāmbh-ika-h* 'hypocrite, cheat, rogue' since literally it means 'who seeks to gain things through sham like carrying a staff and deer skin as the marks of an ascetic'.

5.2.77 tāva-tithā-m grāh-aṇa-m iti luK=vā

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals (tāva-tith-ā-m) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 75] to denote 'acquires after so many efforts' (tāva-tith-ā-m grāh-aṇa-m) and optionally (vā) the substitute luK (θ¹) replaces the affix generating the ordinal.

dvi-tīy-ena rūp-ēna granthā-m gṛh-n'a-ti = *dvi-tīya+kaN/θ¹+kaN* = *dvi-θθθθ-ka-m/dvi-tīya-ka-m* 'successfully masters the book the second time'.

5.2.78 sá e-śām grāma-ñf-ḥ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-ḥ) to denote 'he is their chief' (e-śām grāma-ñf-ḥ).

deva-dattā-ḥ grāma-ñf-r e-śām te = *deva-dattā+kaN+Jas* = *dēva-datta-k-aḥ* 'villagers headed by Deva-dattā'.

5.2.79 śṛṅkhala-m a-syá bāndh-ana-m karabh-é

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śṛṅkhala- 'shackle or clog' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is its fetter' (a-syá bāndh-ana-m) designating a young camel (karabh-é).

śṛṅkhala-m a-syá bāndh-ana-m = *śṛṅkhala+kaN* = *śṛṅkhala-ka-h* 'a young camel which is clogged or shackled or fettered'.

5.2.80 út-ka-ḥ ún-manāḥ

The expression út-ka- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64] to denote 'eager, ardently desiring' (un-manāḥ).

ud-ga-tā-m mánah yā-sya = ut+kaN = út-ka-ḥ.

5.2.81 'kālá-²pra-yó-j-an-āt=rog-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a time-word (kālá-²) or signifying a cause (²-pra-yó-j-an-āt) to designate a disease (róg-e).

dvi-tīy-e dhn-i bhāu-a-ḥ = dvi-tīya+kaN = dvī-tīya-ka-ḥ rōga-ḥ '(a fever) which occurs every other day'; similarly *viṣa-puṣp-aḥ jan-i-tā-ḥ = viṣa-puṣpā+kaN = viṣa-puṣpa-ka-ḥ* 'disease caused by poisonous flowers'.

5.2.82 tát a-smín ānna-m prāy-é saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing an item of food (ānna-m) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet [tát] to denote 'is the main dish [prāy-é] on this occasion (a-smín)' to form a name (saṁjñā-y-ām)

guḍāpūp-āḥ prāy-ēṇa ānna-m a-syām = guḍāpūpa+kaN+TāP (4.1.4) = guḍāpūpi-k-ā paurṇa-mās-ī 'a full-moon night when the main dish consists of treacle mixed with cakes'.

5.2.83 kulmāṣ-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kulmāṣa- 'sour gruel' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is the main dish on this (occasion)' 82].

kulmāṣ-aḥ prāy-ēṇa ānna-m a-syām = kulmāṣa+aÑ = kaṭlmāṣaḥ-a+ÑP (4.1.15) = kaṭlmāṣaḥ-ī paurṇa-mās-ī 'the full-moon night on which the main dish is sour gruel'.

5.2.84 śrótṛiyaN=chāndaḥ=ādhi-te

The expression śrótṛiyaN is introduced to denote 'one who studies the Veda [chāndaḥ=ādhi-te].

Interpretation of this states that in the string *chāndaḥ ādhi-te*, *chānda-* is replaced

by the substitute *śrotra-* before (1.1.86) it: *chāndaḥ=ādhi-te = chāndaś+ghaṇ = śrotra+ghaṇ = śrōtrṭh-ya-h*

5.2.85 śrāddhā-m an-éna bhuk-tā-m ¹īni-²ṭhaṇ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *īni* and *ṭhaṇ* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *śrāddhā-* 'food offerings to the deceased ancestors' ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is eaten by him' (*bhuk-tām an-éna*).

śrāddhā-m an-éna bhuk-tā-m = śrāddhd+īn/ṭhaṇ = śrāddhṭh-īn-/śrāddhṭh-ika- 'who has eaten the food offered to the deceased ancestors'.

5.2.86 pūrv-āt=īni-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *īni* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pūrvā-m* (ind.) 'previously' [to denote 'done by him' 82].

The more general expression 'done by him' is derived from the fact that [an-éna] represents the [kartṛ-] by interpretation and extends the meaning from [bhuk-tā-] to other activities. *pūrvā-m an-éna ga-tā-m/bhuk-tā-m/pī-tā-m vā = pūrvā+īn- = pūrvṭh-īn-* 'who has gone/eaten/drunk previously'.

5.2.87 sā-pūrv-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *īni* 86] is also introduced [after 2.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *pūrvā-m* 86] when co-occurring with another [nominal stem 4.1.1] as a prior member (*sā-pūrv-āt* in composition) to denote 'done by him previously' 86.

kṛ-tā-m pūrvā-m an-éna = kṛtaṭh-pūrvā+īn- = kṛta-pūrvṭh-īn- 'who has previously made'; similarly *gata-pūrv-īn*, *bhukta-pūrv-īn*, *pī-ta-pūrv-īn*.

5.2.88 iṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *īni* 86] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *iṣ-ṭā-* 'offered in sacrifice' [to denote 'by him' 85].

iṣ-tā-m an-éna = iṣ-ṭa+īn = iṣ-tṭh-īn- 'who has offered a sacrifice'; similarly *pār-tā-m an-éna = pūrtṭh-īn* 'who has fulfilled'.

5.2.89 chāndas-i 'pari-paranth-i(n)=²pari-pariṇ-au pary-ava-sthā-tār-i

In the domain of Chāndas the expressions pari-paranth-ín- and pari-par-ín- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni 86] to denote an 'antagonist' (pary-ava-sthā-tār-i).

mā tvā pari-paranth-ín-o vid-an/mā tvā pari-pariṇ-o vid-an 'may your adversaries not recognize you'.

5.2.90 anu-pad-f=anv-es-ṭā

The expression anu-pad-ín- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni 86] to denote 'one who goes after or searching or follows' (anv-es-ṭā).

padā-śya paścāt = anu-padā-m (2.1.6; 4.18) *ānv-icch-a-ti = anupada+ín = anu-padṭh-ín-*.

5.2.91 sāks-āt draṣṭār-i samjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni 86 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of the indeclinable sāks-āt 'with or before one's eyes' to denote the perceiver' (draṣ-ṭā) for forming a name (samjñā-y-ām).

sāks-āt draṣ-ṭā = sāksa+ín = sāksṭh-ín- 'witness, spectator'.

5.2.92 kṣetr-iyáC para-kṣetr-é cikit-s-yà-ḥ

The expression kṣetr-iyáC is introduced to denote 'curable in another body' (para-kṣetr-é ci-kit-s-yà-ḥ).

para-kṣetr-é ci-kit-s-yà-ḥ = ṭh-kṣetra+ghāC = kṣetr-iyá- 'a person suffering from an incurable disease'.

5.2.93 indr-iyá-m=¹indra-lingá-m=²indra-dṛṣ-ṭa-m=³indra-sṛṣ-ṭa-m=⁴indra-juṣ-ṭa-m=⁵indra-dat-ta-m iti vā

The expression indr-iyá- is introduced to denote the following senses: (1) means (lingá-m) by which the self is inferred (índra-°); (2) perceived by the Self (índra-dṛṣ-ṭa-m); (3) created by the Self (°-sṛṣ-ṭa-m); (4) nourished by the Self (°-juṣ-ṭa-m), or (5) given by the Self (°-dat-ta-m).

The taddhitá (4.1.76) affix (3.1.1) gháC is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem (4.1.4)indra- in these senses

5.2.94 tád a-syá=ás-ti=a-smín=iti matUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'belongs to this (a-syá ás-ti) or exists in this (a-smín ás-ti).

gáu-ah a-syá s-ánti = gó+matUP = gó-mat- 'possessing cows or cattle'; similarly *vrkṣ-āḥ a-smín s-ánti = vrkṣā+matUP vrkṣa-vdt-* 'abounding in trees' (accent by 6.1.176).

Interpretation gives the following ranges of meaning associated with this affix: (1) bhū-man- 'richness' as in *gó-mat-* 'rich in cattle'; (2) nindā 'censure' as in *kuṣṭh-in-* 'leprous'; (3) pra-śams-ā 'praise' as in *rūpa-vāt-I* (6.1.176 for accent) 'handsome or lovely woman'; (4) nitya-yogā 'inherence': *kaṣṭh-āḥ vrkṣ-āḥ* 'the trees are full of sap'; (5) ati-śāy-ana- 'excessiveness: *udar-in-I kanyā* 'pregnant damsel'; (6) sam-sarg-ā- 'accompaniment, contact': *daṇḍ-in-* 'holding a staff'; (7) asti-vivak-śā 'sense of being': *asti-mat-* 'possessed of properties'.

5.2.95 rāsa=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix matUP 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with rāsa- 'taste' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 95].

rāsa-h a-syá/a-smín vā ās-ti = rāsa+matUP = rāsa-vat- (8.2.9) 'tasty, delicious/full of sap, etc.'; likewise *gandha-vāt-/śābda-vat-, sparśa-vāt-* 'possessing smell/sound/touch' etc. as functions of the sense organs. In other senses other affixes can be introduced as in *rūp-in-I kanyā* 'beautiful maiden', *rūp-ika-h dāra-kā-h* (115) 'handsome boy'. In the present rule, the stems included in this class are restricted in meanings to the functions of the sense organs and to mono-syllabics only. In other meaning situations other affixes can operate.

5.2.96 prāṇi-sth-āt=āTo lāC=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] lāC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing something found in an animate being (prāṇi-sth-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel phoneme [ā] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

cūḍā a-syá/a-smín vā ās-ti = cūḍā+lāC = cūḍā-lā-/cūḍā+matUP = cūḍā-vat- 'having a lock of hair on the crown of the head'. Likewise *karṇikā-lā-/kārṇikā-vat-* 'possessing long ears', but *śikhā-vān pra-dīp-ā-h* 'a lamp having a crested flame'.

5.2.97 *sidhmá=ādi-bhyas=ca*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *lāC* 96] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *sidhmá-* 'leper' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94 optionally 96].

sidhmá-h a-syd/a-smfn vā ās-ti = sidhmá+lāC/matUP = sidhma-lā-/sidhma-vāt-
'leprous'; *gaḍu-lā-/gaḍu-vat-* 'hump-backed'.

5.2.98 ¹*vatsá=*²*āmsā-bhyām* ¹*kāmá-*²*bāl-e*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *lāC* 96 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *vatsá-* 'calf' and *āmsa-* 'shoulder' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] affectionate (*kāmá-* ' ') and strong (*-bāl-e*).

The governing meanings of *matUP* recur here as in the following *sūtra*-s also but [*lāC*] alone is operative in these meanings. *vatsa-lā-* 'affectionate, but *vatsa-vāt-I gaú-h* 'a cow having a calf'; *amsa-lā-* 'strong, powerful' but *āmsa-vān dūr-bala-h* 'a person having weak shoulders'.

5.2.99 *phén-āt=ilāC ca*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ilāC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *phéna-* 'foam' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94] in addition to (ca) [affix *lāC* 96].

phéna+ilāC/lāC = phenθ-ilā-/phena-lā- 'frothy, foamy'.

5.2.100 ¹*lóma(n)=ādi-*²*pāma(n)=ādi-*³*picchá=ādi-bhyaḥ* ¹*śá-* ²*ná=*³*ilāC-aḥ*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *śá*, *ná* and *ilāC* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *lóman-* 'hair', *pāman-* 'n. of a disease' and *picchá-* 'tail feather' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

lómān-i a-syd/a-smfn vā śānti = loman+śá = lomaθ-śá- 'hairy, hirsute';
pāman+ná = pāmaθ-ná- 'suffering from scabies'; *picchá+ilāC = picchθ-ilā-*
'having a tail feather'.

5.2.101 ¹pra-jñā-²śrad-dhā=³arc-ā-⁴vṛtti-bhyaḥ Nā-h

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Nā is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pra-jñā 'intellect', śrad-dhā 'faith', arcā 'object of worship' and vṛt-ti- 'subsistence' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

pra-jñā a-syā/a-smīn vā ds-ti = prajñā=Nā = prā-jñā-d- 'wise, intelligent'; the expression [anya-tarā-syām] recurs in all rules subsequent to 96 and consequently the affix matUP also operates under these meaning conditions: *pra-jñā-vat-*. Similarly *śrad-dhā-d-/śrad-dhā-vat-* 'having faith, true believer'; *arcā-d-/arcā-vat-* 'possessing an object of worship'; *vṛt-ti-d-/vṛt-ti-mat-* 'having subsistence'.

5.2.102 ¹tāpas-²sahāsra-bhyām ¹vinī=²īnī

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] vinī and īnī are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tāpas- 'mortification' and sahāsra- '1000' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

tāpaḥ a-syā/a-smīn vā ds-ti = tapas+vin- 'an ascetic'; similarly *sahāśra+īnī = sahasrā-īn-* 'possessing 1000 pieces'.

5.2.103 āN ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] āN is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tāpas- and sahāsra- 102, ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'having this or existing in this 94].

tapas+dN = tāpas-d- 'ascetic, anchorite'; *sahāśra+dN = sahasrā-d-* 'having or containing 1000 pieces'.

5.2.104 ¹śkatā-²śārkara-bhyām=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] śkatā 103] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śkatā 'sand' and śārkara 'gravel' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

śkatāḥ a-syā/a-smīn vā s-anti = śkatā+dN = saikatā-d- 'containing sand'; likewise *śārkara+dN = śārkarā-d-* 'consisting of gravel or sugar candy'

5.2.105 *deś-é* ¹luP=²iláC=*au ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] luP (=Ø³) and iláC, in addition to (ca) [áN 103 and matUP 94 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 *síkātā* and *sárkarā* 104, ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'a region having this or existing in this' 94].

luP replacement is of matUP and its allomorphs.

síkātāḥ a-smān deś-é vīd-y-ante = *síkātā+luP/iláC/áN/matUP* = *síkātāḥ/síkātθ-ild-ḥ/saíkātθ-d-ḥ/síkātā-vān deśā-ḥ*. Similarly *sárkarāḥ/sárkarθ-ild-/sárkarθ-d-ḥ/sárkarā-vān*.

5.2.106 *dánta un-na-tá uráC*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] uráC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *dánta-* 'tooth' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or existing in this' 94] to designate 'prominent' (*un-na-t-é*).

dántāḥ un-na-tāḥ a-syd = *dánta+uráC* = *dantθ-urá-* 'having prominent teeth'.

5.2.107 ¹ūṣa-²suṣi-³muṣká-⁴mádhu-ḥ rá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *ūṣa-* 'salt marsh', *suṣi-* 'tube, hole', *muṣká-* 'testicle' and *mádhu-* 'sweetness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or being in this' 94].

ūṣa-rá = *ūṣa-rá-m kṣétra-m* 'a field full of salt, saline field'; similarly *suṣi-rá-* 'containing holes or tubes'; *muṣka-rá-* 'possessing testicles'; *madhu-rá-* 'sweet'.

5.2.108 ¹dyú-²drú-bhyām má-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] má is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *dyú-* 'sky' and *drú-* 'wood' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or being in this' 94].

dyau-ḥ a-syd ás-ti = *dyu+má-* 'bright day(?)'; similarly *dru-má-* 'consisting of wood, a tree'.

5.2.109 $kés\bar{a}t=vá\text{-}h=anya\text{-}tará\text{-}syām$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] $vá$ is optionally ($anya\text{-}tará\text{-}syām$) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] $késa-$ 'hair' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

The repetition of the word [$anya\text{-}tará\text{-}syām$] here when it was already recurring from 96 above is to provide for introduction of affixes [in $iñi$, $ṭhaN$ 115 below] and [matUP 94] above.

$késā\text{-}h\ a\text{-}syā\ vīd\text{-}y\text{-}anti = kēśa+vā/iñi/ṭhaN/matUP = kēśa-vā/kēśh\text{-}īn-/kēśh\text{-}īka-/kēśa-vat-$ 'hairy, hirsute'.

5.2.110 $^1gāṇḍī=^2ajag\text{-}āt\ samjñā\text{-}y\text{-}ām$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 $vá$ 109 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] $gāṇḍī/gāṇḍi$ and $ajaga-$ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to form proper names ($samjñā\text{-}y\text{-}ām$).

$gāṇḍī\text{-}vā-/gāṇḍi\text{-}vā-$ 'name of Arjuna's bow'; similarly $ajaga\text{-}vā-$ 'name of Siva's bow'.

5.2.111 $^1kāṇḍa=^2āṇḍ\text{-}āt\ ^1iraN=^2irāC\text{-}au$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] $iraN$ and $irāC$ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] $kāṇḍa-$ 'a single joint of a stalk' and $āṇḍā-$ 'egg' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

$kāṇḍa+iraN = kāṇḍh\text{-}ira-$ 'having joints in the stalk'; so also $āṇḍa+irāC = āṇḍh\text{-}irā-$ 'virile/containing eggs'.

5.2.112 $^1rājas=^2kṛṣi=^3ā\text{-}sutī\text{-}pari\text{-}śād\text{-}aḥ\ valāC$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] $valāC$ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] $rājas-$ 'impurity, menstrual discharge', $kṛṣi-$ 'agriculture', $ā\text{-}su\text{-}tī-$ 'pressing, extraction, distilling' and $pari\text{-}śād$ 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

$rājas+valāC+TāP$ (4.1.4) = $rajas\text{-}val\text{-}ā$ 'a menstruating woman'; so also: $kṛṣi+valāC = kṛṣi\text{-}valā-$ (6.3.118) 'cultivator, agriculturist'; $ā\text{-}sutī\text{-}valā-$ 'distiller, brewer'; $pari\text{-}śād\text{-}valā-$ 'assembly person, counsellor'.

5.2.113 ¹dānta-²śikh-āt saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 valāC 112 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dānta- 'tooth' and śikhā 'tuft, crest of hair on the head' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to form names (saṁjñā-y-ām).

dānta+valāC = *dantā-valā-* (6.3.118) 'an elephant'. Similarly *śikhā-valā-* 'a peacock'.

5.2.114 ¹jyotsnā-²tamisrā-³śṛṅg-inā-⁴ūrjas-vīn=⁵ūrjas-valā-⁶go-mīn-⁷malinā-⁸malīmas-āḥ

The expressions jyot-snā 'moon-light', tamisarā 'darkness', śṛṅg-inā 'horned', ūrjas-vīn-, ūrjas-valā- 'vigorous'. go-mīn- 'possessing cattle', malinā- and malīmasā- 'soiled, dirty' are introduced [as derived with appropriate taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 denoting 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

jyōtis+nd+Tap = *jyōtīs-nḍ+ā* = *jyote-nā*; *tāmas+rā+Tap* = *tamis+rā+ā* = *tamis-r-ā*; *śṛṅga+indC* = *śṛṅgḥ-inā-*; *ūrj+asūK+vīni/valāC* = *ūrjas-vīn/'valā-*; *go+mīni* = *go-mīn-*; *mala+indC/masāC* = *malḥ-inā-/'-masā-*.

5.2.115 aT-aḥ=¹īni-²ṭhaN-au

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] īni and ṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the phoneme short [a] [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

The governing term [anya-tarā-nyām 96, 109] recurs in these rules to enable the introduction of the general affix matUP 94 *daṇḍā-h a-syā/a-smīn vā dā-ti* = *daṇḍā+īni-/ṭhaN/matUP* = *daṇḍ-īn-/daṇḍ-ika-/daṇḍā-vāt-* 'carrying a staff'; *chāttr-īn-/chāttr-ika-/chāttra-vat-* 'umbrella bearer', but *khḍīvā-vat* 'possessing a bedstead'.

5.2.116 vr̥hī=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] īni and ṭhaN 115] are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vr̥hī- 'rice' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

vrīhī-ah a-syā/a-smīn vā e-ānti = *vrīhī+īni/ṭhaN* - *vrīhī-īn-/vrīhī-ika-/vrīhī-māt* 'consisting of rice'.

This class consists of stems which do not end in phoneme short [a]. [*vrīhī-*] occurs again in the next class of stems beginning with [*tunda-*] but there stands for its synonyms only.

5.2.117 *tūnda=ādi-bhyaḥ=ilāC ca*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ilāC* is introduced [after 3.1. 2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *tūnda-* 'protuberant belly' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94.] in addition to (ca) [the affixes *īn*], *ṭhaN* 115 and *matUP* 94].

tūnda-h a-syā/a-smīn vā ās-ti = *tūnda+ilāC/īni/ṭhaN/matUP* = *tund-īlā-/tund-īn-/tund-ika-/tūnda-vat* 'having a protuberant belly'; *udar-īlā-/udar-īn-/udar-ika-/uddāra-vat* 'possessing a large belly'; *śāl-īlā-/śāl-īn-/śāl-ika-/śālī-mat* 'containing rice' as a synonym of [*vrīhī-*] occurring in this class.

5.2.118 *īēka-²gō-pūrv-āt=ṭhaN nītya-m*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* is necessarily (*nītya-m*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with *ēka-* 'one' and *gō-* 'cow/bull' as prior members (*-pūrv-āt* in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

ēka-śata-m a-syā/a-smīn ās-ti = *ēka-śata+ṭhaN* = *aśka-śat-ika-* 'possessing or containing 101 pieces'. Similarly *gō-saharā+ṭhaN* = *gaur-sahas-ika-* 'possessing or containing 1000 cattle'.

5.2.119 *śata-²sahasra=ant-āt=ca nīṣka-āt*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* 118] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ending in *śatā-* '100' or *sahasra-* '1000' as final members in composition (*-ant-āt*) [after 3.1.2] *nīṣkā-* 'name of a coin' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

nīṣka-śatā-m a-syā a-smīn vā ās-ti = *nīṣka+śatā+ṭhaN* = *nāṣka-sat-ika-* 'possessing or containing 100 nīṣka-s'. Similarly *nāṣka-sahas-ika-* 'possessing or containing 1000 nīṣka pieces'.

5.2.120 rūp-at=¹ś-ha-ta-²pra-śamsáy-oḥ=yaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] rūpa- 'shape, form' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a punched coin (ś-ha-ta-°) or 'praise, worth' (°-pra-śamsáy-oḥ).

ś-ha-ta-m rūpa-m a-syá/a-smín vā = *rūpa+yaP* = *rūpṭ-ya-* 'a punch-marked coin';
prá-śas-ta-m rūpa-m a-syá = *rūp-ya-* 'handsome, lovely'.

5.2.121 ¹as-²māyā-³medhā-⁴srāj-aḥ=víñi-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] víñi is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the element "-as, and the words māyā 'illusion', medhā 'intellect' and srāj- 'garland' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. "-as: *yás-aḥ a-syá ás-ti* - *yaś-as-vín-* 'glorious, renowned'; *tap-as-vín-* 'ascetic'; *pay-as-vín-* 'full of milk or water'; 2. *māyā-vín-* 'magician, sorcerer'; 3. *medhā-vín-* 'intelligent, wise'; 4. *srāj-vín-* 'possessing garlands, containing garlands'.

5.2.122 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 víñi 121] is variously (bahulá-,) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. occurs: *dyne tej-as-vín* 'O brilliant Agni!'; *mekhalā-vín-* 'possessing a girdle'; 2. does not occur: *sūrya-ḥ vārcas-vān* 'the powerful sun'.

5.2.123 ūṛṇā-y-āḥ=yúS

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yúS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ūṛṇā 'wool' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

ūṛṇā a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = *ūṛṇā+yúS* = *ūṛṇā-yú-* 'woolly, containing wool'. The marker [S] indicates that before this affix the stem is regarded as a padá (1.4.16), blocking out the operation of 6.4.64 whereby stem-final [-a] would have been replaced by Ø.

5.2.124 *vác-o gminī-ḥ*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *gminī* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *vác-* 'speech' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

vák a-syá ás-ti = vac+gmín = vāg-gmín = vāg-mín- 'eloquent'.

5.2.125 ¹ālāC=²ātāC=*au bahu-bhās-ṣṇ-i*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ālāC* and *ātāC* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *vác* 124 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to signify a garrulous person.

vāc-ālā-/vāc-ātā- 'garrulous person'.

5.2.126 *sv-ām-in=aiśvar-y-e*

The expression *sv-āmín-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *āmīnaC* introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *svá-*] 'wealth' (*aiśvar-ye*) to designate 'master of wealth'.

The derivation above is by interpretation: *svá-m a-syá ds-ti = sva+āmīnaC = sv-āmín-*.

5.2.127 *árs-as=ādi-bhyaḥ=āC*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *árs-as* 'hemorrhoids' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

árs-āms-i a-syá s-ānti = árs-as+dC = arś-as-d 'one afflicted with hemorrhoids';
uras+dC = ur-as-d- 'possessing a strong chest'.

5.2.128 ¹dvaṁdvá=²upa-tāp-á-³garh-y-āt prāṇi-sth-āt *ṇi-ḥ*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṇi* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of *Dvaṁdvá* compounds, and words denoting 'disease' (*upa-tāp-á-*), 'contempt' (*garh-yà-*) occurring in animate or living beings (*prāṇi-sth-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. *kaṭaka-valay-ē a-syā-h s-tāh* = *kaṭaka-valayā+fn+NIP* (4.1.5) = *kaṭaka-valayθ-fn-ṛ* 'lady wearing a bracelet and a girdle'; 2. *kuṣṭha+fn* = *kuṣṭhθ-fn-*, *kilāśθ-fn-* 'leper, leprous'. 3. *kakud-ā-vart-fn-* 'a horse having a curl on its hump'; *kāka-tālukθ-fn-* 'having the palate of a crow, contemptible', but *puṣpa-phala-vdt-* 'possessing flowers and fruit' (said of a tree).

5.2.129 ¹vātā=²atī-sār-ā-bhyām kuK ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 in 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *vā-tā-* 'flatulence' and *atī-sār-ā-* 'diarrhea' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] and (ca) final increment kuK is inserted after them (before the affix).

vā-tā-h a-syā/a-smīn ās-ti = *vāta+kuK+fn* = *vā-ta-k-fn-* 'flatulent'; similarly *atī-sār-a-k-fn-* 'afflicted with diarrhea'.

5.2.130 vāyas-i pūr-aṇ-āt

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 in 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals (*pūr-aṇ-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] indicating age (*vāyas-i*).

pañca-mā-h māsa-h a-syā = *pañca-ma+fn* = *pañca-mṭh-fn-* 'aged 5 months'.

5.2.131 sukhā=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 in 128 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *sukhā-* 'happiness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

sukh-ām a-syā ās-ti = *sukhā+fn* = *sukhθ-fn-* 'happy'; *duḥ-kha+fn* = *duḥ-kh-fn-* 'miserable, sad, unhappy'.

5.2.132 ¹dhárma-²śīla-³várṇa=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 in 128] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-dhárma- 'law', °-śīla- 'behavior' and °-várṇa- 'caste' as final members (°-ant-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

brāhmaṇā-n-ān dhārma-ḥ a-syā́ś-śe-ti = *brāhmaṇa-dharma+īni* = *brāhmaṇa-dharma-ḥ-īn-* 'who follows the laws prescribed for brahmins'; similarly: *brāhmaṇa-śīl-īn-/varṇ-īn-* 'behaving like a br./belonging to the br. caste'.

5.2.133 *hāst-āt=jāt-au*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *īni* 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *hāsta-* 'hand' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a species (*jāt-t-au*).

hāsta-ḥ a-syā́ś-śe-ti = *hast-īn-* 'elephant'.

5.2.134 *várṇ-āt=brahma-cār-īṇ-i*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *īni* 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *várṇa-* 'caste' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a student of the Veda (*brah-ma-cār-īṇ-i*).

várṇa-ḥ a-syā́ś-śe-ti = *varṇ-īn-* 'a student of the Vedá (belonging to the first three *várṇa-s* or castes), but in other meanings: *várṇa+matUP* (94) = *várṇa-vat-*.

5.2.135 *púṣkara=ādi=bhyaḥ=deś-é*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *īni* 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *púṣkara-* 'lotus' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a locality (*deś-é*).

púṣkarā-ṇ-i a-syā́ś-śe-ti = *puṣkar-īn+NiP* (4.1.5) = *puṣkar-īn-i* 'a locality abounding in lotuses'. In other senses: *púṣkara+matUP*.

5.2.136 *bála=ādi-bhyaḥ matUP=anya-tará-syām*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *matUP* is optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *bála-* 'strength' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94, in addition to the affix *īni* 128].

bála-m a-syā́ś-śe-ti = *bála+matUP/īni* = *bála-vat-/bal-īn-* 'powerful, mighty'.

5.2.137 samjñā-y-ām ${}^1\text{man-}{}^2\text{mā-bhyām}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ñi 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] ${}^0\text{-mán-}$ and ${}^0\text{ma-}$ and [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] when forming a name (samjñā-y-ām).

1. ${}^0\text{-mán: prathimā a-syá ds-ti} = \text{prathi-mán-}+\text{ñi} = \text{prathim00}+\text{ñi-}$ (8.4.144) = $\text{prathim-ñi-}+\text{NIP}$ (4.1.5) = prathim-ñi-I 'the earth (possessing wideness or extent)'.
2. ${}^0\text{-ma: hó-ma-h a-syá ds-ti} = \text{hom-ñi}$ 'sacrificer'.

5.2.138 ${}^1\text{kám=}{}^2\text{sám=bhyām}$ ${}^1\text{bá-}{}^2\text{bhá-}{}^3\text{yúS=}{}^4\text{tí-}{}^5\text{tú-}{}^6\text{tá-}{}^7\text{yáS-ah}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] bá , bhá , yúS , tí , tú , tá and yáS are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kám- 'water' and sám- 'prosperity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94]

$\text{kám a-syá ds-ti} = \text{kam-bá-/kam-bhá-/kam-yú-/kan-tí-/kan-tú-/kan-tá-/kan-yá-}$ 'a cloud'; similarly: $\text{sám-bá-/sám-bhá-/sám-yú-/san-tí-/san-tú-/san-tá-/sám-yá-}$ 'happy, fortunate'. The marker [S] in the affixes indicates that the stems are regarded as padá-s and 8.4.58 as well as 8.3.23 operate.

5.2.139 ${}^1\text{tundi-}{}^2\text{vali-}{}^3\text{vaṭe-r bhá-h}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] bhá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tundi- 'prominent navel', vali- 'wrinkle, pleat' and vaṭi- 'a species of ant' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. $\text{tundi-r a-syá ds-ti} = \text{tundi-bhá-}$ 'having a prominent navel'; 2. vali-bhá- 'wrinkled, pleated'; 3. vaṭi-bhá- 'having or containing a variety of ants'.

5.2.140 ${}^1\text{ahám=}{}^2\text{súbhám-or yúS}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yúS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ahám 'I' and súbhám 'good fortune, auspiciousness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

$\text{ahám a-syá ds-ti} = \text{aham-}+\text{yúS} = \text{aham-yú-}$ 'proud, haughty, possessing a strong ego'; similarly $\text{súbhám-}+\text{yúS} = \text{súbhám-yú-}$ 'fortunate, lucky, auspicious'.

5.3.1 $\text{prāk}=\text{diś-ah}=\text{vi-bhak-ti-h}$

The technical term (t.t.) vi-bhak-ti- denotes the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced here-after, prior to (prāk) 27 below: $[\text{dik}=\text{śabdē-bhyaḥ}$ $\text{sapta-m-ī}=\text{pañca-m-ī}=\text{prathamā-bhyaḥ}$ $\text{dīg-deśā-kālē-ṣu}=\text{āstāti-h}]$

This governing rule heads the section 1-26 of this pāda, and the t.t. $[\text{vibhakti-}]$ will recur in each of them.

5.3.2 $^1\text{kīm}=\text{}^2\text{sarvā-nāma(n)}=\text{}^3\text{bahú-bhyaḥ}$ $\text{á-dvi}=\text{ādi-bhyaḥ}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhakti 1 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in this section occur after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of kīm- 'who, which, what', all pronominal stems ($^{\circ}\text{-sarvā-nāma-}^{\circ}$) and bahú- 'many', excluding the sub-class (of pronominal stems) beginning with dvi- '2'.

Since $[\text{kīm}]$ is normally included in the sub-class of pronominal stems headed by $[\text{dvi-}]$, its separate mention at the beginning of this rule is to block out the exclusion applying to this sub-class. kū-tas(iL 7) , kū-tra(L 10) but dvā-bhyām , dváy-os . This excluded sub-class consists of dvī- , yusmād- , asmād- , bhāvatI and (kīm) .

5.3.3 $\text{idám-ah}=\text{iś}$

The element iś replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] idám- 'this [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhakti 1 affixes listed in the section 1-26 below 1].

$\text{idám+ha(11)} = \text{i-há}$ 'in this, here'.

5.3.4 $^1\text{etá}=\text{}^2\text{it-au}$ $^1\text{rā}=\text{}^2\text{th-oḥ}$

The substitute elements (= allomorphs) etá- and $[\text{it-}]$ [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 idám 3 before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhakti 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] phonemes $[\text{r}]$ and $[\text{th}]$.

$\text{idám+rhiL} = \text{etá+rhiL} = \text{etá-rhi(16)}$ 'at this time'; $\text{idám+thdmu} = \text{it+thám(24)}$ 'thus'.

5.3.5 $\text{etád-ah}=\text{an}$

The substitute element $[\text{an-}]$ [replaces the whole of 1.1.55] etád- 'this' [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhakti 1 affixes 3.1.1 listed hereafter until 26 below 1].

Interpretation divides this rule into two parts by the usual procedure of yoga-vi-bhāg-a-: [etád-ah]: "the substitute element etád- and it- replace the whole of etád- before vibhaktí affixes beginning with [r, th] respectively" *etád+rhīL* = *etád-rhī*; *etád+thām* = *it-thām*.

Then [aṇ] which replaces the whole of etád- before vibhaktí affixes: *etad+trāL* (10) = *ān+trā* = *aṭ-trā* (8.2.7) 'here'.

The reading [aṢ] is a variant found in Kāśikā which serves the same purpose; the present reading is according to Patañjali.

5.3.6 sārva-sya sá-ḥ=anya-tará-syām d-i

The substitute element sá- [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal stem 4.1.1] sārva- 'all' optionally (anya-tará-syām) before vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme [d]

sarvā+da = *sa-dā* 'always, at all times' (15) but not in *sārva-rh dā-dā-ti* = *sarva+dā+Ka+Tāp* (3.2.3; 4.1.4) = *sarva-dḥ-dā* - *sarva-d-ḥ-dā* = *sarva-d-ā* *brāhmaṇī* 'a brahmin lady who gives up everything'.

5.3.7 pañcamy-ās=taṣiL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *taṣiL* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, pronominal stems and bahú- excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) [optionally 6].

kím+NasI/bhyām/bhyas = *kím+ḥ+taṣiL* (2.4.71) = *kú-tas* (7.1.104) 'whence?'; similarly *sarvā-tas* 'from all sides'; *bahú-tas* 'from many sides'.

5.3.8 táse-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 *taṣiL* 7] also replaces (ca) [the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *tási* (4.44-45) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, pronominal stems and bahú-, excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2].

kím+tási = *kím+taṣiL* = *kú-tas* 'whence?' and similarly *sarvā-tas*, *bahú-tas*. The difference between [tási] and [taṣiL] is in accentuation only.

5.3.9 ¹pári=²abhí-bhyām=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 *tasīL* 7] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of the preverbs pári- 'around' and abhí- 'on both sides'

pári+tasīL = *parí-tas* 'on all sides'; *abhí+tasīL* = *abhí-tas* 'on both sides'.

5.3.10 saptamy-ṣas=traL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *traL* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of *kím-*, pronominal stems and *bahú-*, excluding the sub-class beginning with *dví-* 2, ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*sapta-m-y-ṣḥ*).

kím+ñi/os/suP = *kím+ṭ+traL* = *kú-tra* (7.2.104) 'where?'; *sarvā-tra* 'everywhere', *bahú-tra* 'in many places', but *dvāy-os*.

5.3.11 idám-aḥ=há-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *há* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *idám-* 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

idam+ñi/os/suP = *idam+ṭ+há* = *iś+há* (3) = *i-há* 'here, in this place'

5.3.12 kím-aḥ=àT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *àT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] *kím-* 'which, what, who' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

kím+ñi/os/suP = *kím+ṭ¹+àT* = *kva+à* (7.2.105) = *kv-à* (6.1.97) 'where?'.

5.3.13 vā há ca=chándas-l

In the domain of *Chándas* [the taddhitá 4.1.72 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *há* is also (ca) optionally (*vā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *kím-* 12 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

kím+ñi/os/suP = *kím+ṭ¹+há* = *ku-há/kú-tra* (10).

5.3.14 *itarā-bhyaḥ=āpi dṛś-y-ānte*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *tasiL* 7] are also seen (*dṛś-y-ante*) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 7] other than (*itarābhyah*) [the fifth 7 or the seventh 10]

By interpretation this is restricted to co-occurrence with words *bhāvatU* 'your honour', *dirghāyus-* 'long-living', *āyus-mat-* 'enjoying long life' and *devā-n-ām-priyā-* 'beloved of the gods': *sā bhāvān/tā-tra bhāvān/tā-to bhāvān; tā-m bhāvanti-am/tā-tra bhāvanti-am/tā-to bhav-anti-am* etc.,

5.3.15 ¹*sarvā=*²*éka=*³*anyā=*⁴*kīm-⁵yād=*⁶*tād-ah kāl-é dá*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *dá* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *sarvā-* 'all', *éka-* 'one' *anyā-* 'another', *kīm-* 'what, who, which', *yād* 'which' (relative), *tād-* 'that', [ending in the seventh sUP triplet 10] to denote time (*kāl-é*).

sarva-smín kāl-é = *sarva-dā/ea-dā* (6) 'always, at all times'; *eka-dā* 'once'; *anya-dā* 'another time'; *ka-dā* 'when' and *ta-dā* 'then, at that time'.

5.3.16 *idām-ah=rhiL*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *rhiL* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *idām-* 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10] to denote the time 15].

a-smín kāl-é = *idām+rhiL* = *eta+θ¹+rhiL* (4) = *etā-rhi* 'at this time, now'.

5.3.17 *adhúnā*

The irregular expression *adhúnā* is introduced as replacement for [the nominal stem 4.1.1 *idām-* 16 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10] to denote time 15].

a-smín kāl-é = *adhúnā* 'now'. According to Patañjali [*idām*] is replaced by [*aś*] before affix [*dhúnā*] giving the surface form *a-dhúnā* or [*idām*] is replaced by *θ* before affix [*ádhunā*] yielding *ádhunā*.

5.3.18 dānīm ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dānīm is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 idám- ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

a-smín kál-é = *idám+ñi/os/suP* = *idám+θ¹+dānīm* = *iś+dānīm* = *i-dānīm* 'at this time, now'.

The present rule confirms the position of [ádhuná 17] as a taddhitá vibhaktí affix rather than an irregularly formed expression. In view of the Vedic form *adhuná* one would have to associate marker [C] with that affix.

5.3.19 tát-ah=dā ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dā in addition to (ca) [dānīm 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tát- 'that' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

ta-smín kál-é = *tad+θ¹+dā* = *taa+dā* = *ta-dā* (7.2.102; 6.1.97) 'then, at that time' / *ta-dānīm* (18).

5.3.20 táyor ¹dā-²rhiL-au ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1] dā and rhiL are also (ca) respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 those two (táy-oh) [nominal stems 4.1.1 idám- 16 and tát- 19, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

a-smín kál-é = *idám+θ+dā* = *iś+dā* = *i-dā/i-dānīm* (18).

tá-smín kál-é = *tad+θ¹+rhiL* = *taa+rhiL* = *tá-rhi/ta-dānīm*.

5.3.21 án-adya-tan-e rhiL anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] rhiL is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising kím- 'what, who, which', pronominal stems and bahú- 'many', excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2, [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10] when referring to a period of time not belonging to the current day (án-adya-tan-e).

kím+rhiL/dā = *ká-rhi/ka-dā* (7.2.103) 'when? (in the future not belonging to the current day)'. Similarly *yá-rhi/ya-dā*, *tá-rhi/ta-dā*.

5.3.22 ¹sadyás=²parút-³parári-⁴aiśámas=⁵paré-dyav-i=⁶adyá=⁷pūrve-dyús=⁸anye-dyús=⁹anya-tar-e-dyús=¹⁰itar-e-dyús=¹¹apar-e-dyús=¹²adhar-e-dyús=¹³ubhay-e-dyús=¹⁴uttar-e-dyúḥ

The indeclinable expressions sadyás 'on the same day', parút 'last year', parári 'the year before last', aiśámas 'in the current year', paré-dyav-i 'tomorrow', adyá 'today', pūrve-dyús 'on the day before', anye-dyús 'on another day', anya-tar-e-dyús 'on either of two days', itar-e-dyús 'on a different day', apar-e-dyús 'on the day after', adhar-e-dyús 'on the day before yesterday', ubhay-e-dyús 'on both days' and uttar-e-dyús 'on a subsequent day' are introduced [to denote time 15].

Interpretation attempts to analyze these surface forms as consisting of nominal stems ending in the seventh sUP triplet to indicate the period of time with replacement elements and a variety of vibhakti affixes which cannot be generalized. The method of nipātana in these cases is the briefest and avoids proliferation of rules.

5.3.23 pra-kār-a-vác-an-e thāl

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhakti 1 affix 3.1.1] thāl is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising kím- 'what, which, who' and pronominal stems and bahú- 'many', excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2] to denote mode or manner (pra-kār-a-vác-an-e).

k-éna pra-kār-éna = kím+θ¹+thāl=ka+thámy (25) = ka-thám (7.2.103) 'in what manner, by what means?'; similarly yá-thā tá-thā, sarvá-thā etc.

5.3.24 idám-as thámy-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhakti 1 affix 3.1.1] thámy is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] idám- 'this' [to denote mode or manner 23].

an-éna pra-kār-éna = idám+θ¹+thámy = ít-thám (4) 'this, in this manner'.

5.3.25 kím-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhakti 1 affix 3.1.1 thámy 24] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kím- 'what, which, who' [to denote mode or manner 23].

*k-éna pra-kār-éna = kím+θ¹+thámy = ka-thám (7.2.103) 'how, in what manner?'.
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5.3.26 *thá* het-aú ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *thá* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *kím-* 'what, who, which?' 25] to denote the cause (het-aú) in addition to (ca) [mode or manner 23].

kím+thá = *ka-thá* (7.2.103): (a) *k-éna hetú-nā* = *ka-thá ná pṛech-á-si* 'for what reason are you not asking?' (b) *k-éna pra-kār-éna* = *ka-thá deváśśa-an* 'in what shape or manner were the gods?'

5.3.27 *dik*=śabdé-bhyaḥ ¹sapta-mí-²pañca-mí-³prathamā-bhyaḥ=¹dís-²deśá-³kālé-ṣu=ástāti-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ástāti* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of direction-words (*dís-*) [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh (*saptamí-*), fifth (*-pañcamí-*) or first (*-prathamā-bhyaḥ*) sUP triplets to denote a direction (*dís-*) or locality (*-deśá-*) or time (*-kālé-ṣu*).

By interpretation the operation of 1.3.10 is not applicable in this rule. *pūrva-smin vás-a-ti/pūrva-smāt ā-ga-tá-h/pūrva-m ram-anīya-m* = *pūrva+ástāti* = *pur-ástāt* (40) *vas-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-anīya-m*.

5.3.28 ¹dākṣiṇa=²úttarā-bhyām atásyC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *atásyC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *dākṣiṇa-* 'south' and *út-tara-* 'north' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

dakṣiṇa-smin/dakṣiṇa-smāt/dakṣiṇa-m = *dākṣiṇa+θ¹+atásyC* = *dakṣiṇθ-atás* = *vas-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-anīya-m*; similarly *uttar-atás*.

5.3.29 *vibhāṣā* ¹pára=²ávarā-bhyā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *atásyC* 28] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.2] *pára-* 'the one on the other side' and *ávara-* 'the one on this side' [comprising direction words 27, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

pára-smin/pára-smāt/pára-m = *pára+atásyC/ástāti* = *parθ-atás/parθ-ástāt*

vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-anfya-m; Similarly *avar-atās/avar-āstāt vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-anfya-m*.

5.3.30 añce-r luK

luK (\emptyset^1) replaces [the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 āstātī 27 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-añc- [comprising direction words ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

prācy-ām diś-f vās-a-ti = prācI+ \emptyset^1 +āstātī→luK = prāk vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-anfya-m.

5.3.31 upāri=upariṣṭāt

The expressions upā-ri and upā-riṣṭāt are introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

Interpretation analyzes these forms from the string *ardhvā+riL/riṣṭātīL = upā+ri/upā-riṣṭāt vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-anfya-m*.

5.3.32 paścāt

The expression paścāt is introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

Interpretation again analyzes this form from the string *āpara-smān/āpara-smāt/āpara-m = āpara+ātī = paśca+āt = paścθ-āt* where the stem [āpara- 'west'] is replaced by the morpheme [paśca-].

5.3.33 ¹paśca-²paścā ca=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas the expressions paścā and paścā are introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

The function of interpretation is to attempt to give the underlying structure of such formations given as nipātana-s in the sūtra-s. Here it indicates that affixes [ā], [ī] are introduced after [āpara- 'west'] which is then replaced by the substitute morpheme [paśca-] as in the previous sūtra: *āpara+ā/ā = paśca+ā/ā = paścθ-ā/paścθ-ā* 'western, behind'.

5.3.34 ¹úttara=²ádharma=³dákṣiṇ-āt=ātī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ātī is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] úttara- 'north', ádhara- 'below' and dákṣiṇa- 'south' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

úttara-smin/úttara-smat/úttara-m = úttara+ātī = uttarṭ-āt vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-ḥ/ram-aṇfya-m; similarly: adharṭ-āt; dakṣiṇṭ-āt vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-ḥ/ram-aṇfya-m.

5.3.35 enaP=anya-tará-syām á-dūre=á-pañcamy-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] enaP is introduced optionally (anya-tará-syām) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27 úttara- 'north', ádhara- 'below' and dákṣiṇa- 'south' 34 ending in the seventh and first sUP triplets 27] excluding the fifth (á-pañcamy-āḥ) to indicate 'vicinity' (á-dūre).

úttara-smin/úttaram = úttara+enaP / ātī (34) = úttarṭ-ena / uttarṭ-āt vās-a-ti/ram-aṇfya-m; ádhar-ena/adhar=āt, dákṣiṇ-ena / dakṣiṇ-āt etc.

5.3.36 dákṣiṇ-āt āC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] āC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] dákṣiṇa- 'south' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh or first sUP triplet 27 excluding the fifth 35 to denote direction, locality or time 27].

dákṣiṇa-smin/dákṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+āC = dákṣiṇṭ-ā vās-a-ti/ram-aṇfya-m, but dákṣiṇa-tāḥ ā-ga-tā-ḥ.

5.3.37 āhi ca dūr-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] āhi, in addition to (ca) [āC 36, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27 dákṣiṇa- 'south' 36 ending in the seventh or first sUP triplet 27, excluding the fifth 35 to denote direction, locality or time 27] which is distant (dūr-é).

dákṣiṇa-syām/dákṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+āhi/āC = dákṣiṇṭ-āhi/'-ā vās-a-ti/ram-aṇfya-m.

5.3.38 úttar-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 áC 36 and áhi 37] are also (ca) [introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] úttara- 'north' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh and first sUP triplets 27 excluding the fifth 35 to denote a direction, locality or time 27 which is distant 37].

úttara-syām/úttara-m = uttarθ-āhi/uttarθ-ā vās-a-ti/ram-anīya-m.

5.3.39 ¹pūrva=²ádharma=³ávara-n-ām ási ¹pur=²adh=³av-as=ca=e-śām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ási is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27] pūrva- 'east', ádhara- 'below' and ávara- 'inferior' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27] and the substitute elements pur-, adh- and av- [respectively 1.3.10] replace these stems (e-śām).

pūrva-syām/-smīn, pūrva-syāh/*-smāt, pūru-ā/pūrva-m = pūrva+ási = pur-ds vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-anīya-m.*

Similarly: *adhara+ási = adh-ds; avara+ási = av-ds.*

5.3.40 ástāt-i ca

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ástātī introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27] pūrva- 'east', ádhara- 'below' and ávara- 'inferior' 39 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 37, the substitute morphemes pur-, adh- and av- (respectively 1.3.10) replace these stems 39].

pūrva+ástātī = pur-dstāt vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-anīya-m; likewise: adhara+ástātī = adh-dstāt; avara+ástātī = av-dstāt. In both 39 and 40 since the substitute morphemes consist of more than single phonemes they replace the whole of the substituends by 1.1.55.

5.3.41 vibhāṣā=āvāra-sya

[The substitute morpheme av- 39] optionally replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] āvara- 'inferior, below' [before the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 āstātī 40].

avara+dstātī = av-dstāt/avarθ-dstāt vds-a-ti/d-ga-tā-h/ram-anfya-m.

5.3.42 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=vidhā=arth-é dhā

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhā is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising a numeral (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) to denote mode or manner (vidhā=arth-é).

eka-dhā 'once'; *dvi-dhā* 'twice'; *tri-dhā* 'thrice' etc.

5.3.43 adhi-kar-aṇa-vi-cāl-é ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā 42] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42 to denote a modification of a substance (adhi-kar-aṇa-vi-cāl-é).

dvi-dhā ku-rú / sapta-dhā ku-rú 'divide (something) into two/seven parts'.

5.3.44 ék-āt=dh-āḥ=dhyamūñ=anya-tará-syām

The substitute morpheme dhyamūñ optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix dhā 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the numeral 42] éka- 'one' to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43.

eka+dhyamūñ/dhā = aśka-dhyam/eka-dhā bhuk-tiē/ku-rú 'eats once only/make into a single entry (what was a collection of objects before)'

5.3.45 ¹dvi-²try-os=ca dhamūñ

The substitute morpheme dhamūñ [optionally 44] replaces the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42] dvī- '2' and trī- '3' [to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43].

The particle [ca] in the rule implies recurrence of [anya-tará-syām] from the preceding rule: *dvī+dhamūñ/dhā = dvī-dham/dvi-dhā; trī-dham/tri-dhā.*

5.3.46 edhāC ca

The substitute morpheme edhāC also [optionally 44 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42 dvī- '2' and trí- '3' 45 to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43].

dvī+edhāC/dhamuñ/dhā = dvīθ-edhā/dvāi-dham/dvi-dhā tr-edhā/traī-dham/tri-dhā.

5.3.47 yāp-y-è pāśaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] pāśaP is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 pleonastically to denote (something) as insignificant or unimportant (yāp-y-è).

vaiy-ā-kar-aṇḍ+pāśaP = vaiyākar-aṇḍ-pāśa-ḥ = kuts-i-tā-ḥ vaiyākar-aṇḍ-ḥ 'an insignificant grammarian'.

5.3.48 pūraṇāt=bhāg-é tīy-āt=aN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of an ordinal (pūraṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] °-tīya- (2.54-55) to denote a fraction (bhāg-é).

dvi-tīya+aN = dvī-tīyθ-a- 'one half'; similarly *tṛ-tīya+aN = tṛ-tīyθ-a-* 'one third'.

5.3.49 prāk=ékā-daśa-bhyaḥ=ā-cchandas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of ordinals 48] preceding [prāk] eleventh (ékā-daśa-) [to denote a fraction 48] excluding the domain of Chāndas (ā-cchandas-i).

pañca-mā+aN = pāñca-mθ-a 'one-fifth'; *sapta-mā+aN = sapta-m-a-* 'one-seventh'; *nava-mā/daśa-mā+aN = nava-m-a/dāśa-m-a-* 'one-ninth/one-tenth', but *ekā-daśa+DāT (2.48) = ekā-daśθ-d-* 'one-eleventh'.

5.3.50 ¹ṣaṣṭhā=²aṣṭa-mā-bhyām Ña ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña, in addition to (ca) [aN 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of ordinals 48]

ṣaṣṭhā 'sixth' and aṣṭa-mā 'eighth' [to denote a fraction, excluding the domain of Chāndas 49].

$\text{ṣaṣṭha} + \tilde{N}a/aN = \text{ṣḍṣṭhṭh-a-/ṣḍṣṭhṭh-a}$ 'one-sixth'; similarly $\text{aṣṭa-mā} + \tilde{N}a/aN = \text{ḍṣṭa-mṭh-a/ḍṣṭa-mṭh-a}$ 'one-eighth'.

5.3.51 ¹māna-²paśu=aṅge-bhyaḥ ¹kaN-²luK-au ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN and luK (0¹) replacement [of aN 48 or Ña 50] as well as (ca) [aN 48 or Ña 50 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of the ordinals 48 ṣaṣṭhā- '6th' and aṣṭa-mā- '8th' 50 to denote fractions 48] relating to a measure (mānā-) or limbs of an animal (°-paśu-aṅge-bhyaḥ) [respectively 1.3.10].

By meta-rule 1.3.10 [kaN] is introduced after [ṣaṣṭhā-] and luK after [aṣṭa-mā-] while aN and Ña are valid for both: $\text{ṣaṣṭhā} + kaN = \text{ṣḍṣṭha-ka}$ 'one-sixth of a measure'; elsewhere: $\text{ṣaṣṭhā} + aN/\tilde{N}a = \text{ṣḍṣṭhṭh-a-/ṣḍṣṭhṭh-a-}$.
 $\text{aṣṭa-mā} + (aN/\tilde{N}a \rightarrow luK) = \text{aṣṭamā-}$ 'one-eighth of an animal limb'; elsewhere: $\text{aṣṭa-mā} + aN/\tilde{N}a = \text{ḍṣṭa-mṭh-a-/ḍṣṭa-mṭh-a-}$.

5.3.52 ék-āt=ākiniC ca=ā-sahāy-e

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ākiniC is introduced in addition to (ca) [kaN and luK replacement 51 (of kaN or ākiniC) after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] éka- 'one' to denote 'alone, not accompanied by any other' (ā-sahāy-e).

$\text{éka} + \text{ākiniC}/kaN/(kaN/\text{ākiniC} \rightarrow luK) = \text{ekṭh-ākin-/éka-ka-/éka-}$ 'alone, solo, sole'.

5.3.53 bhū-ta-pūrv-é cáraṭ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cáraṭ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] signifying 'was so before' (bhū-ta-pūrv-é).

$\text{ādhya-h bhū-ta-pūrvā-h} = \text{ādhya} + \text{cáraṭ} = \text{ādhya-cára- (m.)}/\text{'cár-I (f. 4.1.15)}$ 'who was formerly rich'.

5.3.54 ṣaṣṭhy-ā rūpya ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpya, in addition to (ca) [cáraṭ 53 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ) [to denote 'belonging to him previously or formerly' 53].

deva-dattā-sya bhūta-pūrvā-h gaú-h = *devadatta+rūpya-/cāraT* = *devadatta=rūpya-h/° cāra-h gaú-h* 'a bull formerly belonging to Devadatta'.

5.3.55 *ati-śāy-an-e* ¹*tamaP*=²*iṣṭhaN*-au

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *tamaP* and *iṣṭhaN* are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote 'superlative excellence' (*ati-śāy-an-e*).

ādhyā+tamaP = *ādhyā-tama*- 'richest, most prosperous'; *paṭu+iṣṭhaN* = *pāṭiṭh-iṣṭha*- 'most skilled, ablest'.

5.3.56 *tiñ-as=ca*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 *tamaP* and *iṣṭhaN* 55] are also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2] verbal stems [ending in 1.1.72] the personal *l*-substitutes *tiñ* [to denote superlative excellence 55]

pāc-a-ti+tamaP = *pāc-a-t-tama+ām* (4.11) = *pāc-a-ti-tam-ām* 'cooks the best'. The affix [*iṣṭhaN*], however, is not illustrated as it can occur only after qualifying words [*guṇa-vācana*], cf. 58 below.

5.3.57 ¹*dvi-vac-anā-°vi-bhaj-ya=upa-pad-é* ²*taraP*=²*īyasuN*-au

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *taraP* and *īyasuN* are introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 and verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 personal *l*-substitutes *tiñ* 56] to express a comparison between two co-occurring objects (*dvi-vacaná-°*) or that from which something is to be distinguished' (*°vi-bhaj-ya=upa-pad-é*).

ādhyā+taraP = *ādhyā-tara*- 'richer or more opulent of two'; *pāc-a-ti-tar-ām* 'cooks the better of two'; *paṭu+īyasuN* = *pāṭiṭh-īyas-* 'cleverer or abler of two'.

5.3.58 *āC=ād-I guṇa-vāc-an-āt=evā*

[The *taddhitā* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel phoneme (*aC=ādri*) [= *iṣṭhaN* 55, *īyasuN* 57 are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] which are qualifying words (*guṇa-vāc-an-āt*) only (*evā*).

paṭu+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = *pāṭiṭh-iṣṭha-/īyas-* or alternately *paṭu-tama-/tara-* 'most competent/more competent' but *pāc-aka-tama/°-tara-* 'best/better of cooks'.

5.3.59 tu-s=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme (iṣṭhaN 55, TyasuN 57) 58 are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in the affixes 3.1.1] °-tṣ- (= tṣN 3.2.135, tṣC 3.3.169).

kár-tṣ+iṣṭhaN = *kárθθ-iṣṭha-* (6.4.154): *ā-su-tf-m kár-iṣṭha-h* 'best distiller of all'; similarly *duh+tṣN/tṣC+ÑtP* = *dóh+tṣ+ÑtP+TyasuN* = *dóh+tṣ+θ+TyasuN* (by vārt 11 on 6.3.35) = *dóh+θθ-Tyas+ÑtP* (6.4.154) *dóh-Tyas-i dhe-nú-h* 'the better of two milk-cows'.

5.3.60 pra-śás-ya-sya śra-h

The substitute morpheme śra replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pra-śás-ya- 'praiseworthy' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel (iṣṭhaN 55 and TyasuN 57) 58].

pra-śás-ya+iṣṭhaN/TyasuN = *śra+iṣṭha/Tyas* = *śréṣṭha-/śréyas-* 'most/more praiseworthy, best/better'.

5.3.61 jya ca

The substitute morpheme jya also replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 praśásya- 'praiseworthy' 60 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and TyasuN 57).

pra-śás-ya+iṣṭhaN+TyasuN = *jya+iṣṭhaN/TyasuN* = *jyēṣṭha-/jyáyas-* (6.4.160).

5.3.62 vṛddhá-sya ca

[The substitute morpheme jya 61] also replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] vṛddhá- 'old, aged' [before 1.4.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and TyasuN 57)].

vṛddhá+iṣṭhaN/TyasuN = *jya+iṣṭha/a-yas* (6.4.160) = *jyēṣṭha-/jyáyas-* 'eldest, oldest/elder, older'.

5.3.63 ¹antiká-²bāḍhay-or ¹neda-²sādh-au

The substitute morphemes neda- and sādha- respectively 1.3.10 replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stems 4.1.1] antiká- 'near' and bāḍha- 'good' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṭyasuN 57)].

antiká+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN = *neda+iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* = *nédh-iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* 'nearest/nearer';
bāḍhá+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN = *sādha+iṣṭha-/ṭyas-*; *sādhṭ-iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* 'best/better'

5.3.64 ¹yúva(n)=²álpay-oḥ kaN anya-tará-syām

The substitute morpheme kaN optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yúvan- 'youth' and álpa- 'small' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṭyasuN 57)].

yúvan+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN = *kán-iṣṭha-/kán-ṭyas-* 'youngest/younger'; alternately:
yu-ṭṭṭ+iṣṭha/ṭyas (6.4.156) = *yo+iṣṭha/ṭyas* (6.4.148) = *yáv-iṣṭha-/yáv-ṭyas-*;
 similarly *álpa+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN* = *kán-iṣṭha-/kán-ṭyas-*, *álpṭ-iṣṭha-/álp-ṭyas*
 'smallest/smaller'.

5.3.65 ¹vin-²matOr luK

luK (ṭ¹) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ¹-vin- (2.21) and matUP (2.94) introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṭyasuN 57).

1. ¹-vin-: *srag-vín+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN* = *srdj-ṭ¹+iṣṭha/ṭyas* 'most/more covered with garlands'.
2. ²-matUP-: *tudc+matUP+iṣṭha/ṭyasuN* = *tudc+ṭ¹-iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* 'possessing the best/better skin'.

5.3.66 pra-sāms-ā-y-ām rūpaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote praise (pra-sāms-ā-y-ām).

prá-sas-ta-ḥ vaiyā-kar-an-ā-ḥ = *vaiyākarāṇa-rūpa-ḥ* 'an excellent grammarian'.

5.3.67 *ṣad-a-sam-āp-t-aú* ¹kalpaP-²désya-³desíyaR-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] kalpaP, désya- and desíyaR are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote 'not quite fully' (*ṣad-a-sam-āp-t-aú*).

ṣad-a-sam-āp-tá-h pátu-h = *paṭá-kalpa-h* / *'désya-h/desíya-h* 'not quite fully accomplished'. Applicable also in the case of verbal stems ending in personal l-substitutes tiṆ (56): *pác-a-ti-kalpam* 'not quite fully cooks'.

5.3.68 *vibhāṣā sUP-aḥ=bahúC pur-ástāt tu*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] bahúC is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced before (*pur-ástāt tu*) [a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a sUP triplet [to denote 'not quite fully' 67].

ṣad-a-sam-āp-tá-h pátu-h = *bahú-pātu-h* 'not quite so fully sharp'. Alternate forms can be generated with the affixes listed in 67 above.

5.3.69 *pra-kār-a-vác-an-e jātíyaR*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] jātíyaR is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote a specific characteristic (*pra-kār-a-vác-an-e*).

mṛdu-pra-kār-á-h = *mṛdu-jātíya-h* 'belonging to the class of soft objects'.

The affix [thāL] which is also introduced (22 above) to denote a mode or manner differs from this which signifies an object possessing that mode or manner

5.3.70 *prāk=iv-āt ká-h*

In the section beginning here and extending prior to 96 below [*iv-e prati-kṛ-t-au* 96, the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ká-* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 the denote the senses listed in this section].

This is a governing rule (*adhi-kār-á-*) and the affix [*ká-*] will recur in each subsequent rule prior to 96 below, unless otherwise specified.

5.3.71 ¹ávyaya-²sarva-nāmn-ām ákaC prāk TE-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ákaC is introduced before the syllable beginning with the last vowel [*prāk TE-h*, cf. 1.1.64] of [nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of indeclinables (*á-vy-aya-°*) and pronominal bases

(^o-sarva-nāmn-ām) [and verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 personal l-substitutes 56 to denote the senses listed in this section 70-95].

Exception to [ká-]. 1. ávy-ay-a: *uccais+ákāC* = *ucc-ák-ais* 'with a high pitch'; 2. sarva-nāmān: *sarva+Jas+ákāC* = *sarva+Ś+ákāC* (7.1.17) = *sarv+ákāC+a+I* = *sarv-ák-e* 'all'; 3. tiñ: *pac-a-ti+ákāC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'cooks'.

Since this affix is inserted after the simplex or declined nominal stem sometimes it occurs after the simple stem or sometimes after the declined stem: (a) simple nominal stem: *yusmā-bhis+ákāC* = *yusm-ák-ā-bhis* 'by you (pl.)'; (b) declined nominal stem: *tvay-ā+ákāC* = *tvay-ák-ā* 'by thee'.

5.3.72 kṛ-sya ca da-ḥ

The phoneme [d] replaces [the final 1.1.72] phoneme [k] of [an indeclinable 71 nominal stem 4.1.1 in the presence of the affix ákāC 71].

dhik+ákāC = *dh-ak-ik* = *dh-ák-id* = *dh-ák-it* (8.4.58); *prthak+ákāC* = *prth-ák-ak* = *prth-ak-ad* = *prth-ák-at* 'separately'.

5.3.73 á-jñā-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákāC 71] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 58] to denote 'unknown' (á-jñā-t-e).

ásva+kā- = *ásva-kā-* 'a certain horse whose ownership is unknown'; *pác-a-ti+ákāC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'does he cook?'.

5.3.74 kuts-i-t-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákāC 71] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 58] pejoratively (kuts-i-t-é).

kuts-i-tā-ḥ áśva-ḥ = *ásva-kā-ḥ* 'a nag'; *pác-a-ti+ákāC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'cooks badly'.

5.3.75 saṃjñā-y-ām kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote a name (saṃjñā-y-ām) [pejoratively 74].

kuts-i-tā-ḥ śūdrā-ḥ = *śūdrā+kaN* = *śūdra-ka-ḥ* 'Name of a person (- contemptible śūdrā)'.

5.3.76 anu-kamp-ā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC71 is respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 56] to denote compassion' (anu-kamp-ā-y-ām).

putra+ká- = *putra-ká-* 'poor son/child'; similarly *vatsa-ká-* 'poor or dear calf'.
svap-i-t-āk-i 'sleeps poorly'.

5.3.77 ní-t-au ca tád-yuk-t-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC 71 is respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 56] to denote an act of relief (ní-t-au) associated with that (compassion 76: tád-yuk-t-āt).

hanta te dhāna-ká-h (*dhāna+ká+Jas*) 'See! here are barley grains for you';
e-hi+ákaC = *e-h-āk-i* 'please come'.

5.3.78 bahv-áC-aḥ manuṣya-nāmn=aḥ ṭhác=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhác is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahv-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a personal name (manuṣya-nāmn-aḥ) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

The option is with reference to affix [ká-]. *devadattá+ṭhác/ká-* = *devṭh-iká-* (83) / *devadatta-ká-* 'poor Devadatta!'.
devadattá+ghaN/iláC/ṭhác/ká- = *devṭh-īya-/devṭh-ild-/devṭh-iká-* (83)/*devadatta-ká-*.

5.3.79 ¹ghaN-²iláC-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ghaN and iláC, in addition to (ca) [ṭhác 78 and ká 70 are introduced after 3.1.2 a polysyllabic 78 nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78 to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

devadattá+ghaN/iláC/ṭhác/ká- = *devṭh-īya-/devṭh-ild-/devṭh-iká-* (83)/*devadatta-ká-*.

5.3.80 prác-ām úpa=āde-r ¹aḍác=²vuC-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aḍác and vuC, in addition to (ca) [ghaN, iláC 78, ṭhác 78 and ká 70 are introduced after 3.1.2 a polysyl-

labic 78 nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78] co-occurring with úpa- " as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief connected with it 77] according to Eastern Grammarians (prāc-ām).

upendra-datta+adāC/vuC/ghaN/ilāC/thāC/kd = *upθθ-adā-/úp-aka-/úp-īya-/up-ilā-/up-ikā-/upendra-datta-kd-* (83).

5.3.81 jāti-nāmn-aḥ kaN

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affx 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 76] expressing a species (jāti-nāmn-aḥ) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

vyāghrā+kaN = *vyāghra-ka-* 'poor Vy.?'; similarly *sīrhna-ka-*, *śārabha-ka-* etc.

5.3.82 ajīna=anta-sya=uttara-pada-lopās=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 81 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78] co-occurring with °-ajīna- 'skin' as final member (°-anta-sya in composition) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77] and (ca) lopa (=θ) replaces the final member (uttara-pada-lopā-ḥ).

ānu-kamp-i-ta-ḥ vyāghrājīna-ḥ = *vyāghrājīna+kaN* = *vyāghrā-θ+kan* - *vyāghra-ka-ḥ*.

5.3.83 ṭha=²āC=ād-au=ūrdhvā-in dvi-tfī-āt=aC-aḥ

[Lopa (θ) replacement 82 of syllables] takes place following the second one (dvi-tfī-āt=aC-aḥ) [occurring in this section 70-95 before 1.1.86 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes ṭhāC 78 and those beginning with a vowel (aC=ād-au = ghaN, ilāC 79, ṭhāC 78, aḍāC, vuC 80)].

ānu-kamp-i-ta-ḥ deva-dattā-ḥ = *deva-θ+thāC/ghaN/ilāC* = *dev-ikd-/dév-īya-/dev-ild-; upendra-dattā+thāC/ghaN/ilāC/adāC/vuC* = *upa+ikd* = *upθ-ikd-/úp-īya-/up-ild-/up-adā-/up-akā-*.

5.3.84 ¹śévala-²suparī-³viśālā-⁴vāruṇa-⁵aryamán=ādī-n-ām tṛ-tīy-āt

[Lopa (Ø) replacement 82 of syllables] takes place following the third (tṛ-tīy-āt) [of nominal stems 4.1.1 occurring in this section 70-95 before the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes ṭhāC and those beginning with a vowel 83 (= ghaN, ilāC, 79) introduced after nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with śévala-°, suparī-°, viśālā-°, vāruṇa-° and aryamán-° as prior members (°ādī-n-ām in composition).

anu-kamp-i-tā-h śevala-dattā-h = śevala-dattā+ṭhāC/ghaN/ilāC = śeval-ikā-h/śeval-īya-h/śeval-ildā-h; on the same pattern:
supar-ikā-/eūpar-īya-/supar-ildā-; viśāl-ika-/viśāl-īya-/viśāl-ildā-; varuṇ-ikā-/vāruṇ-īya-/varuṇ-ildā-; aryam-ikā-/dryam-īya-/aryam-ildā- (6.4.144).

5.3.85 ālp-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 ka 70 and ákaC71 are respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiN 56] to denote 'small' (ālp-e).

ālpa-m tailā-m - taila+kā = taila-kā-m 'a small quantity of oil'; pāc-a-ti+ākaC = pāc-a-t-āk-i 'cooks a little'.

5.3.86 hrasv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote 'short' (hrasv-é).

hrasvā-h vṛkṣā-h = vṛkṣa+kā- = vṛkṣa-kā-h 'a short or stunted tree'; daṇḍā+kā = daṇḍa-kā- 'a short staff'.

5.3.87 saṁjñā-y-ām kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote 'shortness' 86] for deriving a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

hrasvā-h varṣā-h = varṣā+kaN = varṣā-ka-h 'n.pr.' and similarly vēnu-ka-h/dāṇḍa-ka-h etc.

5.3.88 ¹kuṭī-²sāmī-³śuṇḍā-bhyaḥ rá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kuṭī ‘hut’, sāmī ‘a species of tree’ and śuṇḍā ‘trunk of an elephant’ [to denote shortness or diminution 86].

hrasvá kuṭī/sāmī/śuṇḍā = kuṭī-rá-/sāmī-rá-/śuṇḍā-rá- ‘low hut / short or stunted S. tree / short trunk of an elephant.

5.3.89 kutv-āḥ ḌupáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌupáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kutū ‘a leather oil bottle’ [to denote shortness of diminution 86].

hrasvá kutū = kutū +ḌupáC = kutū+upá- (6.4.143) ‘a diminutive leather oil bottle’.

5.3.90 ¹kāsū-²goṇī-bhyām ŚṭaráC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ŚṭaráC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kāsū ‘lance’ and goṇī ‘sack’ [to denote shortness or diminution 86].

hrasvá kāsū/goṇī = kāsū/goṇī+ŚṭaráC+ÑIS (4.1.41) = *kāsū-tarf/goṇī-tarf* ‘diminutive lance/sack’.

5.3.91 ¹vatsá-²ukṣá(n)-³ásva-⁴ṛṣabbhé-bhyaḥ tanu-tv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ŚṭaráC 90 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vatsá- ‘calf’, ukṣán- ‘bull’, áśva- ‘horse’ and ṛṣabbhá- ‘bull’ to denote ‘tenderness’ (tanu-tv-é).

vatsa-tard- m. (‘-tarf f.) ‘weaned calf, not yet adult’; so also *ukṣa-tard-* (‘rf f.)/*ásva-tard-* (‘rf f.)/*ṛṣabha-tard-* (‘rf f.) ‘young bull/mule/young bull’.

5.3.92 ¹kím-²yád-³tád-aḥ nir-dhār-aṇ-e dváy-or éka-sya DataráC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] DataráC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pronominal bases kím- ‘what, which, who’, yád- ‘who, which (relative)’ and tád- ‘that’ (correlative) for determining (nir-dhār-aṇ-e) one among two (dváy-or éka-sya).

kīm +ḌatarāC = *kṭh-atarā-* 'which of (any) two?' and similarly *y-atarā-/t-atarā-* 'which of two'/'that of two'.

5.3.93 *vā bahū-n-ām jāti-pari-praśn-é ḌatamāC*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ḌatamāC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the pronominal bases *kīm-* 'who', *yād-* 'who' and *tād-* 'that' to determine one 92] among many (*bahū-n-ām*) optionally (*vā*) in a question involving genus or caste [*jāti-pari-praśné*].

kīm +ḌatamāC = *kṭh-atamā-h bhāvat-ām kaṭhā-h?* 'which of many among you is a follower of the K. school?'. Similarly *y-atamā-/t-atamā-*.

The option is with reference to [ākṣO 71]. *ya-kā-h bhāvat-ām kaṭhā-h?* When a question involving genus or caste is not pertinent, no affix is required: *yā-h bhāvat-ām kaṭhā-h sá ā-gacch-a-tu* 'the one who is a follower of K. school among you may come'.

5.3.94 *ék-āt=ca prāc-ām*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ḌatarāC* 92 or *ḌatamāC* 93 is] also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *éka-* 'one' [to determine respectively one among two 92 or among many 93] according to Eastern Grammarians (*prāc-ām*).

eka +ḌatarāC/ḌatamāC = *eka-tarā-/ -tamā-* 'one of two/many'.

5.3.95 *ava-kṣép-aṇ-e kaN*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote derision (*ava-kṣép-aṇ-e*).

vy-ā-kār-aṇa- + kaN = *vyā-karāṇa-ka-* 'bad grammar, a little knowledge of grammar' as in: *vy-ā-kar-ana-k-éna tvám garv-i-tā-h* 'you, boasting of your little knowledge of grammar'.

5.3.96 *iv-e prati-kṛ-t-au*

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kaN* 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' (*iv-e*) for signifying an image or likeness or model (*prati-kṛ-t-au*).

aśvā-h iva ay-dm = aśvā-kaN = āśva-ka-h 'a model, image or imitation of a horse'.
The expression [iv-e] recurs in the following rules up to 112 below.

5.3.97 saṃjñā-y-ām ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' 96] for deriving a name (saṃjñā-y-ām).

asūd+kaN = *ásua-ka-h* 'n. of an object, similar to a horse'.

5.3.98 lup=manuṣy-è

[luP (0³) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' 96] when deriving the name of a person (manuṣy-è).

cañcā iva manuṣyā-h = *cañcā+(kaN→luP)* = *cancā+0³* 'straw-man, scarecrow'.

Replacement by 0³ luP retains the gender and number of the original underived form (1.2.52).

5.3.99 jīvikā=arth-é ca-ā-paṇ-y-e

[luP (0³) 98] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' 96] when it is made a means of livelihood [jīvikā= arth-é] and is not for sale (ā-paṇ-y-e).

vāsudeva-pratī-ky-tī-h = *vāsudevā+(kaN→luP)* = *vāsudevā-h* 'an image of Vasudeva used as a means of livelihood' but *ásua-kā-n ví-krī-nā-tī* 'sells images of horses'.

5.3.100 deva-pathā=ādī-bhyas=ca

[luP (0³) 98] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.2 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with deva-path-ā- 'heaven, the path of gods' [to denote 'like, similar to' for signifying an image or likeness 96 or to derive a name 97].

deva=patha-pratī-ky-tī-h = *deva-pathā+(kaN→luP)* = *deva-pathā-h* 'n.pr. of a place'.

5.3.101 vasté-r dhañ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhañ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vastī- 'bladder' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

From here the affixes introduced are both for or other than for [pratī-ky-t-au] or

general likeness. *vastf-r iva* = *vastf+dhaN̄* = *vāstθ+eya-* = *vāst-eya-* 'resembling a bladder, bladder-like'.

5.3.102 śilā-y-āḥ dha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *dha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *śilā* 'rock' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

śilā iva = *śilā+dha* = *silθ-eya-* 'resembling a rock, rock-like'. According to some interpreters this rule is divided into two by the process of [yoga-vi-bhāg-a] yielding two affixes [*dhaN̄* 101], [*dha* 102] yielding an alternate form *śilā+dhaN̄* = *śail-eya-*.

5.3.103 śākhā=ādi-bhyaḥ yāT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yāT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *śākhā* 'branch' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

śākhā iva = *śākhā+yāT* = *śākhθ-ya-* 'resembling a branch, branch-like'; similarly *mūkhā-m iva* = *mūkhā+yāT* = *mūkh-ya-* 'resembling a face'.

5.3.104 drāv-ya-m ca bhāv-y-e

The expression *drāv-ya-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yāT* 103] to denote 'good, proper, suitable' (*bhāv-y-e*).

drú-r iva = *drú+yāT* = *dro+yāT* (6.4.146) = *drāv-ya*, (6.1.79) the irregularity being in the meaning of the expression.

5.3.105 kuśa=agr-āt=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *kuśāgrā-* 'tip of the kuśa grass' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

kuśāgra-m iva = *kuśāgra+cha* = *kuśāgrθ-ḥya-* 'sharp like the tip of the kuśa grass'.

5.3.106 sam=ās=āt=ca tād-vi-ṣay-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *cha* 105] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound (*sam-ās-āt*) to denote 'like, resembling' (96: *tād-vi-ṣay-āt*).

kāka-tāla iva = *kāka-tāla+cha* = *kāka-tālā-śya* 'accidental' (like the alighting of a crow and breaking of a branch simultaneously).

5.3.107 śārkarā=ādi-bhyaḥ=āṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] āṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with śārkarā 'gravel' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

śārkarā iva = *śārkarā+āṆ* = *śārkarā-d-* 'resembling gravel'.

5.3.108 aṅgūli=ādi-bhyas=ṭhāK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with aṅgūli- 'finger' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

aṅgūli+ iva = *aṅgūli+ṭhāK* = *aṅguli-kā-* 'finger-like'.

5.3.109 eka-śālā-yā-s=ṭhāC=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhāC is optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] eka-śālā 'single hall or room' [to denote 'resembling, like' 96].

eka-śālā iva = *eka-śālā+ṭhāC/ṭhāK* = *eka-śālā-ikā-/aika-śāl-ikā-* 'resembling a single hall or room'.

5.3.110 ¹karkā-²lōhit-āt=¹kāK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ¹kāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] karkā- 'white horse' and lōhita- 'red' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

karkā iva = *karkā+¹kāK* = *kārkā-¹kā-* 'like or resembling a white horse'; similarly *lauhit-¹kā-* 'ruddy, reddish'.

5.3.111 ¹pratnā-²pūrva-³vīśva-⁴im-āt thāL chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thāL is introduced [after the nominal stems 4.1.1] pratnā- 'ancient', pūrva- 'anterior', vīśva- 'universal' and imā- 'this' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

pratná iva = *pratná-thā* 'formerly'; similarly: *pūrvā-thā* 'previously'; *uśvā-thā* 'universally'; *imā-thā* 'thus, in this way'.

5.3.112 pūg-āt=Ñya-h=ā-grāmaṇī-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] signifying a peripatetic group of workers [pūg-āt] except when it is derived from the leader of the group (ā-grāmaṇī-pūrv-āt).

lōhita-dhvaja+Ñya = *lōhita-dhvajā-ya* 'peripatetic group carrying a red flag', but *deva-dattā-h grāma-ṇī-r e-śām* = *deva-datta+kaN+Jas* = *dēva-datta-kā-h*.

5.3.113 ¹vrāta-²CphaÑ-r ā-striy-ām

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ñya 112 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing wild tribes [vrāta- °] or those [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] CphaÑ (4.1.98) pleonastically, but not in the feminine gender (ā-striy-ām).

kapota-pāk-āh iva = *kapota-pāk-a+Ñya* = *kāpota-pākā-ya* 'n.pr.of a wild tribe eating doves'. *kuñja+CphaÑ* (4.1.98) = *kauñj-āyanā+Ñya* - *kauñj-āyanā-ya-h/kauñj-āyan-y-au/kaunj-āyan-āh* (2.4.62). But in the feminine gender: *kapota-pāk-ā+ÑīS* (4.1.63) = *kapota-pāk-ī*.

5.3.114 ā-yudh-a-jīv-i-sam-gh-āt-ÑyaṬ=vāhīke-ṣu ā-¹brāhmaṇa-²rājan-y-āt

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ÑyaṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] designating a mercenary group (ā-yudh-a-jīv-i-sam-gh-āt) pleonastically, residing in the Vāhika country, excluding the names of brahmins and warriors (°-rājany-āt).

kṣaudraka+ÑyaṬ = *kṣaudrakā-ya-h*, *kṣaudrak-y-au/kṣaudrak-āh* (2.4.62). (f. *kṣaudrak-ya+ÑīP* 4.1.15 = *kṣaudrakā-ya-h* 6.4.150.)

But 1. brahmins: *gō-pāl-a-k-āh* 'N. of a mercenary family of brahmins'; 2. warriors: *śālank-āyanā-h* 'N. of a mercenary family of warriors residing in Vāhika region'.

5.3.115 vṛk-āt=ṬṇyaN

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬṇyaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vṛka- [designating a mercenary group 114] pleonastically.

vṛka+TēnyaN = *vārkh-ēnya-h/vār-/ēny-au/vṛkā-h* (2.4.62).

5.3.116 ¹dāmani=ādi-²trī-garta-gaṣṭh-āt=cha-h

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with dāmani- 'n. of a mercenary group' and those denoting the six Trigarta groups, pleonastically.

1. *dāmani+cha* = *dāmanθ-ḥya-h/dāman-ḥy-au/dāmanay-aḥ* (2.4.62).
2. The six Trigarta groups are constituted by: *Kauṇḍopa-ratha-*, *Dāṇḍaki-*, *Krauṣṭaki-*, *Jālamāni-*, *Brāhma-gupta-* and *Jānaki-*. *kaunḍop-ratha+cha* = *kaunḍop-rathθ-ḥya-h/'-rathḥy-au/kaunḍop-rathā-h*.

5.3.117 ¹pārsu=ādi-²yaudhéya=ādi-bhyām ¹áN=²aÑ-au

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áN and aÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with pársu- and with yaudhéya- [names of mercenary groups 114] pleonastically.

1. *pārsu+áN* = *paráo+áN* = *pārsav-á-h/pārsav-aú/pārsav-aḥ*.
2. *yaudhéya+aÑ* = *yaúdheyθ-a-h/yaúdhey-au/yaudhéyā-h*

5.3.118 ¹abhi-jít=²vida-bhṛt-³śālā-vat=⁴śikhā-vat=⁵sāmī-vat=⁶úrṇā-vat=⁷śrú-mat=áN-aḥ yaÑ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] abhi-jít-, vida-bhṛt-, śālā-vat-, śikhā-vat-, sāmī-vat-, úrṇā-vat- and śrú-mat- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN pleonastically.

abhi-jít+áN+yaÑ = *abhi-jít-á+yaÑ* = *ábhi-jít-θ-ya-h/'-jity-au/ábhi-jít-ā-h* (2.4.62); on the same pattern: *vaída-bhṛt-ya-h/'-bhṛty-au/vaída-bhṛtā-h*; *śālā-vat-ya-h/'-vaty-au/śālā-vatā-h*; *śaikhā-vat-ya-h/'-vaty-au/śaikhā-vatā-h*; *sāmī-vat-ya-h/'-vat-y-au/sāmī-vatā-h*; *aúrṇā-vat-ya-h/'-vat-y-au/aúrṇā-vatā-h*; *śrú-mat-ya-h/'-mat-y-au/śrau-matā-h*.

5.3.119 Ñya-āday-as tad-rājā-h

The technical term tad-rāja denotes [the taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with Ñya (112).

These affixes are: Ñya 112, ÑyaT 114, TēnyaN 115, cha 116, áN, aÑ 117, yaÑ

118]. By 2.4.62 these are replaced by \emptyset^1 in the plural except after feminine stems.

5.4.1 pādā-śatā-sya saṁkhyā=āde-r vīpsā-y-ām vuN lopa-s=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-pādā- or °-śatā co-occurring with a numeral as a preceding member (in composition: saṁkhyā-āde-ḥ) to denote a distribution (vīpsā-y-ām) with lopa (Ø) replacement of the [stem-final 1.1.52].

dvau dvau pād-āu dā-dā-ti = *dvi-pādØ+vuN* = *dvi-pad+vuN+TāP* (8.4.130; 4.1.4) = *dvi-pad-aka+TāP* = *dvi-pad-ikØ-ā-m* (7.3.44) *dā-dā-ti* 'he gives two quarters to each'. Similarly *dv-ē dv-ē śat-ē dā-dā-ti* = *dvi-śat-ikØ-ā-m dā-dā-ti* 'distributes 200 pieces to each'. Stems ending in the affix [vuN] are generally realized as feminine in gender.

5.4.2 ¹daṇḍā-²vy-ava-sarg-āy-os=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 1] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-pādā- 'quarter' or °-śatā- 'hundred' co-occurring with numerals as preceding members in composition 1 to denote a fine (daṇḍā-) or a gift (°-vy-ava-sarg-āy-oh) [with Ø replacement of the stem-final phoneme 1].

dv-āu dv-āu pād-āu daṇḍ-i-tā-ḥ/vy-dva-srj-a-ti = *dvi-pad-ikØ-m daṇḍ-i-tā-ḥ/vy-dva-srj-a-ti* 'he is fined/donates two quarters'. Similarly *dvi-śat-ikØ-m daṇḍitā-ḥ/vydvāsrjati* 'fined/donates 200 pieces'.

5.4.3 sthūla=ādi-bhyaḥ pra-kār-a-vāc-an-e kaN

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sthūla- 'gross' to denote mode or manner (pra-kār-a-vāc-an-e).

sthūla-pra-kār-ā-ḥ = *sthūla+kaN* = *sthūla-ka-* 'possessing grossness'; similarly *āṇu-ka-* 'possessing lightness'

5.4.4 ān-aty-anta-ga-t-au Kt-āt

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktā to denote an action not yet completed (ān-aty-anta-ga-t-au).

bhid+Ktā+kaN = *bhin-nā+kaN* (8.2.42) = *bhin-na-ka-* 'not yet fully broken'; similarly *chid+Ktā+kaN* = *chīn-na-ka-* 'not yet fully split'.

5.4.5 ná sāmi-vác-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 4] when co-occurring with sāmí 'half' as an úpapada (3.1.92).

sāmí+ky+Ktá = *sāmi-ky-tá-m* 'half-done or half-finished'; *sāmi-bhuk-tá-m* 'half-eaten'. The expression [°-vác-ana-m] implies synonyms of [sāmí-|*ardha-bhuk-tá-m/nemi-bhuk-tá-m* etc.

5.4.6 bṛhaty-ā ā-cchād-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3] is pleonastically introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bṛhatí 'lofty, high' to denote 'a coverlet' (ācchādane).

bṛh-at-í+kaN = *bṛh-at-i-k-a* (7.4.13).

5.4.7 ¹a-ṣaḍ-aks-ā=²ās-i-tá-m-gu=³ālaṁ-karman=⁴ālaṁ-puruṣa=⁵ādhy-uttara-pad-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] a-ṣaḍ-aks-ā- 'not containing six eyes', āsītaṁ-gú- 'where cows are fed', ālaṁ-karman- 'fit for action', ālaṁ-puruṣa- 'enough for a man' and expressions [ending in 4.1.72] the indeclinable °-ādhi 'concerning' as a posterior member (in composition).

1. *a-ṣaḍ-aks-ā+kha* = *a-ṣaḍ-aks-θ+īna-* = *a-ṣaḍ-aks-īna-* 'secret (= not known to six eyes or three persons)'.
Similarly: 2. *ās-i-ta-m-gú+kha* = *āsītaṁ-gav-īna-* 'a place where cows are fed'. 3.

alaṁ-karm-īna- 'fit for any work'; *alaṁ-puruṣ-īna-* 'sufficient for a man'; 4. *īś-var-e dāhi īśvarādhi+kha* = *īś-var-ādhi-īna-* 'subservient or dependent on God'.

5.4.8 vibhāṣā=añce-r ā-dik-striy-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 7] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °añce- which is not a direction word in the feminine gender (ā-dik-striyām).

prác+kha = *prac-īnam/prák* 'eastern'; similarly *aruṣ-īna-m/aruṣk* 'recent', but *prác-ī dik, prac-īn-ā brāhmaṇ-ī* 'aged brahmin lady'.

5.4.9 jāti=ant-āt=cha bāndhu-n-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-jāti- 'genus, caste' as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) to denote a connection or appropriateness (bāndhu-n-i).

The word [bāndhu-] here denotes a sign or item which is appropriate or associated with a specific caste or genus. *brāhmaṇa-jāti+cha* = *brāhmaṇa-jātib-īya*- 'proper or associated with a brahmin, belonging to a brahmin'.

5.4.10 sthāna=ant-āt=vibhāṣā śā-sthān-ena=iti cēt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 9] is pleonastically introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-sthāna- 'place' as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) to denote something which is made to take its place (śā-sthān-ena=iti cēt) optionally.

pitṛ-r iva sthāna-m a-syā = *pitṛ-ā tūl-ya-h* = *pitṛ-sthāna+cha* = *pitṛ-sthānib-īya-/pitṛ-sthāna-* 'who takes the place of the father or stands in the place of the father'.

5.4.11 ¹kīm=²eT=³tiñ=⁴avyaya=GH-AT=āmū=á-dravya-pra-karṣ-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] āmū is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kīm- 'who, what, which', expressions [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme [eT], verbal stems [ending in 1.1.72] l-substitute tiñ, indeclinables (avyaya-), co-occurring with the affix [3.1.1] GHA (1.1.22 = taraP, tamaP) except when (the comparative or superlative degree) refers to the object itself (á-drav-ya-pra-karṣ-e).

1. *kīm+taraP/tamaP* = *kīm-tara-/°-tama+āmū* = *kīm-tarṇ-ām/°-tam-ām* 'which of two/many?'.
2. *purvāhṇe+taraP/tamaP* = *purvāhṇe-tar-ām/°-tam-ām* 'more/most in the morning'.
3. *pac-a-ti-tar-ām/°-tam-ām* 'cooks better/best'.
4. *uccais-tar-ām/°-tam-ām* 'higher/highest' but *uccais-tara-h pārvata-h* 'the mountain is higher'.

5.4.12 ámy ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chandas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ámy in addition to (ca) [ámy 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, expressions ending in phoneme /eT/, verbal stems ending in l-substitute tiÑ and indeclinables, co-occurring with the affixes denoted by GHA except when referring to the object itself 11].

prá+taraP = pra-tara+ám/ām = pra-tarθ-ám/pra-tar-ām nád-ā-mah 'we are leading further'.

5.4.13 anu-gād-in-as=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] anu-gād-in- 'echoing other's words'.

anu-gād-in+ṭhák = ānu-gādθθ-iká 'repeating another's words'.

5.4.14 NāC-as striy-ām aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the kṛt affix 3.3.43] NāC in the feminine gender (striy-ām).

paras-pará-m vy-āva-kroś-anti - vy-āva-kroś+NāC+aÑ+NīP (4.1.15) =
vy-āva-kroś-d+aÑ+I = vyāva-kroś-θ-I vārt-a-te 'mutual abuse takes place'.
 Similarly *vy-āva-hāś-I* 'mutual laughter'.

5.4.15 áN inuN-ah

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] inuN (3.3.44).

sām+kāṭ+inuN+dāN = sām-kāṭ-in+dāN = sām-kāṭ-in-d-m 'conflagration',
sām-rāv-in-d-m 'general uproar'.

5.4.16 vi-sār-in-ah mātasy-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN 15 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vi-sār-in 'which slips' to denote a fish (mātasy-e).

vi-sār-in+dāN = vai-sār-in-d- 'fish'.

5.4.17 saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ kriyā=abhy-ā-vṛt-ti-gāṇ-an-e kṛtvāsuC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kṛtvāsuC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising numerals (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) to denote the counting of the repetition of an action (kriyā+abhy-ā-vṛt-ti-gāṇ-an-e).

pañcan+kṛtvāsuC = *pañcaθ=kṛtvāṣ* 'five times' (8.2.7); so also *sapta-kṛtvāṣ* 'seven times'.

5.4.18 'dvī-²trī-³catúr-bhyām suC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] suC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the numerals 17] dvī- 'two', trī- 'three' and catúr- 'four' [to denote the counting of the repetition of an action 17].

dvī+suC = *dvī-h* 'twice'; *trī+suC* = *trī-h* 'thrice' and *catúr+suC* = *catúr-s* = *catur-θ* (8.2.24) = *catúh* (8.3.15) 'four times'.

5.4.19 éka-sya sakṛt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 suC 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 17] éka- 'one' [to denote the counting of an action 17] and the substitute morpheme sakṛt- replaces [the whole (1.1.55)] stem.

eka+suC = *sa-kṛt-t+suC* = *sa-kṛt-θ* (6.1.68) 'once'

5.4.20 vibhāṣā bahó-r dhā=a-vi-pra-kṛṣ-ṭa-kāl-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhā is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 17] bahú- 'many, numerous' [to denote the counting of the repetition of an action 17] in the not too distant time (a-vi-pra-kṛṣ-ṭa-kāl-e).

bahú+dhā/kṛtvāsuC = *bahu-dhā/'-kṛtvāṣ* 'many times' in: *bahu-dhā divasā-sya bhunk-té* 'eats several times a day' but *bahu-kṛtvāḥ māsa-sya bhunk-té* 'eats numerous times in a month'.

5.4.21 tát pra-kṛ-ta-vac-an-é máyaṭ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] máyaṭ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád-°) pleonastically to denote 'made thereof, consisting thereof' (pra-kṛ-ta-vac-an-é).

ánna-m prá-kṛ-ta-m = anna+máyaṭ = anna-máya-m 'consisting of food'.

5.4.22 sam-ūha-vát=ca bahú-ṣu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] introduced after a collection (sam-ūhá-° 4.2.37) are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 21] and in the plural (bahú-su) in addition to (ca) [affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ to denote 'consisting thereof' 27].

módaka-h prá-kṛ-tā-h = módaka+iháK (4.2.47)/máyaṭ = maudakā-ikā-m/modaka-máya-m 'abounding in or consisting of modaka-s'.

5.4.23 ¹án-anta=²ā-vas-athá=³itiha=⁴bheṣaj-āt=Ñyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] án-anta- 'endless', ā-vas-athá- 'residence', iti-ha- 'so indeed (it was)' and bheṣajá- 'remedy' pleonastically.

án-anta eva = ánanta+Ñya = án-antā-ya- 'endless, infinite'; similarly *ā-vasath-ya-/aṭi-h-ya-/bhaṣaj-ya-* 'habitation, residence/tradition, history/remedy, medicine'.

5.4.24 deváta=ant-āt tád-arth-y-e yàṭ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàṭ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-devátā 'divinity' as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) and ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet (tád-arthy-e 2.1.36) to denote 'meant for it'.

agni-devatā-yai idám = agni-devatā+yàṭ = agni-devatā-yā-m 'meant for or consecrated to the divinity Agni'.

5.4.25 ¹pāda=²arghā-bhyām ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 24] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pādā- 'foot' and arghā- 'homage, worship' [ending in the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'meant for or consecrated to it 24].

pāda-ya iddm = pādā+yàT = pādā-ya-m 'water meant for washing the feet as an act of worship'; similarly *arghārtha-m udaka-m = argh-ya-m* 'water offered at the respectful reception of a guest'.

5.4.26 ātithē-r Ōya-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ōya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ātithi- 'honored guest' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'meant for him' 24].

ātithay-e iddm - ātithi+Ōya = ātithā-ya-m 'hospitality'.

5.4.27 dev-āt taL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] taL is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] devā- 'divinity, god'.

devā evā = devā+taL+TāP (4.1.4) = devā-tā.

5.4.28 āve-h kā-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kā is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] āvi- 'sheep'.

āvi-r evā = āvi+kā = āvi-kā-h 'sheep'.

5.4.29 yāvā=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with yāvā- 'a kind of food made from barley'.

yāvā evā = yāvā+kaN = yāvā-ka-h.

5.4.30 lóhit-āt=maṇ-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] lóhita- 'red' when designating a gem (maṇ-aú).

lóhita-h eva = *lóhita+kaN* = *lóhita-ka-h* 'a red gem'.

5.4.31 vārṇ-e ca=á-nity-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 19 is pleonastically introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 lohita- 'red' 30] to denote a non-permanent color (á-nity-e vārṇ-e).

lohita+kaN = *lóhita-ka-h* 'blushing red (through anger, pressure, etc.) but *lohita-h gaú-h* 'red bull'.

5.4.32 rak-t-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 lóhita- 'red' 30] for denoting (something) dyed red (rak-t-é).

lóhit-ena rak-tá-h = *lóhita+kaN* = *lóhita-ka-h* '(cloth) dyed red'.

5.4.33 kāl-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kālá- 'black' [to denote a non-permanent color 31 or (something) dyed with it 32].

kāl-ena rak-tá-h = *kāla+kaN* = *kāla-ka-h paśá-h* 'cloth dyed black'; *kāla-ka-m múkha-m vaś-lakṣaṇ-y-ena* 'a face turned black through embarrassment'.

5.4.34 vi-nay-á=ādi-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.7& affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vi-nay-á- 'good or moral conduct, humility' pleonastically.

vi-nay-á eva = *vi-nay-á+ṭháK* = *vai-nayá-ika-* 'good behavior, true modesty/humility'. *samaya eva* = *sāmay-ika-* 'proper time'.

5.4.35 vāc-āḥ vy-ā-hṛ-ta=arthā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 34 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vāc- 'speech' to denote conveyance of an oral message (vy-ā-hṛ-ta=arthā-y-ām).

vāc+ṭhák = vāc-ikḥ- 'an oral communication'.

5.4.36 tád-yuk-t-āt kārman-aḥ=āN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kār-man- 'occupation' when it is associated with it (tad-yuk-t-āt) [= the conveyance of an oral message 35].

kār-ma evā = kār-man+āN = kārman-ā- (6.4.167) 'an action in consonance with a verbal message'.

5.4.37 óṣadhe-r ā-jā-t-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 36 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] óṣadhi- 'herb' when it is not designated as a genus (ā-jā-t-au).

óṣadhi+āN = auṣadhī-ā-m dá-dā-ti/pib-anti 'gives/drink a herbal remedy', but *óṣadhay-aḥ* 'herbs'.

5.4.38 pra-jñā=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with pra-jñā 'intelligent, wise', pleonastically.

pra-jñā-h evā = pra-jñā+āN = prājñā-ā-h 'wise man'; so also *vañś evā = vañś+āN = vañś-ā-h* 'merchant'.

5.4.39 mṛd-as tikaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tikaN is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mṛd- 'earth, dust, soil, mud'.

mṛd+tikaN+TāP (4.1.4) = mṛt-tikā-.

5.4.40 ¹sá-²sn-aú pra-śams-ā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] sá and sná are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mṛd- 'earth, dust, soil, mud' 39 to denote excellence (pra-śams-ā-y-ām).

mṛd+ad/and+TāP = mṛt-s-ā/mṛt-en-ā 'excellent or good quality earth'. Exception to [rūpaP 5.3.66].

5.4.41 ¹vṛka-²jyēṣṭhā-bhyām ¹tiL-²tātiL-au ca=chāndas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tiL and tātiL are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vṛka- 'wolf' and jyēṣṭhā- 'most excellent or superior' [to denote excellence 40] in the domain of Chāndas.

vṛka + tiL = vṛkā-ti-h 'killer-wolf'; similarly *jyēṣṭhā+tātiL = jyēṣṭhā-tāti-h* 'highest excellence, superiority'.

5.4.42 ¹bahú=²álpa=arth-āt=śás kárah-ād anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] śás is introduced optionally (anya-tará-syām) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] synonymous with bahú- 'many' and álpa- 'a few' [ending in 1.1.72] a case affix (karak-āt).

Since no specific kāraka is mentioned, all of them beginning with kārman- are relevant here: *bahú-n-i/bahú-bhiḥ/bahú-bhyaḥ dá-dā-ti* 'gives much/with much/to many/from many' = *bahu+śás = bahu-śáh dá-dā-ti*; the genitive is not a kāraka: *bahū-n-am svāmī* 'lord of many'; similarly *álpa-m/dlp-ena/dlpā-ya/dlp-āt dá-dā-ti = alpa-śáh da-dā-ti* 'gives a few/with a few/to a few/from a few'.

5.4.43 ¹saṁkhyā=²ekavacan-āt=ca vīpsā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 śás 42 is] also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] representing number-words (saṁkhyā- ' ') and expressions in the singular (°-eka-vac-an-āt) to express a distributive sense (vīpsā-y-ām), [optionally 42].

dv-aú dv-aú = dvī+śás = dvī-śáh móḍak-au dá-dā-ti 'distributes two móḍaka-s each'; similarly *niṣkā-m niṣkā-m dá-dā-ti niṣkā+śás = niṣka-śáh dá-dā-ti* 'distributes a niska each'.

5.4.44 prati-yog-é pañcamy-ās tāsī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44] tās is [optionally 92 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) co-occurring with the particle práti-°. (2.3.11).

pra-dyumnā-ḥ vāsudev-āt práti/vāsudeva-tās práti 'Pradyumnā is the representative of Vāsudevā'.

5.4.45 apa=ā-dān-e ca=á-¹hīya-²ruh-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44] is also (ca) [optionally 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 44] to denote ablation (apa=ā=dān-e 1.4.24) excluding that associated with (verbal stems) hī-yá 'to be abandoned' and rúh- 'ascend'.

grām-āt/grāma-tās ā-gacch-a-ti 'comes from the village'; *cor-āt/cora-tās bh-bhe-ti* 'fears the thief'; *adhy-ay-an-āt/adhy-ay-ana-tās pārā-jay-a-te* 'overcome by study'; but *sāth-āt hī-yá-te* 'is abandoned from the caravan' and *párvat-ād dva-roh-a-ti* 'descends from the mountain'.

5.4.46 ¹ati-grah-á=²á-vyath-ana=³kṣépe-ṣu á-kar-tar-i tṛ-tīyā-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.16 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44 is introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛ-tīyā-y-āḥ) but not denoting the agent (á-kar-tar-i) to express 'excess' (ati-grah-á-0), 'non-yielding' (°-ávyathana-°) or 'blame' (°-kṣépe-ṣu).

1. *cāritr-éna/cāritra-tās āti-gṛh-ya-te* 'excels (others) through conduct/behavior'; 2. *vyt-t-éna/vyt-ta-tās ná vyáth-a-te* 'does not yield (to any) through conduct'; 3. *vyt-t-éna/vyt-ta-tās kṣip-tá-ḥ* 'blamed on account of behavior'. But *deva-datt-éna kṣip-tá-ḥ* 'blamed by D.'

5.4.47 ¹hī-yá-m-āna-²pāpa-yog-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44] is also (ca) introduced [optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet, but not denoting the agent 46], co-occurring with the verbal stem hī-yá- 'be abandoned' or the nominal stem pāpá- 'sin'.

vyt-t-éna/cāritr-éna - vyt-ta-tās/cāritra-tās hī-yá-te 'is abandoned on account of behavior'; similarly *vyt-ta-tās/cāritra-tās pāpá-ḥ* 'a sinner through behavior'.

5.4.48 ṣaṣ-ṭhy-ā vy-ā-śray-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási 44 is introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣ-ṭhy-āḥ) to denote 'taking the part of' (vy-ā-śray-é).

dev-dh ārjunasya/arjuna-tas ā-bhav-an 'the gods took the side of Arjuna'.

5.4.49 róg-āt=ca=apa-náy-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási 49] is also (ca) introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 designating a malady (róg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 48] to denote its removal (apa-nay-an-é) or cure.

pra-vāh-ik-ā-y-dh apa-nāy-ana-m kur-ū = pra-vāh-ik-ā-tas kur-ū 'cure diarrhoea'.

5.4.50 ¹kṛ=²bhū=³ās-ti-yog-e sam-pad-ya-kar-tár-i Cviḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Cvi is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] which is the agent of the verbal stem sám-pad-ya- 'become', co-occurring with (the verbal stems) kṛ- 'make' (VIII 10), bhū- 'become' (I 1) or as- 'be' (II 56).

A vārttika restricts the application of this rule to [a-bhū-ta-tad-bhāv-é] 'becoming what it was not before'. Kāśikā accepts this as part of the sūtra itself.

ā-śuk-ta-lā-ḥ śuk-tā-ḥ sám-pad-ya-te = śukla+Cvi+bhū = sukli+bhū (7.4.12) 'turn or become white', similarly *sukli+kṛ* 'make white'.

5.4.51 ¹ārus=²mānas=³cākṣus=⁴cétas=⁵rāhas=⁶rājas-ām lopa-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Cvi 50 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ārus- 'wound', mán-as- 'mind', cākṣ-us- 'eye', cét-as- 'awareness, consciousness', rāh-as- 'secrecy, privacy', ráj-as- 'passion' [co-occurring with the verbal stems kṛ- 'make', bhū- 'become' or as- 'be', and serves as the agent of the verbal stem sám-pad-ya- 50] with lopa (Ø) replacing the stem-final phoneme [1.1.52].

ān-arus=ārus-śdm-pad-ya-te = ārus+Cvi+kṛ = aruØ+Cvi+kṛ = arū+Ø+kṛ (8.1.87; 7.4.16) 'inflict a wound, wound'. Similarly: *un-man-as+Cvi+kṛ = un-manaØ+Cvi+kṛ = un-manf+Ø+kṛ* 'cause perplexity'; *un-manf-bhū* 'become perplexed'; *uc-cakṣú-kṛ/bhū* 'make one raise the eye/raise the eye'; *vi-cetf+kṛ/*

bhā- 'make one become aware of/become aware of'; *vi-rahf+kr-/bhā-* 'separate from/become separate'. *vi-rajf+kr-/bhā-* 'render free from passion/become free from passion'.

5.4.52 vibhāṣā sātī kārt-sn-y-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *sātī* is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 which is the agent of the verbal stem *sām-pad-ya-* 'become', co-occurring with the verbal stems *kr-* 'make', *bhū-* 'become' or *as-* 'be' 50] when the transformation is complete (*kārt-sn-y-e*).

bhāḍeman+sāt/Cvī+bhā- *bhaṣmaḥ-sātī* (8.2.7)/*bhaṣmaf-bhā-* 'be fully turned to ashes'.

5.4.53 abhi-vi-dh-aú sām-pad-ā ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *sātī* 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with the verbal stem *sām-pad-* 'become' as well as (ca) [with *kr-* 'make', *bhū-* 'become' and *as-* 'be' 50] to denote a partial transformation (*abhi-vi-dh-aú*),

udaka-sātī sām-pad-ya-te/udakf-bhāv-a-ti lavaṇā-m 'the salt turns partially into water'.

5.4.54 tad-adh-īna-vāc-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *sātī* 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with the verbal stem *sām-pad-* 'become' 53 or with *kr-* 'make', *bhū-* 'become' or *as-* 'be' 50] to denote 'is dependent on him' (*tad-adh-īna-vāc-an-e*).

rāja-sātī kar-ō-ti/sām-pad-ya-te = rājādh-īna-m kar-ō-ti 'brings under the control of the king'; with *-bhāv-a-ti* 'becomes subject to the king'.

5.4.55 dé-y-e trā ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *trā* in addition to (ca) [*sātī* 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with the verbal stem *sām-pad-* 'become' 53 or with *kr-* 'make', *bhū-* 'become' or *as-* 'be' 50] to denote 'be given (under the control of that)' (*dé-y-e*).

**5.4.56 ¹devā-²manuṣyā-³puruṣa-⁴purú-⁵mártye-bhyaḥ
dvi-tīyā-sapta-my-ór bahulám**

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 trā 55] is variously (bahulá-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] devā- 'divine being', manuṣyā- 'man', puruṣa- 'person', purú- 'many' and már-tya- 'mortal' [ending in 1.1.72] the second or seventh sUP triplet (dvi-tīyā-sapta-my-óḥ).

dev-ān gāech-a-ti = deva-trā gāech-a-ti 'goes to the gods'; *devé-su/deva-trā vās-a-ti* 'abides with gods'; similarly: *manuṣya-trā/puruṣa-trā/puru-trā/martya-trā* 'to or among men/persons/many/mortals'.

**5.4.57 a-vy-ak-ta-anu-kar-aṇ-⁶at=dvi-áC=avara=ardh-āt
án-it-au DāC**

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] DāC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing an echo-word (avyakta=anukaraṇ-āt) consisting of at least two syllables in its (constituent) half (dvi-áC=avara=ardh-āt), not followed by the particle [iti] [co-occurring with the verbal stems kṛ- 'make', bhū- 'become or as- 'be' 50].

paṭat+DāC = paṭat-paṭat+DāC = paṭaṭ-paṭaṭ-ā = paṭa-paṭ-ā kar-ō-ti (6.1.100) 'makes a sound like paṭpat'. But *paṭat+iti = paṭaṭ-iti = paṭ-iti* (6.4.98)

5.4.58 kṛñ-aḥ ¹dvi-tīya-²tṛ-tīya-³sám-ba-⁴bīj-āt kṛṣ-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 DāC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dvi-tīya- 'second' tṛ-tīya- 'third', sám-ba- 'opposite direction' and bīja- 'seed' co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛñ- 'make' to denote ploughing (kṛṣ-aú).

dvi-tīya-m kṛṣ-ana-m kar-ō-ti = dvi-tīya+DāC = dvi-tīyā-ā kar-ō-ti 'ploughs a second time'; similarly: *tṛ-tīyā-ā kar-ō-ti* 'ploughs a third time' and *sám-bā-ā/bīj-ā kar-ō-ti* 'ploughs in the reverse or opposite direction/ploughs and seeds simultaneously'.

5.4.59 saṁkhyā-y-aḥ guṇā=antā-y-aḥ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌāC 57] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a numeral (saṁkhyā-y-aḥ) co-occurring with °-guṇā- 'times' as a final member (°-antā-y-aḥ in composition) [and with the verbal stem kṛÑ- to denote ploughing 58].

dvi-guṇā-m = *dvi-guṇā+ḌāC* = *dvi-guṇθ-ā kar-ō-ti* 'ploughs twice'.

5.4.60 sam-ay-āt=ca yāp-anā-y-ām

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌāC 57 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sam-ay-ā- 'time' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote 'neglect, procrastination' (yāp-anā-y-ām).

samayā+ḌāC = *samayθ-ā kar-ō-ti* 'procrastinates'.

5.4.61 ¹sā-pat-tra-²niṣ-pat-tr-āt=ati-vyāth-an-e

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌāC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sā-pat-tra- 'feathered' and niṣ-pat-tra- 'unfeathered' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote 'intense pain' (ati-vyāth-an-e).

sā-pat-tra+ḌāC = *sa-pat-trθ-ā kar-ō-ti* 'wound with a feathered arrow in such a way that the feather enters the body'; so likewise *niṣ-pat-tr-ā kar-ō-ti* 'wounds in such a way that the arrow becomes unfeathered when emerging from the other side of the body'.

5.4.62 niṣ-kul-āt=niṣ-kōṣ-aṇ-e

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌāC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] niṣ-kula- 'without family' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote 'evisceration or dismemberment' (niṣ-kōṣ-aṇ-e).

niṣ-kula+ḌāC = *niṣ-kulθ-ā kar-ō-ti* 'exterminates by dismemberment' but *niṣ-kulā-n kar-ō-ti śatrū-n* 'destroys the families of enemies'.

5.4.63 *śukhá-pri-y-āt ānu-lom-y-e*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ढ़ाँ 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *sukhá-* 'happiness, bliss' and *priy-á-* 'dear' [co-occurring with the verbal stem *kṛÑ-* 58] to denote 'complaisance' (*ānu-lom-y-e*).

sukhá+ढ़ाँ = *sukhā-ā kar-ó-ti* 'makes happy, gladdens'; similarly *priy-ā kar-ó-ti* 'acts friendly towards, endears'.

5.4.64 *duḥ-kh-āt prāti-lom-y-e*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ढ़ाँ 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *duḥ-kha-* 'misery, unhappiness' [co-occurring with the verbal stem *kṛÑ-* 58] to denote 'distress, inconvenience, pain' (*prāti-lom-y-e*).

duḥ-khá+ढ़ाँ = *duḥ-khā-ā kar-ó-ti* 'causes pain, distresses'.

5.4.65 *śūla-āt pāk-e*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ढ़ाँ 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *śūla-* 'spit' [co-occurring with the verbal stem *kṛÑ-* 58] to denote 'roasting, cooking' (*pāk-e*).

śūla+ढ़ाँ = *śulā-ā kar-ó-ti* 'roasts on the spit'.

5.4.66 *sat-y-āt á-śap-ath-e*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ढ़ाँ 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sat-yá-* 'truth' [co-occurring with the verbal stem *kṛÑ-* 58] when not signifying an oath (*á-śap-ath-e*).

sat-yá+ढ़ाँ = *sat-yā-ā kar-ó-ti* 'concludes a bargain' but *sat-yá-m kar-ó-ti* *brāmaṇḍ-h* 'the brahmin utters an oath'.

5.4.67 *mad-r-āt pari-vā-p-an-e*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ढ़ाँ 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *mad-rá-* 'auspicious' [co-occurring with the verbal stem *kṛÑ-* 58] to denote shaving of the head (*pari-vā-p-an-e*).

mad-rá+DáC = *mad-rā-ā kar-á-ti* 'shaves off (the head), tonsures'.

5.4.68 sam-āsa=ant-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced hereafter, beginning with this section and extending up to the end of this chapter] occur at the end(°-ant-āḥ) of compound expressions (sam-āsa-°,).

This is a governing rule heading this section for forming certain compounds ending in these specific affixes. The word [samāsāntā-] recurs in each of the following rules till the end of this chapter.

5.4.69 ná pūj-an-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160] do not occur (ná) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with another as a prior member in composition 68 and] expressing laudation (pūj-an-āt).

sóbh-an-o rājā = *sū+trājan-* 'good king' blocking out the operation of 91 below.
Similarly *āti-śay-i-ta-ḥ rājā* = *āti-rājan-* 'an extraordinary king'.

5.4.70 kím-aḥ kṣép-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with kím-° (as a prior member in composition) denoting pejoration (kṣép-e).

kím+trājan- 'a king (who does not protect), an evil ruler'; *kím-go-* 'an ox (which does not carry)', but *kā-sya rājā* = *kím+trājan+TáC* = *kím-rājāḥ-ā-* (91; 6.4.144) 'whose king?'.
6.4.144

5.4.71 náñ-as tatpuruṣ-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound co-occurring with the negative particle náñ-° (as a prior member in) a Tatpuruṣa compound.

náñ+trājan- = *ā-rājan* 'not a king'; similarly *ā-sakhi-* 'not a friend or companion'; exception to 91 below.

5.4.72 path-āḥ=vibhāṣā

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69] optionally (vibhāṣā) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a negative Tatpuruṣa compound 71 ending in 1.1.72] °-pāthin- 'path'.

nā pānthā-ḥ = *nāN+pāthin-* = *d-pathin/apathθθ+d* (74) = *a-path-d-* 'not a path.'

5.4.73 bahvrīh-aú samkhy-éy-e ḌāC á-¹bahu-²gaṇ-āt

[The samāsānta 68 taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌāC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Bahuvrīhī compound according to 2.2.25 above (sam-khy-éy-e), excluding those ending in (1.1.72) °-bahú- 'many' and °-gaṇá- 'troop, group'.

dāśā-n-ām sam-tp-é y-é s-ānti = *upa+daśan+ḌāC+Jas* = *upa-daśθθ-ā+Jas* = *upa-daś-ā-ḥ* 'whose number is approximately 10'; *dv-aú vā tráy-o vā dvi+tri+ḌāC+Jas* = *dvi-tr-āḥ* 'two or three', but *bahún-n-ām sam-tp-é y-é* = *úpa-bahu+Jas* = *úpa-bahav-aḥ* 'a good many'; so also *úpa-gaṇ-āḥ* 'constituting a small class or number less than a troop'.

5.4.74 ¹ḥc=²púr=³áp=⁴dhúr-⁵path-ām á=án-akṣ-e

The samāsāntā 68 taddhitā 4.1.76 affix á is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 3.1.2] ḥc- 'a stanza of RV', púr- 'fortified city', áp- 'water', dhúr- 'pole of a carriage' excluding one connected with the axle (án-akṣ-e) and pāthin- 'path' [occurring as final members of a compound 68].

1. *bahu+ḥc+á* = *bahv-ḥc-á-* 'pertaining to RV.'; *ardh-ar-c-á-* 'half a ḥc'; 2. *lalāṭa-pur-á-* 'n.pr. of a city'; 3. *dvi+ap+á* = *dvi-ip-á-* (6.3.97) = *dv-ip-á-* 'island'; 4. *rājan+dhur+á-* = *rājaḥ-dhur-á* (8.2.7)+*TāP* (4.1.4) = *rāja-dhur-θ-á* 'the yoke or burden of kingship' but *akṣa+dhur* = *akṣa-dhúr-* 'pole connecting the axle'; 5. *jala-pathin+á* = *jala-pathθθ+á-* (6.4.144) 'sea-lane'.

5.4.75 áC ¹prāti=²ánu=³áva-pūrv-āt ¹sāma(n)=²lómn-aḥ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced at the end of the compound 68 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-sāman- 'chant' or °-lóman- 'hair', co-occurring with the particles prāti-, ánu-° and áva-° (in composition).

prati-ga-tá-nḥ sāma/prati-ga-tá-nḥ vā sāma a-syá = *prāti-sāman+áC* =

prati-sāmθθ-d-m (8.4.144); *sāma prati* = *prati-sāmd-m* (2.1.6); *anu-sām-d-h/*
anu-sām-d-m = *ānu-ga-ta-m sāma an-éna/ānu-ga-tā-m sāma*; *dva-ga-ta-m*
sāma an-éna = *ava-sām-d-h*, *ava-ga-tā-m sāma* = *anu-sām-d-m*. Similarly
prati-lom-d-m, *anu-lom-d-m*, *ava-lom-d-m*.

5.4.76 akṣṇ-áh=á-darś-an-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] áC 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with ákṣi- 'eye' [as a final member in composition 68] when it does not imply 'seeing' (á-darś-an-āt).

lavand-m áksi *iva* = *lavand+ákṣi+dC* = *lavandakṣθ-d-* 'n.pr.' (2.1.56); similarly
puṣkarākṣ-d-; *brāhmaṇa-sya áksi* = *brāhmaṇákṣi-*. Patañjali emends this rule
 by suggesting replacing [a-darś-an-āt] by [á-prāny-aṅg-āt] to enable generating
 forms like *kabarā-kṣ-d-* 'bridle' and *gav-ákṣ-d-* 'window'.

5.4.77 ¹a-catur-á=²vi-catur-á=³su-catur-á=⁴strī-puṁs-á-
⁵dhenv-anaḍuh-á=⁶ṛk-sām-á=⁷vāñ-manas-á=⁸akṣibhruv-á=
⁹dāra-gav-á=¹⁰urv-aṣṭhīv-á=¹¹pad-aṣṭhīv-á=¹²nakta-m-div-á-
¹³ratri-m-div-á=¹⁴ahar-div-á=¹⁵sa-rajas-á=¹⁶niḥ-śreyas-á-
¹⁷puruṣāyus-á=¹⁸dvy-āyus-á=¹⁹try-āyus-á=²⁰ṛg-yajuṣ-á-
²¹jātokṣ-á=²²mahokṣ-á=²³vṛddhokṣ-á=²⁴upa-śun-á=²⁵goṣṭha-
 śv-áh

The expressions beginning with a-catur-á- and ending with goṣṭha-śv-á- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áC 75]: (1) having less than four, (2) containing various quarters of verses, (3) whose quarters are good, (4) female and male, (5) cow and bull, (6) strophe and melody, (7) speech and mind, (8) eye and eye-brow, (9) a wife and a cow, (10) thigh and knee, (11) foot and thigh, (12) night and day, (13) night and day, (14) day after day, (15) entirely, (16) most excellent, (17) life span of man, (18) two life-spans, (19) three life-spans, (20) RV and YV, (21) young bull, (22) large bull, (23) old bull, (24) near the dog, and (25) dog in the manger respectively.

5.4.78 ¹brāhma(n)=²hastí-bhyām vārcas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vārcas- 'luster' co-occurring with brāhmaṇ- 'sacred knowledge' and hastín- 'elephant' [in composition 68].

brahmaṇ-varcaś+āC (8.2.7) = *brahma-varcaś-ā-m* 'pre-eminence in sacred knowledge'; similarly *hastī-varcaś-ā-m* 'the strength of an elephant'.

5.4.79 'áva-²sám-³andhé-bhyas támas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 āC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *támas-* 'darkness' co-occurring after *áva-*°, *sám-*° or *andhá-*° 'blind' [in composition 68].

ava-tamas-ā-m 'light obscurity or darkness'; *sam-tamas-ā-m* 'great obscurity'; *andha-tamas-ā-m* 'blind darkness'.

5.4.80 śvās-aḥ 'vasīyas=²śréyas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 āC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-*vās-īyas-* 'richer' and *śréyas-* 'better' co-occurring after *śvās-* 'tomorrow' [in composition 68].

śvo-vas-īyās+āC = *śvo-vas-īyas-ā-* 'bestowing future welfare'; *śvaḥ-śreyas-ā-* 'progressive improvement'.

5.4.81 'ānu=²áva-³tap-t-āt ráhas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 āC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*ráh-as-* 'secret', co-occurring after *ānu-*°, *áva-*° or *tap-tá-* 'hot' [in composition 68].

anu-rah-as-ā-m 'clandestinely, secretly'; *ava-rah-as-ā-* 'desolate'; *tap-ta-rah-as-ā-m* 'a secret which no one knows'.

5.4.82 práte-r úr-as-aḥ sapta-mī-sth-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 āC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*úras-* 'chest, breast', co-occurring after the particle *práti-*° [in composition 68] when denoting the sense of the seventh sUP triplet (*sapta-m-ī-sth-āt*).

úras-i vārt-a-te = *praty-uras+āC* = *praty-uras-ā-m* 'upon or against the breast; but *prati-ga-tā-m úrah* = *práty-uras-*.

5.4.83 anu-gav-ā-m ā-yām-é

The expression anu-gav-ā- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal compound stem 4.1.1 anu-gú-] to denote the equivalent length of a cow (ā-yā-m-é).

anu-gu+dC (2.1.16) = *anu-go+dC* (6.4.146) = *anu-gav-d-m yā-na-m* 'a cart having the length of a cow or bull', but *gáv-ām paśc-āt* = *anu-gú* (2.1.6; 1.2.48).

5.4.84 dvi-stāvā tri-stāvā védi-ḥ

The expressions dvi-stāvā 'having a double dimension' and tri-stāvā 'having a triple dimension' are introduced for denoting a Vedic altar (védi-ḥ) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 69 affix 3.1.1 áC 75].

dvis-tā-vat-ṭ+dC = *dvis-tā-vatḥ+dC* (6.4.148) = *dvis-tāvḥḥ+d+TāP* = *dvis-tāv-ā* (irregular ḥ replacement of syllable beginning with the last vowel) and similarly *tris-tā-v-ā*.

5.4.85 upa-sarg-āt ádhvan-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ádhvan- 'way, route' co-occurring after (1.1.67) a preverb particle (upa-sarg-āt) [in composition 68].

pra-ga-tā-ḥ ádhvan-am = *pra+adhvan+dC* = *prādhvḥḥ-ā-ḥ rátha-ḥ* 'a chariot which has traversed a long distance', but *para-mā-d ca asaś ádhvā ca* = *paramādhván-* 'high-way'.

5.4.86 tatpuruṣá-sya=aṅgúle-ḥ ¹saṁkhyā-²ávyaya-āde-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Tatpuruṣá compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-aṅgúli- 'finger', co-occurring with a numeral (saṁkhyā- °) or an indeclinable (°-ávyaya- °) as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ).

dv-é aṅgúl-ṭ pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syá = *dvṣ+angúli+dC* = *dvṣ-angulḥḥ+d-* 'having the measure of two fingers'; *nir-ga-tā-m aṅgúli-bhyaḥ* = *nir+angul-d-* 'slipped/dropped from the fingers'.

5.4.87 ¹áhan=²sarvá=³eka-deśá-⁴sám-khyā-ta-⁵púñy-āt=ca rátre-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °rátri- 'night', co-occurring with °áhan- ° 'day', sarvá- ° 'all', expressions signifying eka-deśá- 'a portion', sám-khyāta- ° 'enumerated, counted' and púñya- ° 'auspicious', as well as (ca) [with numerals and indeclinables in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. *áhan+rátri+áC* = *áhan+rátri+á-* = *áhan+rátri-á-* (8.2.68) = *áhan+rátri-á-* (8.1.114) = *áhan-rátri-á-ḥ* 'day and night'; 2. *sarva-rátri-á-ḥ* 'whole night'; 3. *pūrva-/apara-rátri-á-ḥ* 'first part/second part of night'; 4. *sam-khyā-ta-rátri-á-ḥ* 'enumerated or counted night'; 5. *punya-rátri-á-ḥ* 'auspicious night'; 6. *dv-é rátri sam-á-hy-te* = *dvi-rátri-á-ḥ* 'two nights'; 7. *ati-krān-tá-ḥ rátri-m* = *ati-rátri-á-ḥ* 'passed beyond the night'. 3. and 4 are formed according to 2.2.1 and 2.1.57 respectively.

5.4.88 áhn-aḥ ahna-ḥ=eté-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme ahna- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °áhan- 'day' [as a final member of a compound 68, co-occurring with] these [eté-bhyaḥ = sarvá- ° 'all', expressions signifying eka-deśá- 'portion', sám-khyāta- ° 'enumerated' and púñya- ° 'auspicious' 87 as well as numerals and indeclinables 86].

1. *sarva+áhan+TáC* (91) = *sarva+ahna+á-* = *sarva+ahn+á-* (8.4.148) = *sarvahn+á-ḥ* (8.4.7) 'whole day'; 2. *pūrva-hn+á-ḥ/aparahn+á-ḥ* 'forenoon/afternoon'; 3. *sam-khyā-tāhn+á-ḥ* 'enumerated day'; 4. *dv-ahna+á-ḥ* 'two days'; 5. *nir-ahn+á-ḥ* 'passed beyond the day'; the compound with [púñya- °] is barred by 90 below.

5.4.89 ná sám-khyā=āde-ḥ sam-ā-hār-é

[The substitute morpheme ahna- 88] does not (ná) replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-áhan- 'day' 88] co-occurring with numerals (sám-khyā- °) as prior members (°-āde-ḥ in composition 88) when forming a collective compound (sam-ā-hār-é).

- dv-é áhan-ī sam-á-hy-te* = *dvi+áhan+TáC* (91) = *dv-ahñ+á-ḥ* 'a collection or group of two days'.

5.4.90 ¹ut-tamá=²ékā-bhyān ca

[The substitute morpheme *ahna-* 88 does not 89] also (ca) replace [the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-āhan- 'day' 88] co-occurring with the last word (*uttamá-* ° of the group listed in 87) and *éka-* ° 'one'.

pūnya+dhan+dC = *punyāh00/-dC* = *punyāh-d-h* 'auspicious day'; similarly *ekāh-d-h* 'a single day'.

5.4.91 ¹rāja(n)=²āha(n)=³sākhi-bhyas=ṬāC

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1] ṬāC is introduced [after the nominal stems 4.1.1] *rājan-* 'king', *āhan-* 'day' and *sākhi-* 'companion, friend' [occurring at the end of a compound 68].

mahān rāja = *mahāt+0-rājan+ṬāC* = *maha-ā+rāj+00-d-* (6.3.46) = *mahā-rāj-d-* 'great king, emperor'. *paramā+dhan+ṬāC* = *paramāh00-d-* = *paramāh-d-* (6.4.145) 'excellent day'. *rājñ-ah sākha* = *rājan+sākhi+ṬāC* = *rāja-sakh0-d-* 'companion or friend of the king'.

5.4.92 gó-r ā-taddhita-luK-i

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *gó-* 'cow, bull' [co-occurring as a final member 1.1.72 of a Tatpuruṣā 86 compound] provided it does not occur in one involving a *luK* (=0¹) replacement of a taddhitā affix (*ā-taddhita-luK-i*).

paramā-s-ca asaú gáu-s-ca = *paramā+gó+ṬāC* = *paramā-gav-d-h* 'excellent bull'; *pañcā-n-ām gáu-ām sam-ā-hār-d-h* = *pañca0+go+ṬāC* = *pañca-gav-d-m* (2.1.51) 'a herd of five cows/bulls'; But *pañcā-bhir gó-bhiḥ krī-tā-h* = *pañca0+go+ṭhāK* (5.1.37) = *pañca-go+0³* (5.1.28) = *pañca-gū-* (1.2.48) 'bought with five cows/bulls'.

5.4.93 agra=ā-khyā-y-ām ūras-aḥ

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *ūras-* 'chest, breast' [occurring as a final member 1.1.72 of a Tatpuruṣā compound 86] to denote 'the most excellent (of its kind)' (*agra=ā-khyā-y-ām*).

dśvā-n-ām ūrah = *dśva+uras+ṬāC* = *dśvoras-d-h* 'most excellent horse'.

5.4.94 ¹ánas=²ásma(n)=³áyas-⁴sáras-ān ¹jā-ti-²saṁ-jñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] án-as- 'chariot', ás-man- 'rock', áy-as- 'iron' and sár-as- 'pool' [occurring as final members of 1.1.72 of Tatpuruṣá compounds 86] to denote a genus (jāti- °) or a name (°-saṁ-jñā-y-ām).

1. *úpa+ánas+ṬáC* = *upānas-d-m* 'space in a chariot'; 2. *a-mṛ-ta+ad-man+ṬáC* = *a-mṛ-tāś-mṭh-d-h* 'a variety of rock'; 3. *kāla+ayas+ṬáC* = *kālayas-d-m* 'a variety of iron'; *lohitāyas-d-m* 'copper'; 4. *maṇḍuka-saras-d-m* 'fish-pond'; *jala-saras-d-m* 'n.pr.'

5.4.95 ¹grāma-²kauṭā-bhyām ca tákṣṇ-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tákṣan- 'carpenter' co-occurring [after 31.1.67] grāma- ° 'village' or kauṭā- 'independent' [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

grāma-sya tákṣā = *grāmaṭ+takṣān+ṬáC* = *grāma-takṣṭh-d-h* (6.4.144) 'village carpenter'; similarly *kauṭā-śm bhāṣ-a-sya tákṣā* = *kauṭā+takṣan+ṬáC* = *kauṭa-takṣ-a-h* 'independent or self-employed carpenter' but *rājñi-ah tákṣā* = *rājñi-takṣān* 'king's carpenter'.

5.4.96 át-eh śúun-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śván- 'dog' co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particle áti- ° [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 88].

ati-krān-tā-h śván-am = *diti+śvan+ṬáC* = *ati-śvṭ-d-h varāḥ-d-h* 'a wild boar which outruns a dog'; *ati-śv-d-h śvaka-h* 'a servant as faithful as a dog'.

5.4.97 upa-mā-n-āt á-prāñi-ṣu

[The taddhitá samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śván- 'dog' 98] when employed as an object of comparison (upa-mā-n-āt) to denote inanimate objects (á-prāñi-ṣu).

ā-karṣ-d-h śud=iva = *ā-karṣ-a+śvan+ṬáC* = *ā-karṣ-a-śvṭh-d-h* 'a magnet shaped like a dog'; *phalaka-śv-d-h* 'a dice in the shape of a dog', but *nāñ+śvan-* = *d-śvan-* 'not a dog' and *vānara-h śud=iva vānara-śvān-* 'dog-like ape or monkey'.

5.4.98 ¹út-tara=²mṛgá-pūrv-āt=ca sákth-n-ah

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sákthi- 'thigh' co-occurring [after 1.1.67] út-tara- " 'left', mṛgá- " 'animal, deer' and pūrv- " 'anterior' [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] as well as (ca) [items denoting an object of comparison 97].

1. *uttara-sákthi+ṬáC* = *uttara-sákth-ā-m* 'left thigh'; 2. *mṛgá-sákth-ā-m* 'thigh of an animal or deer'; 3. *pūrv-sákth-ā-m* 'upper part of the thigh'; 4. *phalaka-sáktha-n*

5.4.99 nāv-āḥ=dvigó-ḥ

[The taddhitá samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] nāv- 'ship, boat' occurring at the [end of 1.1.72] a Dvigú compound [provided it does not occur in one involving the *luK* (\emptyset^1) replacement of a taddhitá affix 92].

- dv-é nāv-au sam-ā-hṛ-te* = *div+nau+ṬáC* = *div-nāv-ā-m* 'a convoy of two boats';
dv-é nāv-au dhāna-m a-syá = *dvī+nau+ṬáC+dhana* = *dvi-nāv-ā-dhana-ḥ*
 'whose assets consist of two boats' (2.1.52); *dvā-bhyām nāv-bhyām ā-ga-tā-m* -
dvi-nāv-ā-rūpya-m but *rājñ-ah nāv-ḥ* = *rājyaḥ-nāv-ḥ* 'royal boat' *pañcā-bhir*
nāv-bhiḥ krī-tā-m = *pañca+nau+(ṭhāK→luK)* (4.1.88) = *pañca-nāv-* (5.1.28)
 'bought with five boats'.

5.4.100 ardh-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] nāv- 'boat' 99] co-occurring with ardhá- " 'half' [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

- ardhá-m nāv-āḥ* = *ardha+nau+ṬáC* = *ardha-nāv-ā-m* 'half a boat'.

5.4.101 khāry-āḥ prāc-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] khārī 'n.pr. of a measure, [co-occurring after 1.1.67 ardhá- " 100 in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86 or in a Dvigú compound 99] according to Eastern Grammarians (prāc-ām).

1. *ardhá-m khāry-āḥ* = *ardha+khārī+ṬáC* = *ardha-khārī-ā-m/ardha-khārī* (1.2.48) 'half a khārī'.

2. *dv-é khāry-aś sam-ā-hy-t-é* = *dvi+khārī+TāC/(thāK→luk* 4.1.80; 5.1.28)
div-kharṭh-ām/dvi-khārī (1.2.48) 'a heap of 2 khārī-s'.

5.4.102 'dvi-²trī-bhyām añjalé-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-añjalí- 'a measure of corn', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] dví-° 'two' and trī- 'three' [in a Dvigú compound 99, but not when involving a luk replacement of a taddhitá affix 92].

dv-aś añjalí-ś sam-ā-hy-t-é = *dvi+añjalī+TāC* = *dvya-añjalí-ś-d-m* 'two añjalí measures'; similarly *try-añjalí-d-m* 'tree añjalí measures'; but *dvāy-or añjalí-ḥ* = *dvya-añjalí-ḥ*; *dvā-bhyām añjalí-bhyām kṛt-tá-ḥ* = *dvi+anjali+(thāK→luk)* *dvya-añjalí-ḥ* 'bought with two añjalí measures'.

5.4.103 'an-²as-ant-āt nápuṃsak-āt=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an or °-as and neuter in gender (nápuṃsak-āt) [occurring at the end of 1.1.172 a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. °-an: *hastín-aḥ cār-maṇ-i* = *hastiṭh-carman+Ñi* (8.2.7) = *hasti-carman+TāC+Ñi* = *hasti-carmanṭh-ā+i* = *hasti-carman-é ju-hó-ti* 'offers an oblation on an elephant hide'.
2. °-as: *devā+chāndas+TāC+Śi* = *deva-cchandas-ā+Śi* = *deva-cchandas-ā-n-i* 'n.pr. of a metre'.

5.4.104 bráhmaṇ-aḥ jāna-pada=ākhyā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bráh-man- 'brahmin' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] when designating someone belonging to that locality (jāna-pada-ā-khyā-y-ām).

This rule implies that the prior member should be the name of a locality (jana-padā-). *sūradāstra-ṇu bráh-mā* = *sūradāstra+bráh-man+TāC* = *sūradāstra-bráh-manṭh-ā-ḥ* 'a brahmin resident of Sur.'

5.4.105 ¹kú-²mahát=bhyām anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samasantá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is] optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bráh-man- co-occurring [after 1.1.67] kú-° and mahát-° [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. *kú-bráh-man-+ṬáC* = *ku-bráh-mṣṣ-á-/kú-bráh-man-* 'vile brahmin'; similarly 2. *mahát+bráh-man-* = *maha-á-brahm-á-* (6.3.44) = *mahā-brahm-á-/mahā-bráh-mán-* 'great brahmin'.

5.4.106 dvaṁdv-āt ¹cU-²dḡ-³ṣṣ=°hḡ-ant-āt sam-ā-hār-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvaṁdvá compound [ending in 1.1.72] a palatal phoneme (cU-°) or [d] or [ṣ] or [h] when denoting a collection (sam-ā-hār-é).

1. *cU*: *vāk ca tvāk ca* = *vākṣ=tvac-ṬáC+am* = *vāk-tvac-á+am* (6.1.97) 'speech and touch'; *íd ca árk ca* = *id-ārj+ṬáC* = *id-ārj-á-m* 'food and strength'; 2. [°d]: *samíd=ca dṛṣád=ca* = *samid-dṛṣad-á-m* 'firewood and stone'; *sampad-vipad-á-m* 'good and bad fortune'; 3. [°-ṣ]: *vāk ca viprūt ca* = *vāg-vipruṣ-á-m* 'speech and drops falling from the mouth'; 4. [°-h]: *chāt-tram ca upā-nát=ca* = *chattro-pānah-á-m* 'umbrella and sandals'.

5.4.107 avyayībhāv-é śarád=pra-bhṛti-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ("pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ) °-śarád- 'autumn' occurring [at the end of 1.1.12 of] an Avyayībhāvá compound.

- śarád-ah sam-īpá-m* = *upa-śarad+ṬáC* = *upa-śarad-á-m* 'approaching or near autumn', but *parama-śarád-* 'good autumn'.

5.4.108 an-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the syllable °-an- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

- rājñ-ah sam-īpá-m* = *upa+rājan+ṬáC* = *upa-rājṣṣ-á-m* (6.4.144) = *upa-rāj-á-m* 'near the king'; *ātman-i* = *adhi+ātman+ṬáC* = *adhy-ātm-á-m* 'within the Self'.

5.4.109 nápuṃsak-āt=any-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 9.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the syllable °-an- 108] in neuter gender [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāṇvā compound 107].

cārman-aḥ sam-īpā-m = *upa+cārman+ṬāC* = *upa-carmṇ-ā-m/upa-carmā* 'near the skin'; similarly *cārman-i* = *adhi-carm-d/adhi-carmṇ-ā-m* 'in/on the skin'.

5.4.110 ¹nadī-²paurṇa-māśī-³āgra-hāy-aṇī-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91 is optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] nadī 'river', paurṇa-māśī 'full-moon night' and āgra-hāy-aṇī 'full-moon night of Agra-hāy-aṇa-' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāṇvā compound 107].

1. *nady-āḥ sam-īpā-m* = *upa+nadī+ṬāC* = *upa-nadṇ-ā-m* 'near the river'/*upa-nadī*;
- similarly 2. *upa-paurṇa-māś-ā-m/upa-paurṇa-māśī* 'approaching or near the full-moon night';
3. *upāgra-hāy-aṇ-ā-m/upāgra-hāy-aṇī* 'approaching or near the full-moon night of Agra-hāy-aṇa'

5.4.111 jhaY-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91 is optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes denoted by the siglum jhaY(= all stops) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāṇvā compound 107].

samśāh-aḥ sam-īpā-m = *upa+samśādh+ṬāC* = *upa-samśādh-ā-m* 'near the fire-wood' alternately *upa-samś*; similarly *upa-dṛṣṭ-ā-m/upa-dṛṣṭī* 'near the rock'

5.4.112 giré-s=ca senaka-sya.

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬāC 91] is also (ca) [optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-giri- 'mountain' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāṇvā compound 107] according to the grammarian Senaka.

The mention of the Senaka is honorific, since the optionality of this rule is provided by the recurring word [anya-tará-syām] from 109 above. *giré-ḥ sam-īpā-m* = *upa-giri/upa-giri+ṬāC* = *upa-girṇ-ā-m* 'near the mountain'.

5.4.113 bahuvrīh-aú 'sákthi=²akṣpó-ḥ sva=aṅg-āt ŚáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ŚáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' denoting one's limbs (svāṅg-āt) when occurring at [the end of 1.1.72] a Bahuvrīhī compound.

The expression [bahuvrīh-aú] is the governing word recurring in each succeeding rule up to the end of this chapter.

dīrghá-m sákthi a-syd = *dīrgha+sakti+ŚáC* = *dīrgha-sakth-ḥ-d-* m.n 'possessing long thighs'; the difference between affix [ŚáC] and [TáC 91-112] is in the accentuation of the feminine derivative, respectively with Nīś and NīP: *dīrgha-sakth-á+Nīś* = (4.1.41) = *dīrgha-sakth-ḥ-f*. For further elucidation cf. 6.2.198. Similarly *sahasrá-ṇ-i dkaṭ-ṇ-i a-syd* = *sahasra+akṣi+ŚáC* = *sahasrákṣ-ḥ* 'n.pr. of Indra, possessor of a thousand eyes'.

When the stems do not denote one's limbs: *dīrghá-sakthi śakata-m* 'a cart with a long shaft' and *sthulá+akṣi-* = *sthulákṣi-r ikṣu-ḥ* 'sugar-cane with large eye-like protuberances'.

5.4.114 aṅgúle-r dāru-ṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ŚáC 113 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-aṅgúli- 'finger' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] to denote a piece of wood (dāru-ṇ-i).

dv-é aṅgúl-I yá-sya tát = *dvi+anguli+ŚáC* = *dvyaṅgul-ḥ-d-m dāru* 'a piece of wood measuring 2 fingers in width'. But *pāñca aṅgúlay-aḥ a-syd* = *pāñcaṅguli-r hāsta-ḥ* 'hand possessing 5 fingers'.

5.4.115 ¹dvi-²trī-bhyām Śá mūrdhn-áh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] Śá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-mūrdhán- 'head', co-occurring [after 1.1.87] dvi- ° '2' and trī- ° '3' [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

dv-aú mūrdhán-au a-syd = *dvi+mūrdhan+Śá* = *dvi-mūrdh-ḥ-ḥ* 'two-headed'; similarly *tri-mūrdh-ḥ* 'three-headed', but *uccaṭ-mūrdhan-* 'whose head is (held) high'.

Affix [Śá] is introduced here in order to provide for the optional final udātta accent by 6.2.197, whereas it would have been blocked by affix [ŚáC 113] which makes the final udātta accent non-optional: *dvi-mūrdh-á-/dvi-mūrdh-a-/dvi-mūrdhán-/dvi-mūrdhan-*.

5.4.116 aP 'pūr-aṇ-i-'pra-māṇy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] aP is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals in the feminine gender (pūr-aṇ-i-^o) or the word pra-māṇ-i 'authority' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

kalyāṇf pañcamf a-sāṇ rātri-n-ām = *kalyāṇf+pañcamI+aP+TāP+Jas* *kalyāṇf-pañcamθ+aP+Jas* = *kalyāṇf-pañcam-aḥ rātray-aḥ* 'nights of which the fifth is auspicious'; similarly *strf pramāṇf e-śām* = *strf+pramāṇI+aP+Jas* = *strf-pramāṇ-aḥ kṛtumb-m-aḥ* 'members of a family headed by a woman'.

5.4.117 'antár-'bahír-bhyām ca lóman-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 aP 116 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-lóman- 'hair', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the indeclinables antár- 'within' and bahís- 'outside' [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

antar-ga-tā-n-i lómān-i a-syá = *antár+loman+aP* = *antár-lomθθ+aP* (6.4.144) = *antár-lom-a-ḥ pra-vār-d-ḥ* 'a coverlet, whose hairy part is turned inwards'; similarly *bahír-lom-a-ḥ* 'whose hairy part is turned outwards'.

5.4.118 áC=nāsikā-y-āḥ samjñā-y-ām nas-am ca á-sthū-l-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-nāsikā 'nose' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] not co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the word sthū-lā- 'big, gross' or its synonyms (as a prior member) to derive a name (samjñā-y-ām) and the substitute element nas- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] nāsikā.

drú-r iva nāsikā a-syá = *dru+nāsikā+dC* = *dru-nas-d-ḥ* 'tree-nosed'; similarly *vādh-r-e bhav-a* = *vādh-r-f, sá nāsikā a-syá* = *vādh-rf+nāsikā+dC* = *vādh-rI-nas-d-ḥ* 'rhinoceros'; *gau-r iva nāsikā a-syá* = *go-nas-d-ḥ* 'cow-nosed (i.e., a variety of snake)'. But *tungā/sthūlā nāsikā a-sya* = *tungā-nāsik-d/sthū-lā-nāsik-d* 'long-nosed/big-nosed (= wild boar)'.

5.4.119 upa-sarg-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 118] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-nāsikā 'nose'] co-occurring

[after 1.1.67] a preverb particle (upa-sarg-āt) [in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113 and the substitute element nas- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the stem nāsikā 118].

ūn-na-i-ā nāsikā a-syā = un+nas+āC = un-nas-ā-ḥ 'having a prominent nose' = pra-nas-ā-ḥ.

5.4.120 ¹su-prāt-ā-²su-śv-ā-³su-div-ā-⁴śāri-kukṣ-ā-⁵catur-aśr-ā-⁶eṇī-pad-ā-⁷aja-pad-ā-⁸proṣṭha-pad-ā-ḥ

The irregular expressions su-prāt-ā- 'early morning', su-śv-ā- 'having a happy tomorrow', su-div-ā- 'having a bright or good day', śāri-kukṣ-ā- 'having a belly like that of the śāri bird', catur-aśr-ā- 'four-cornered', eṇī-pad-ā- 'possessing feet like those of an antelope', aja-pada-ā- 'having feet like those of a goat' and proṣṭha-pad-ā- 'having feet like those of a bull, n.pr. of a month' are introduced as [derived with the taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1 āC 118].

1. śōbh-ana-m prātār a-syā = su+prātār+āC = su-prāt-ā- with irregular replacement of stem-final [r] by Ø. Similarly:
2. śōbh-ana-m śvādḥ a-syā = su-śvas+āC = su-śv-ā-.
3. su+divā a-syā = su-div-ā-; 4. śāre-r iva kukṣi-r a-syā śāri-kukṣi+āC = śāri-kukṣ-ā-; 5. cātusr-aḥ dśray-aḥ a-syā = catur-aśr-ā-; 6. eṇy-āḥ iva/ajā-sya iva/proṣṭha-sya iva/pād-āu a-syā = eṇī-pad-ā-/aja-pad-ā-/proṣṭha-pad-ā- (6.4.130).

Irregularity refers to the first three expressions; the rest are governed by 6.4.144 for the Ø replacement of stem finals.

5.4.121 ¹nāñ-²dús-³sú-bhyaḥ ¹hāli-²sákthy-or anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1 āC 118] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ¹-hāli- 'plough' and sákthi- 'thigh', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles náñ-¹, dús-² or sú-³ [in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

1. ā-vid-ya-m-ānā hali-r a-syā = nāñ+hāli+āC = a-hālī-ā-/a-hālī- (6.2.172) 'lacking a plough'; similarly dur-hāl-ā-/dūr-hālī- 'owning a bad plough' and su-hāl-ā-/su-hālī- (6.2.172) 'owning a good plough'. Similarly:
2. ā-vid-ya-m-ānā-m sákthi a-syā nāñ+sákthi+āC = a-sákthī-ā-/a-sákthī- 'thigh-less'; duḥ-sákth-ā-/dúḥ-sákthi- 'having a bad thigh'; su-sákth-ā-/su-sákthī- 'possessing a good thigh'.

5.4.122 nítya-m ásiC 'prajā-²medháy-oh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ásiC is necessarily (nítya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] prajā 'progeny' and medhā 'wisdom' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náñ-°, dús-° or sú-° 121 in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

1. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā prajā a-syá* = *náñ+prajā+ásiC* = *a-prāj-ás-* 'childless, barren'; similarly *duṣ-prāj-ás-/su-prāj-ás-* 'possessing bad/good progeny'.
2. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā medhā a-syá* = *náñ+medhā+ásiC* = *a-medh-ás-* 'lacking wisdom'; *dur-medh-ás-/su-medh-ás-* 'having wrong/right knowledge'.

5.4.123 bahu-prajāś=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas the expression bahu-praj-ás- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ásiC 122 as a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

bahu-prajāś nī-ṛti-m á-vi-ve-śa (RV 1.164.32) 'one possessing a large progeny encounters adversity'. Outside Chāndas the form is *bahu-prajā-* (6.2.175).

5.4.124 dhárm-āt=ániC kéval-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ániC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-dhárma- 'law', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] a single (kéval-āt prior member) [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

kalyāṇa-h dhárma-h a-syá = *kalyāṇa-dharma+ániC* = *kalyāṇadharm-án-* 'whose law is auspicious', but *para-má-h evá-h dhárma-h a-syá* = *paramá+evá+dharma-* 'possessor of the highest personal or self-law'.

5.4.125 jambhā ¹sú-²hár-i-ta-³tṛṇa-⁴sóme-bhyaḥ

The expression jambh-án- occurs as a final member [of a Bahuvrīhi compound 113] when co-occurring [after 1.1.67] sú-°, hár-i-ta-° or tṛṇa- and sóma-° respectively denoting 'good, beautiful/green/grass/moon'.

jambh-án is here derived with affix [ániC 124] *śób-ana-h jambha-h a-syá* = *su+jambha+án-* = *su-jambh-án-* 'having a well-shaped jaw'; *harita-jambh-án-* 'possessing a green jaw'; *tṛṇa-jambh-án-* 'graminivorous, having teeth showing grass'; *soma-jambh-án-* 'possessing a moon-like jaw, n.pr. of a person', but *pat-i-tá-jambha-* 'whose teeth have all fallen'.

5.4.126 *dakṣiṇermā lub-dha-yog-é*

The expression *dakṣiṇerm-án* 'wounded on the right side' is introduced [as a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] to denote a connection with a hunter (*lub-dha-yog-é*) [as derived with the *taddhitá* 4.1.76 *samāsāntá* 68 affix 3.1.1 *ánjC* 124].

dakṣiṇa-m ṛmd-m (= vṛṇa-m) a-syá = dakṣiṇerma-tāñjC = dakṣiṇermṭ-án- (said of an animal hunted by a hunter), but *dákṣiṇerma-m śakaṭa-m* 'a cart, broken on the right side'.

5.4.127 *íC karma-vy-ati-hār-é*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 *samāsāntá* 68 affix 3.1.1] *íC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of [a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] denoting reciprocity of action (*karma-vy-ati-hār-é*).

kéśe-su kéśe-su gṛh-ī-tvā idám yuddhá-m prá-uyt-ta-m = keśa+keśa+íC = keśā-keśṭ-f (6.3.137) 'hair-to-hair/head-to-head fight'.

5.4.128 *dvi-daṇḍ-í=ādī-bhyas=ca*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 *samāsāntá* 68 affix 3.1.1 *íC* 127] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of Bahuvrīhī compounds 113] beginning with *dvi-daṇḍ-í*.

dv-aú daṇḍ-aú pra-hār-aṇa-m yá-emin = dvi+daṇḍa+fe = dvi-dandṭ-f (2.3.27) 'two staffs against two staffs', but *dvi+daṇḍa+TāP = dvī-dandṭ-a śālā* 'a hall measuring two poles'.

5.4.129 *prá-²sám-bhyām jānu-n-or jñu-ḥ*

The substitute morpheme *jñu-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *jānu-* 'knee' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles *prá-* and *sám-* (In composition).

prá-kṛs-t-e jānu-n-ī a-syá = prá+jānu = prá-jñu- 'possessing shapely knees' or = *pra-ga-t-e jānu-n-ī a-syá* 'bow-legged, having the knees apart'; similarly *sám-jñu-* 'knock-kneed'.

5.4.130 ūrdhv-āt vibhāṣā

[The substitute morpheme jñu- 129] optionally replaces (vibhāṣā) [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 jñanu- 'knee' 129 at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113] when co-occurring [after 1.1.67] ūrdhvā- " 'high' (in composition).

ūrdhv-ē jñanu-n-ī a-syā = ūrdhvā-jñu-/ūrdhvā-jñanu- 'having the knees raised (in a sitting or squatting position)'.
 129

5.4.131 ūdhas-aḥ=anañ

The substitute morpheme anañ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53] [of the nominal stem 9.1.1] "-ūdhas- 'udder' [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

kunḍā-m iva ūdhaḥ a-syāḥ = kunḍa+ūdha(s→anañ)+ñfṣ (4.1.25) = kunḍodh-an+ñfṣ (8.1.97) = kunḍodhñn-f (8.4.134) = kunḍodhn-f 'having udders full'; so also *ghaṭodhn-f*, literally 'having udders shaped like a pitcher'.

5.4.132 dhānuṣ-as=ca

[The substitute morpheme anañ 131 replaces the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] "dhānuṣ- 'bow' [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

śārngā-m dhānuṣ a-syā = śārngā+dhānu-(s→anañ) = śārngā-dhānu-an- 'who wields the bow called Śārngā'; similarly: *gāṇḍī-ud- dhānu-an-/pūṣpa-dhānu-an-* 'n.pr. of Arjuna/Cupid'.

5.4.133 vā saṁjñā-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme anañ 131] optionally (vā) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 dhānuṣ- 'bow' 132 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113] to derive a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

śatā-dhānuṣ-/śatā-dhānu-an- 'n.pr. of a king'; so also *dyādhā-dhānuṣ-/dyādhā-dhānu-an-* 'n.pr. of a king'. The present rule, however, does not apply to 132 above although they are proper names.

5.4.134 jāyā-y-āḥ niN

The substitute element niN replaces [the stem-final of 1.1.53 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °jāyā 'wife' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

yuvati-r jāyā a-syā = *yuvan-t+ajāyā* (6.3.34) = *yūvaṭ+jāy-(ā→niN)* (8.2.7) = *yūva-jā-ni-* (6.1.86) 'possessing a young wife'; similarly *vṛd-dhā-jā-ni-* 'having an old wife'.

5.4.135 gandhā-sya iT 'ūd=²pūti-³sú-⁴surabhī-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme iT replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-gandhā- 'odor, smell, scent', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] ūd-°, pūti-° 'foul', sú-° 'good' and surabhī-° 'perfumed, fragrant' [as prior members in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

ud-ga-tā-ḥ gandhā-ḥ a-syā = *ūt+gandh-(a→iT)* = *ūdgandh-i* 'fragrant' similarly: *pūti-gandh-i-* 'foul-smelling'; *sū-gandh-i-* 'sweet-smelling' and *surabhī-gandh-i-* 'strong-smelling; when the compound is not a Bahuvrīhi: *su-gandhā-ḥ* 'sweet smell'; *vyāghra-sya gandhā-ḥ* = *vyāghra-gandhā-ḥ* 'tiger scent'.

5.4.136 alpa=ā-khyā-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme iT 135 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *gandhā-* 135] signifying 'a little' (*alpa-ā-khyā-y-ām*) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

sūpa-sya gandhā-ḥ (= ālpa-ḥ) a-smān = *sūpa-gandh-i bhōj-ana-m/(Uṇādi III 26)* '(a dinner course) consisting of only a trace of soup'; similarly *ghṛ-tā-gandh-i-* 'having only a trace of clarified butter'.

5.4.137 upa-mān-āt=ca

[The substitute morpheme iT 135] also (ca) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *gandhā-* 135] co-occurring [after 1.1.67] another stem denoting an object of comparison (*upa-mān-āt*) [as a prior member in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

pādma-sya iva gandhā-ḥ a-syā = *pādma-gandh-i-* 'smelling like a lotus' = *ūt-pala-gandh-i-*.

5.4.138 *pādā-sya lopa-ḥ=ā-hasti(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ*

Lopa (=Ø) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*pādā-* 'foot' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] except when co-occurring [after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] in the class headed by *hastīn-* 'elephant'.

vyāghrā-sya iva *pād-āu a-syā* = *vyāghrā+pād-(a→Ø)* = *vyāghrā-pād-* 'whose feet resemble those of a tiger'. But *hastī-pāda-* 'whose feet resemble those of an elephant'.

5.4.139 *kumbhā-pad-I-ṣu ca*

The word-class [comprising Bahuvrīhī compounds 113] beginning with *kumbhā-pad-I* is introduced [as derived with a replacement of stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem °-*pāda-* 'foot' 138 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 the compound 113].

kumbhā-sya iva *pād-āu a-syāḥ* = *kumbhā+pada+ÑIP* = *kumbhā-pad-I* (6.4.130) (\rightarrow *kumbhā+padØ+ÑIP*).

5.4.140 *¹saṁ-khyā-²sū-pūrva-sya*

[Lopa (Ø) 138 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*pādā-* 'foot' 138 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (*saṁ-khyā-* ' ') or *sū-* ' [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

dv-āu pād-āu a-syā = *dvi-pād-(a→Ø)* = *dvi-pād-* 'biped'; so also *tri-pād-* 'triped' and *catuṣ-pād-* 'quadruped'. Similarly *śobh-an-au pād-āu a-syā* = *su-pād-* 'having well-shaped feet'.

5.4.141 *vāyas-i dānta-sya datṚ*

The substitute morpheme *datṚ-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*dānta-* 'tooth' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a numeral or *sū-* 140 at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] to denote age (*vāyas-i*).

dv-āu dānt-au a-syā = *dvi+danta-* = *dvi-datṚ-* 'having two teeth (as an indication of age)', but *dvi-danta-ḥ kuñjara-ḥ* 'two-tusker elephant' *śobh-an-aḥ dānt-aḥ a-syā* = *su-dāntṚ-* 'having a beautiful set of teeth'.

5.4.142 chándas-i ca

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute morpheme datR- 141] also (ca) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-dánta- occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

The context here is not one indicative of age and without reference to prior members specified before.

ubhá-ya-dat-a á-labh-a-te (RV 10.90.10): *ubhá-ya-datR-* 'having teeth in both jaws', the RV passage indicating 'sacrifice (an animal) having teeth in both jaws'.

5.4.143 striy-ām samjñā-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme datR 141 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 danta- 'tooth' 141 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113] to derive a feminine name (striy-ām samjñā-y-ām).

dyah iva dántā-h a-sydā = *dyas+danta+NIP* (4.1.6) = *dyo-dat-I* 'n.pr. of a person', but *sama+danta=NfS* (4.1.55) = *sama-dantθ-f* 'whose teeth are even'.

5.4.144 vibhāsā 'śyāvā='ārokā-bhyām

[The substitute morpheme datR 141] optionally (vibhāsā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 dánta- 'tooth', co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *śyāvā-* 'dark brown' and *āroka-* 'not bright' [in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

śyāvāh dānt-āh a-syd = *śyāvā-danta-/śyāvā-datR-* 'whose teeth are dark'; similarly *ā-roka-danta-/°-datR-* 'whose teeth are not bright'.

5.4.145 'āgra=anta-'suddhā-'śubhra-'vṛṣa-'varāhē-bhyas=ca

[The substitute morpheme datR 141] also (ca) [optionally 144 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 danta- 'tooth' 141 co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] (ending in: °-anta-°) °-āgra-° 'tip' and the words *suddhā-* 'pure', *śubhra-* 'bright', *vṛṣa-* 'bull' and *varāhā-* 'wild boar' [in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

The particle [ca] in this rule is for inclusion of other unspecified co-occurring stems preceding [dánta-] in composition.

kuṇḍalā-n-ām = *mukulā-n-ām āgrā-n-i iva dāntā-h a-syd* = *kuṇḍalāgrā-danta-/°-datR-* 'possessing teeth like the tips of buds'; *suddhā-danta-/°-datR-* 'having pure or clean teeth'; *śubhra-danta-/°-datR-*

'endowed with bright teeth'; *uṣṣa-danta-/°-datṛ-* 'having teeth like those of a bull'; *varāha-danta-/°-datṛ-* 'having teeth like those of a wild boar'; and *āhi-danta-/°-datṛ-* 'possessing teeth like those of a snake'.

5.4.146 *kākuda-sya=ava-sthā-y-ām lōpa-h*

Lopa Ø replaces [the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*kākuda-* 'hump' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113] to denote age (*ava-sthā-y-ām*) or condition.

d-sam-jā-ta-m kākud-am a-syā = *d-sam-jā-ta-kakud-(a→Ø)* = *d-sam-jā-ta-kakud-* 'whose hump has not yet manifested (= young, not adult)'; *ūn-na-ta-kakud* 'high-humped (= aged, old)' *sthā-d-kakud-* 'large-humped (= strong)', but *svetā-kakuda-* 'white-humped' (not indicative of physical condition denoting age etc.).

5.4.147 *trī-kakud=pārvat-e*

The expression *trī-kakud-* 'three-peaked' is introduced to denote a mountain (*pārvat-e*) [as derived with the Ø replacement 146 of the stem-final of 1.1.55 the nominal stem °-*kākuda-* 146 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 of a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

trī-ṇ-i kākudā-n-i a-syā = *trī-kakudØ* = *trī-kakud-*.

5.4.148 ¹ūd=²vī-bhyām *kākuda-sya*

[Lopa Ø 147 replaces the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*kākuda-* 'palate' co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles *ūd-*° and *vī-*° [in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

ūd-ga-ta-m kākuda-m a-syā = *ūd-kakud-(a→Ø)* = *ūd-kakud-* 'endowed with a high or elevated palate'; similarly *vī-kakud-* 'having a malformed or cleft palate'.

5.4.149 *pūrṇ-āt vibhāṣā*

[Lopa (Ø) 146] optionally replaces [the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *kākuda-* 'palate' 149, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pūrṇā-* 'full' [in a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

pūr-ṇā-m kākuda-m a-syā = *pūr-ṇā-kākuda-/°-kākud* 'whose palate is fully developed'.

5.4.150 ¹su-hḡd=²dúr-hḡd-au ¹mitrá=²a-mftray-oḡ

The expressions su-hḡd- and dūr-hḡd- are introduced [respectively 1.3.10] to denote a 'friend' and an 'enemy or adversary'.

This nipātana rule provides for the replacement of the nominal stem [hḡdaya-] co-occurring after sú-° and dūs-° in a Bahuvrīhī compound by the replacement morpheme hḡd-. In other senses: śōbh-ana-m hḡdaya-m a-sya = su-hḡdayāḡ-h = kārūṇika-ḡ 'compassionate' and duṣṭā-m hḡdaya-m a-sya = dūr-hḡdaya-ḡ 'cruel, hard-hearted'.

5.4.151 ūras=pra-bhḡ-ti-bhyaḡ kaP

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1] kaP is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1 beginning with °-ūras- 'chest, breast' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

vy-ūḡha-m ūraḡ a-syā = vy-ūḡha+uras+kaP = vy-ūḡhoras-ka-ḡ 'broad-chested'.

5.4.152 in-aḡ striy-ām

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °in- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 112] to derive a feminine stem (striy-ām).

bahāv-aḡ daṇḡ-in-aḡ a-syām śālā-y-ām = bahu+daṇḡ-in+KaP+TāP = bahu-daṇḡiḡ (8.2.7) +kaP+TāP = bahu-daṇḡi-kḡ-ā = bahu-daṇḡi-k-ā śālā 'a hall occupied by many carrying staffs' but bahu-daṇḡ-in-/bahu-daṇḡi-ka- m. 'a king'.

5.4.153 ¹nadī=²rT-as=ca

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 samāsāntā 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoted by the t.t. nadī (1.4.3ff.) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel phoneme [rT] [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

(a) bahvy-dḡ kumāry-dḡ-dḡ a-smīn déś-e = bah+kumārī+kaP+eU = bahu-kumārī-ka-ḡ déśa-ḡ '(a locality) abounding in many unmarried girls'; (b) bahāv-aḡ kartār-aḡ a-smīn déś-e = bahu-kartī-ka-ḡ '(a place) teeming with active people'.

5.4.154 śeṣ-āt vibhāṣā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1, occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a bahuvrīhī compound 113] not covered by the above rules (śeṣ-āt).

*bahuv-dh khatvā-h a-syd = bahu-khatvā-ka(P) = bahu-khatvā-ka- (7.4.15)/
bahu-khatvā- (1.2.48) 'a place containing many bedsteads'.*

5.4.155 ná samjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1, occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] when denoting a name (samjñā-y-ām)

viśv-e devā-h a-syd = viśvā-deva- 'name of a person'; so also viśvā-yasas-.

5.4.156 ūyas-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhī compound 113 ending in 1.1.72] " ūyas-.

bahuv-ah śrēyā-m-s-ah a-syd = bahu-śrēyas- 'endowed with many excellences'.

5.4.157 vand-i-t-é bhrātu-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 15 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] "-bhrātṛ- designating 'praised' (vand-i-t-é) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*śobh-ana-h bhrātā a-syd = su-bhrātṛ- 'whose brother is praiseworthy or excellent',
but mūrkhā-bhrātṛ-ka- 'one who has a foolish brother'.*

5.4.158 ṛT-as=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel phoneme [ṛT] [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

ha-i-ā mātā a-syd = hatā-mātṛ- 'one whose mother is killed'.

5.4.159 ¹nāḍī-²tantrī-óḥ sva=aṅg-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ¹nāḍī- 'artery' and tantrī 'ibid' denoting parts of one's body (svaṅg-é) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

bahvy-dḥ nāḍy-dḥ a-syá = bahu-nāḍī (1.2.48) kāya-h 'a body, containing many arteries'; similarly bahu-tantrī-. bahu-nāḍī-ka-h stambhá-h 'a pillar containing many holes' and bahu-tantrī-k-ā vñā 'many-stringed Indian lute (vñā)'.

5.4.160 nīṣ-pra-vāṇī-s=ca

And (ca) the expression nīṣ-pra-vāṇī- 'fresh from the loom' is introduced [to indicate that the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 pra-vāṇī- 'weavers' shuttle' occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

nir-ga-t-ā pra-vāṇī-ī yá-smāt = nīṣ-pra-vāṇī- (1.2.48) 'cloth fresh from the loom'.

6.1.1 éka=aC-aḥ=dv-é prathamá-sya

Two (dv-é syllables) replace the first [prathamá-sya] syllable (of a verbal stem which contains) a single syllable (ékāC-aḥ).

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á-) heading this section extending up to 12 below, and the three expressions will recur in each of them. The purport of this rule is to state that the first syllable of a mono-syllabic verbal stem is reduplicated under conditions stipulated in the subsequent rules.

6.1.2 áC=āde-r dvi-tīya-sya

[Two syllable 1] replace the second (dvi-tīya-sya) syllable [of a verbal stem] beginning with (°-āde-ḥ) a vowel (aC-°) (and contains two or more syllables).

This is also a governing rule having the same extension as the above and is an exception to 1 above. The expression [dvi-tīya-sya] implies that the verbal stem consists of at least two syllables.

Rule 1 is illustrated by *pac-*: **pac-pac-*.

Rule 2 is illustrated by: *at+saN* - *at+iT-saN* (7.2.35; 3.1.32) = *at-i-sa-* the desiderative derived stem from the simple stem *at-* containing three syllables, beginning with an initial vowel: *a=t-i=sa-*; *a=ti-ti=ṣa* (8.3.59).

6.1.3 ná=n-d-r-āḥ saṁ-yog-á=āday-aḥ

The phonemes [n, d, r] constituting the initial of a consonant nexus (saṁ-yog-á=āday-aḥ) [forming part of the second syllable of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2] are not (ná) [duplicated 1].

und+saN = *und+iT-saN* = *un=di-ṣa-* (derived desiderative stem) : *un-di-di-ṣa* (exception to 7.4.60 below) 'desires to wet'; similarly from *ad-d-* : *ad-di-di-ṣa-* 'wish to assail' and *arc-* : *ar-ci-ci-ṣa-* 'wish to worship or honor'.

6.1.4 pūrva-ḥ abhy-ās-á-ḥ

The technical term (t.t.) *abhy-ās-á* denotes the first [pūrva-ḥ] of [these two replacements 1].

Thus in *pac-pac-* the first half bears the t.t. *abhy-ās-á* or reduplicated syllable; similarly in *a-ti-ti-ṣa-*, *un-di-di-ṣa-*, *ad-di-di-ṣa-*, *ar-ci-ci-ṣa-*.

6.1.5 ubh-é abhy-ās-ta-m

The t.t. abhy-ās-ta- denotes both [replacement syllables 1 of the verbal stem].

As a t.t. (a) abhy-ās-á- occurs in 1.3.71; 3.2.8; 6.1.7-12, 17, 138; 4.78, 119-126; 7.3.55-58; 4.55-97; 8.3.61, 54; 4.21, 54 and (b) abhy-ās-ta- occurs in 3.4.109; 6.1.33, 189, 190, 192; 4.112-13; 7.1.78-79; 3.87.

6.1.6 jákṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ ṣaṭ

[The t.t. abhy-ās-ta- 5] denotes the six (verbal stems) beginning with jákṣ-i-ti (in addition to itself).

These seven verbal stems are: jákṣ- 'eat', jágṛ- 'wake up', dāridrā- 'be needy', cākāś- 'shine', śāś- 'chastise', dīdhī- 'reflect' and vévī- 'move', constituting nos. 62-68 of the second class of verbal stems beginning with ad- 'eat'.

6.1.7 túj-ādi-nāin dīrghā-ḥ=abhy-ās-á-sya

The long [vowel 1.2.28] replaces (the vowel) of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) of the class of verbal stems similar to túj- 'strike, hurt' (I 163).

In the expression [túj-ādi-] the word [-ādi-] denotes 'similar to' and the class is to be constituted from actual occurrences in the language, since it is not listed in the Gaṇa- or Dhātu-pāṭha-s. Examples are: *tú-tuj-āna-*, *mā-mah-āna-*, *dā-dhār-a*, *tā-lāv-a*. Such forms occur only in the Chāndas: *tu-tója* etc. in non-Chāndas usage.

6.1.8 IIṬ-i dhātór ān-abhy-ās-a-sya

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a mono-syllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2] if the stem does not contain a reduplicated syllable (ān-abhy-ās-a-sya) [before 1.1.66 the 1-substitutes 3.4.78] of IIṬ (Perfect Tense).

pac+IIṬ = *pac-pac+naL* (3.4.82) = *paθ-pác-a* (7.2.116; 7.4.86). = *pa-pác-a* 'has cooked'; similarly *pra+ārṇu+IIṬ* = *prá+ārṇu-nu+NaL* = *prór-ṇu-nāv-a* 'has covered'.

6.1.9 ¹saN-²yáÑ-oh

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2, if the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] saN and yáÑ.

1. $pac+saN = pac-pac+saN = pa\theta-pac+saN$ (7.4.60) = $pi-pac+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP$ (3.1.68; 7.4.83) = $pi-pak-sa-ti$ (8.2.30; 3.59) 'wishes to cook'.
2. $pac+yáÑ = pac-pac+yáÑ = pa\theta-pac-yá+\acute{S}aP+te = p\acute{a}-pac-yá-te$ (6.1.97; 7.4.83) 'cooks repeatedly or intensively'.

6.1.10 $\acute{S}l$ -au

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2 when the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the replacement marker] $\acute{S}lu$ (of $\acute{S}aP$ 2.4.75).

By 2.4.75 the substitute marker $\acute{S}lu$ replaces the class-marker $\acute{S}aP$ denoting the agent, introduced after the class of verbal stems beginning with [hu- III 1].
 $hu+\acute{S}aP+tiP = hu+\acute{S}lu+tiP = hu-hu+\theta^2+tiP = ju-hu+tiP$ (7.4.62) = $ju-h\acute{o}-ti$ (7.3.84) 'sacrifices'; similarly $bhI+\acute{S}lu+tiP = bhI-bhI+\theta^3+ti-bh\acute{e}-ti$ (7.4.59; 8.4.54) 'fears'.

6.1.11 CaÑ-i

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem or the second syllable of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 1-2 when the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the substitute Aorist marker] CaÑ (3.1.48).

1. $pac+NiC+Oti$ (3.1.41) = $pac+NiC+Od\acute{N}$ (3.1.48) = $p\acute{a}c+\theta+Od\acute{N}$ (8.4.51) = $pac+Od\acute{N}$ (7.4.1) = $pa\theta-pac+Od\acute{N}$ (7.4.60) = $\acute{a}T+pa-pac+Ca\acute{N}$ (8.4.71) = $\acute{a}-pi-pac+Ca\acute{N}$ (7.4.93) = $\acute{a}-pi-pac+CaN$ (7.4.94) = $\acute{a}-pi-pac-a-$ (7.4.94) = $\acute{a}-pi-pac-a-t$ 'caused (someone) to cook'.
2. $\acute{a}ti+NiC+Ca\acute{N} = \acute{a}T+\acute{a}t-i+Ca\acute{N} = \acute{a}+a-ti-ti+Ca\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}+a-ti-t\theta-a-t = \acute{a}ti-t-a-i$ 'caused (someone) to wander'.

6.1.12 dās-vās sās-vās mīdh-vās=ca

(The Perfect Participles) dās-vās- 'who has given', sās-vās- 'who has overpowered' and mīdh-vās- 'who has wetted' are introduced (as irregularly derived forms).

1. *dās+KvāsU* = *dās-vās(U)* without reduplication (8) and initial increment iṭ before affix KvāsU.
2. *sah+KvāsU* = *sāh-vās* with a change of voice from middle to active, replacement of short penultimate by long vowel, and without reduplication or initial increment iṭ for KvāsU.
3. *mih+KvāsU* = *mīdh-vās* without reduplication and increment iṭ and replacement of short penultimate by long vowel.

6.1.13 Ṣyañ-aḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m ¹putrá-²pāty-os tatpuruṣ-é

Samprasāraṇa (= vocalization 1.1.54) replacement of [the affix 3.1.1] Ṣyañ takes place in a Tatpuruṣa compound with °-putrá 'son' and °-pāti- 'spouse, husband' (as final members 1.1.72).

Kāriṣa-sya iva gandhā-h a-syā = *kāriṣa-gandh-i-* (5.4.137), *tā-sya dpatya-m* = *kāriṣa-gandh-i+(āN+Ṣyañ+TāP* 4.1.78) - *kāriṣa-gandh-y-ā+putrá* = *kāriṣa-gandh-iā+putrá* = *kāriṣa-gandh-i+putrá* (6.1.108) = *kāriṣa-gandh-i-putrá* (6.3.139) 'son of Kāriṣa-gandh-y-ā'. Similarly *kaumuda-gandh-i-pāti-* 'husband of Kaumuda-gandh-y-ā'.

6.1.14 bāndhu-n-i bahuvrīh-aú

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replacement of the affix 3.1.1 Ṣyañ 13 takes place] in a Bahuvrīhi compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] 'bāndhu- 'kin, relative'.

kaumuda-gandh-y-ā bāndhu-r a-syā = *kūmuda-gandhi+āN+Ṣyañ+TāP+bandhu-* = *kaumudagandh+i+ā+bandhu-* = *kaumuda-gandh-ī-bandhu-h* (6.3.139) 'a kinsman of Kaumudagandhyā'.

6.1.15 ¹vacī-²svapī-³yajA=ādī-n-ām K-IT-i

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowels 1.1.45 of the verbal stems] vac- 'speak' (II 54), svap- 'lie down, sleep' (II 59) and the class of verbal stems beginning with yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051-59) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker K.

The *yaj-* class of verbal stems are: *yaj-* 'sacrifice', *vap-* 'sow', *vah-* 'carry, convey', *vas-* 'reside', *ve-* 'weave', *vye-* 'cover' and *hve-* 'challenge, summon'.

- (a) *vac+Ktd* = *uac+Ktd* = *uc+Ktd* (108) = *uk-tā-* (8.2.30) 'spoken, uttered'; similarly (b) *evap+Ktd* = *sup-tā-* 'fallen asleep'; (c) *yaj+Ktd* = *ij-Ktd* (108) = *iṣ-tā-* 'sacrificed'; *vap+Ktd* = *up-tā-* 'sown'; *vah+Ktd* = *uh+Ktd* = *uḍh-tā-* (8.2.40) = *uḍh-dhd-* (8.4.41) = *aḍ-dhd-* (8.3.13; 8.3.21) 'borne'; *vas+iT-Ktd* = *uṣ-i-tā-* 'dwelt'; *ve+Ktd* = *u-tā-* 'woven'; *vye+Ktd* = *vie+Ktd* = *vi-tā-* (4.2; 3.37) 'covered'; *hve+Ktd* = *huc+Ktd* = *hā-tā-* (6.4.2) 'challenged'. In the case of *vye-* 37 below blocks further vocalization of the initial semivowel after that of the second. It also is a pointer that when an expression is subject to vocalization and consists of a nexus of two semivowels, the second undergoes that vocalization.

6.1.16 ¹grahj-²jyā-³vayj-⁴vyadhj-⁵vaṣ-ṭi-⁶vic-ā-ti-⁷vṛśc-ā-ti-⁸prchh-ā-ti-⁹bhrj-ā-ti-n-ām N-IT-l ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowels 1.1.45 of the verbal stems] *grah-* 'seize' (IX 61), *jyā* 'grow old' (IX 29), *vay-* (Substitute morpheme for *ve-* 'weave' 2.4.41 I 1055), *vyadh-* 'pierce' (IV 72), *vaś-* 'desire' (II 70), *vyac-* 'deceive' (VI 12), *vṛśc-* 'cut' (VI 11), *prach-* 'ask' (VI 120) and *bhrasj-* 'roast' (VI 4) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker *N* in addition to (ca) [K 15].

1. *grah+iT+Ktd* (7.2.37; 3.84) = *grh-tā-* 'clasped, seized'; *grah+Śnā+tiP* = *grh-ṇā-ti* 'clasps, seizes' since [Śnā] is *N-IT* by 1.2.4.
2. *jyā+Ktd* = *jiā+Ktd* = *ji+Ktd* (108) = *ji-tā-* (4.2) = *ji-nā-* (8.2.44) 'grown old'; *jyā+Śnā+tiP* = *ji-nā-ti* 'grows old'.
3. *vay-* being a replacement morpheme for *veN* before *l*-substitutes of *IT* only *K-IT* affixes follow it (1.2.5): *vay+iIT* = *vay+atus* = *vaḥ-vay+atus* = *u-uy+atus* (17) = *uy-atus* 'they two have woven'.
4. *vyadh+Ktd* = *viadh+Ktd* = *vidh-dhā-* (8.2.40) *vid-dhā-* 'pierced'; *vyadh+ŚyaN+tiP* = *vidh-ya-ti* 'pierces'.
5. *vaś+iT+Ktd* = *uś-i-tā-* 'desired'; *vaś+ḥ¹+ānti* = *uś-ānti* 'they desire' (1.2.5).
6. *vyac+Ktd* = *vyac+iT-Ktd* = *vic-i-tā-* (37) 'deceived'; *vyac+Śā+tiP* = *vic-d-ti* 'deceives'.
7. *vṛśc+Ktd* = *vṛsc+nā-* (8.2.45) = *vṛṣc+nā-* (8.2.29) = *vṛk-ṇā-* (8.2.30; 4.1) 'cut'; *vṛśc+Śā+tiP* = *vṛsc-d-ti* 'cuts'.
8. *prach+Ktd* = *prch+tā-* = *prṣ-ṭa-* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'asked'; *prach+Śā+tiP* = *prchh-d-ti* 'asks'.
9. *bhrasj+Ktd* = *bhraṣj+Ktd* = *bhrṣ-ṭā-* 'roasted'; *bhrasj+Śā+tiP* = *bhrjj-ā-ti* (8.4.40, 53).

6.1.17 IIṬ-i=abhy-ās-á-sya=ubhayé-ṣām

[Before 1.1.66 I-substitutes 3.4.78] of IIṬ "Perfect Tense" [samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of semivowels 13] of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) of both (ubhayé-ṣām) [classes of verbal stems enumerated in 15 and 16 above] takes place.

1. $vac+IIṬ = vac+NaL$ (3.4.82) = $va\emptyset-vac+NaL = u-vāc-ca$ (103; 7.2.116), $u-vāc-i-tha$; similarly $su-ṣvāp-a$, $su-ṣvāp-i-tha$, $i-yāj-a$, $i-yāj-i-tha$; $u-vāp-a$, $u-vāp-i-tha$; etc.
2. $jyā+IIṬ = jyā+au$ (7.1.34) = $jī-jy-āú$, $jī-jy-i-thā$ (4.64); similarly $ja-grāh-a$, $u-vāy-i-tha$; $u-vāś-a$, $u-vāś-i-tha$; $vi-vyāc-a$, $vi-vyāc-i-tha$; etc.

6.1.18 svāp-é-s=CāÑ-i

[Before 1.1.66 substitute marker] CāÑ [of Clī 3.1.48 samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] svāp-i- (= svap+ÑiC) 'cause to sleep' takes place.

$svap+ÑiC+CāÑ = āṬ+svap-svap+CāÑ = ā-su-sup+\emptyset+CāÑ$ (16) = $a-sū-sup-a$ (7.4.94) = $a-sā-sup-a-$ (8.3.59); $svāp-yā-te$, $svāp-i-tā-$.

6.1.19 ¹svapi-²syami-³vyeÑ-ām yāÑ-i

[Before 1.1.66 the intensive marker] yāÑ [samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowel of the verbal stems of] svap- 'lie down, sleep' (II 59), syam- 'cry' (I 878) and vyeÑ- 'cover, wrap' (I 1056).

- (a) $svap+yāÑ = su-sup-yā = so-sup-yā$ (7.4.82) = $so-sup-yā-te$ (8.3.59) 'repeatedly sleeps'; (b) $syam+yāÑ = ss-sim-yā-te$ 'cries repeatedly or intensely'; (c) $vye+yāÑ = vi+yāÑ = vi-vi-yā = ve-vī-yāte$ (7.4.82; 8.4.2; 7.4.25) 'wraps repeatedly'.

Both in 18 and 19 vocalization takes place before reduplication.

6.1.20 ná vaś-aḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13] does not (ná) [replace the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] vaś- 'desire' (II 70) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yāÑ 19].

$vaś+yāÑ = va\emptyset-vaś+yā- = vā-vaś-yā-$ (7.4.83) 'desire repeatedly or intensively'.

6.1.21 cāy-aḥ kī

The substitute morpheme *kī* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem] *cāy-* 'honor' (I 929) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 *yāN* 19].

cāy+yāN = *kī+yāN*: = *ca-kī-yā-* (7.4.62,92) 'honor repeatedly or intensively'.

6.1.22 sphāy-aḥ sphī niṣṭhā-y-ām

The substitute morpheme *sphī* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem] *sphāy-* 'swell' (I 516) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā* (= *Ktā*, *KtāvatU* 1.1.26).

sphāy+Ktā/KtāvatU = *sphī-tā/sphī-tāvat-* 'swollen'.

6.1.23 sty-aḥ prā-pūrva-sya

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] *styai-* 'to sound, crowd' (I 959) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26) 22] when it is preceded (in composition) by the preverb particle *prā-*°.

prā+styā-Ktā/Ktāvat = *pra-stī-tā/-tāvat-* 'crowded together'; cf. 8.2.54 for the alternate form *pra-stī-ma-*; replacement by vocalization blocks the replacement of phoneme [t] by [n] introduced by 8.2.42. But *sām+styai+Ktā/KtāvatU* = *sām-styā-nd-* (45) 'coagulated, condensed'.

6.1.24 'drava-mūrti-'spārsay-oḥ śy-aḥ

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] *śyai-* (= *śyā-*) 'go' (I 1012) takes place [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā* 22] to denote coagulation (*drava-mūrti-*°) or touch (°-*spārsay-oḥ*).

śyā+Ktā/KtāvatU = *śī-nd-/śī-ndāvat-* (8.2.47) when denoting 'coagulation', e.g., *ghṛ-tā* 'ghee, clarified butter'; *śī-tā-/śī-tāvat-* 'cold' to denote 'touch'. In other senses: *sām-śyā-nd-* (8.2.43) 'contracted'.

6.1.25 prātes=ca

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem *śyā-* 'go' 24] when it co-occurs [after 1.1.67] the preverb particle

prāti-° (in composition) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā 22].

prati+śyā+Ktā/KtāvatU = *prati-śī-nā-/°-nāvat-* to denote not only the senses of coagulation and touch (24) but others also.

6.1.26 vibhāṣā ¹abhi=²āva-pūrva-sya

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem śyā 'go' 24 takes place] optionally (vibhāṣā) when co-occurring [after 1.1.66] the preverb particles abhi-° or āva-° (in composition) [before niṣṭhā 22 affixes 3.1.1].

abhi+śyā+Ktā/KtāvatU = *abhi-śī-nā-/°-nāvat/abhi-śyā-nā-/°-nāvat-* 'coagulated' and *abhi-śī-tā-/°śyā-nā-* 'cold'. Similarly *ava-śī-nā-/°śyā-nā-* 'coagulated'; *ava-śī-tā-/ava-śyā-nā-* 'cold'.

6.1.27 śī-tā-m pāk-e

The expression śī-tā- is introduced to denote 'cooked' (pāk-é) [as derived with optional samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replacement of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem śrā- 'cook' (I 848), co-occurring with or without the causative marker NíC].

This is a regulated option (*vy-ava-sthi-ta-vibhāṣā*): (a) necessarily in the case where milk or sacrificial oblation is indicated and (b) not occurring in other meanings.

śrā+Ktā/śrā+NíC+Ktā = *śī-tā-* 'cooked' (with reference to milk or sacrificial oblation), but *śrā-nā-* (8.2.43) elsewhere. Similarly *śra-p-i-tā-* (4.92).

6.1.28 pyāy-aḥ pī

The substitute morpheme pī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the verbal stem] pyāy 'swell' (I 517) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā 22].

This is also a regulated option, the word (vibhāṣā) continuing to recur from 26 above: (a) necessarily when not co-occurring with preverbs and (b) not at all otherwise.

pyāy+Ktā/KtāvatU = *pī-nā-/°-nāvat-* 'fat, obese, swollen', but *ā-pyā-nā-ś candramāḥ* 'waning moon' and nevertheless *ā-pī-nā-* when referring to a well or udder. The replacement of phoneme [t] by [n] of *Ktā(-vat-)* is by 8.2.45. These forms could also have been realized by the vocalization of the semivowel of [pyāy-] as: *pyāy+Ktā* = *piāy+nā-* = *piy+nā* (108) = *piy+nā-* = *piṭh-nā-* (66) = *pī-nā-* with irregular replacement of the short vowel by the long; it was much

simpler to suggest replacement of the verbal stem itself by the substitute morpheme.

6.1.29 ${}^1\text{IT} = {}^2\text{yáÑ-os=ca}$

[The substitute morpheme *pi* replaces the verbal stem *pyáy-* 'wax, swell' before 1.1.86 the l-substitutes of] *IT* "Perfect Tense" or the intensive marker *yáÑ* [3.1.22] also (*ca*).

1. $\acute{a}\text{-pyáy} + \text{IT} = \acute{a}\text{-pi} + \text{e}\acute{S} = \acute{á}\text{-pi-pi} + \text{e}\acute{S}$ (3.4.81; 7.4.56) = $\acute{á}\text{-pi-py-e}$ (4.82).
2. $\acute{á}\text{-pyáy} + \text{yáÑ} = \acute{á}\text{-pi} + \text{yáÑ} = \acute{á}\text{-pe-pi-ya-te}$ (7.4.82) 'waxes frequently or intensively'.

6.1.30 *vibhāṣā sve-h*

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] *svi-* 'swell' I 1059 optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of *IT* or the intensive marker *yáÑ* 29].

- (a) $\acute{svi} + \text{IT} = \acute{svi} + \text{NaL} = \acute{śvi-śvi} + \text{NaL}$ (7.4.60) = $\acute{śi-śvai} + \text{a} =$ (7.2.115) $\acute{śi-śváy-a}$ (78) 'has swollen'; (b) $\acute{śu} + \text{NaL} = \acute{śu-śáv-a}$; (c) $\acute{svi}/\acute{śu} + \text{yáÑ} = \acute{śe-śvī-yá-}/\acute{śo-śū-ya-}$ (7.4.25).

By 15 above [*svi*] being a member of the [*yaJ*-class] and *IT* being K-IT (1.2.5), *samprasāraṇa* replacement of the semivowel which necessarily takes place under that rule is made optional here, while it is made optional before *yáÑ* where no *samprasāraṇa* was formerly indicated.

6.1.31 $\text{N-aú ca } {}^1\text{saN} = {}^2\text{CáÑ-oh}$

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces the semivowel of the verbal stem *svi-* 'swell' optionally 30] when co-occurring with the causative marker *NíC* [before 1.1.86] the desiderative marker *saN* and the substitute Aorist marker *CáÑ* [replacement of *Clī* of *IUN* (3.1.48)].

1. $\acute{svi} + \text{NíC} + \text{saN} = \acute{svi}/\acute{śu} + \text{NíC} + \text{saN} = \acute{śi-śvai} + \text{NíC} + \text{ti}\text{-saN} = \acute{śi-śvay-e} + \text{ti-saN} = \acute{śi-śváy-ay-i-ṣa-} \acute{śú-śáv-ay-i-ṣa-}$ 'wish to swell'.
2. $\acute{svi}/\acute{śu} + \text{NíC} + \text{CáÑ} = \acute{a-śi-śvai} + \theta + \text{CáÑ} = \text{t}$ (4.51) = $\acute{á-śi-śvay-a-t}$ (7.4.1) $\acute{á-śū-sau} + \theta - \text{a-t} = \acute{á-śū-śav-a-t}$ (7.4.94).

A metarule states that operations connected with *samprasāraṇa* vocalization have priority over internal operations so that 7.2.115-8 etc. can only operate after the operations connected with vocalization are completed.

6.1.32 hv-ah samprasāraṇam

Samprasāraṇa (vocalization of the semivowel of the verbal stem) hvā- (= hveÑ I 1057) 'challenge' takes place [when co-occurring with the causative marker NíC before the desiderative marker saN or the Aorist substitute marker CāÑ of Clj 31].

The use of the expression [samprasāraṇa] when it was already recurring from 13 above is to block out the recurrence of [vibhāṣa] from 30 above.

1. $hvā+NíC+saN = hu+NíC+saN = ju-hu+NíC+saN$ (7.4.62) = $ju+hau+NíC+iT-saN = ju-hāu-e-i-sa-$ (7.3.84) = $ju-hāu-ay-i-sa-$ (8.3.59) 'desire to challenge'.
2. $hvā+NíC+CāÑ-t = hu+NíC+CāÑ-t = á-jā-hau-i-a-t = á-ju-hāu-ā-a-t$ (4.51) = $á-jā-hau-a-t$ (7.4.1.94) 'has caused to challenge'.

6.1.33 abhy-ās-ta-sya ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13] of the reduplicated verbal stem (abhyāsta-sya) also [of hvā- 'challenge' 32].

$hvā+lIT = hu+lIT = hu+NaL = hu-hu+NaL = ju-hāu-a$ (7.2.115; 4.52) 'has summoned'; $hvā+yāÑ+te = hu+yāÑ+te = ju-hā-yā-te$ (7.4.82.82).

6.1.34 bahulā-m chāndas-i

In the Chāndas [samprasāraṇa] (vocalization) replaces the semivowel [of the verbal stem hvā- 'summon, call' 32] variously (bahulā-m).

indrāgní huv-é 'I call upon Indra and Agni': $hvā+ŚaP+é = hu+θ^1+é$ (2.4.76) *huv-é* (6.4.77); *hvyā-ā-mi marút-ah divā-n* 'I call upon the auspicious or beneficent breezes'.

6.1.35 cāy-ah kī

[In the Chāndas 34] the substitute morpheme kī replaces [the whole of the verbal stem] cāy- 'honor' (I 929) [variously 34].

ny ānyám cikyúr ná ní cikyur anyám (RV 1.164.38) 'they did not worship another': $cāy+lIT = kī+lIT = kī+ús = ci-kī+ús = ci-ky-ús$ (4.82; 7.4.62); $ní+cāy+Ktvd = ní-cāy+LyāP$ (7.1.37) = $ní-cāy-ya$ 'having worshipped or honored'.

6.1.36 ¹*āpa-sprdh-e-thām*=²*ān-rc-ús*=³*ān-rh-ús*=⁴*ci-cyu-ṣé*
⁵*ti-tyāj-a*=⁶*śrātā-h*=⁷*śri-tām*=⁸*āsīr-taḥ*

[In the Chāndas 34] the irregularly derived expressions *āpa-sprdh-e-thām* 'you two have competed with each other', *ān-rc-uh* 'they have worshipped', *ci-cyu-ṣe* 'thou hast shaken', *ti-tyāj-a* 'has abandoned', *śrātāḥ* 'cooked', *śri-tā-m* 'mixed', *āsīr*, *āsīrta-* 'milk mixed with Soma' are introduced.

The corresponding regular forms for the first five above are: (a) *apd-sprdh-e-thām*/
āspardh-e-thām (Imperfect); (b) *ān-arc-ús*, *ān-arh-ús* (Perfect); (c) *cu-cyuv-i-ṣé*
 (IIT Perfect Tense); (d) *ta-tyāj-a* (Perfect). The remaining four forms are ir-
 regular derivatives from the verbal stem *śriN* 'cook' (IX 3).

6.1.37 *na sam-pra-sār-aṇ-e sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m*

Sam-pra-sār-aṇa (vocalization) replacement of a semivowel does not take place [before 1.1.66] another *samprasāraṇa* replacement.

This rule implies that vocalization replacement takes place from right to left; for an exception see 38 below. The repetition of the word [*samprasāraṇa*] in this rule while it was already recurring from 18ff. above is to indicate that it is a general rule, not restricted to cases previously discussed; e.g., by 6.4.133 the word *yuvan-* 'youth' undergoes this vocalization before non-taddhita affixes: *yūvan+Śas* = *yu-un-as* = *yūn-as* and no further vocalization takes place. *vyadh+Ktā* = *vi-a-dh+dhā-* (8.2.40) = *vid-dhā-* (8.4.53) 'pierced'; *vyac+iṭ+Ktā* = *vic-i-tā-* 'deceived'; in both these cases semivowel [v] is not further vocalized before the vocalization of [y].

6.1.38 *IT-i vay-o y-aḥ*

[Before 1.1.66 l'substitutes of] *IT* (Perfect Tense) [*saṃ-pra-sār-aṇa* (vocalization) does not 37 replace the semivowel /y/ of the verbal stem] *vay-* [substitute for *veN-* 2.4.41].

veN+IT = *vay+Nal* = *va-vāy-a* = *u-vāy-a/ūy-atuṣ/ūy-uṣ* (17).

6.1.39 *va-s=ca=a-syá=anya-tará-syām K-IT-i*

[Before 1.1.66 l'substitutes of *IT* 38] with *IT*-marker *K*, the phoneme [v] replaces [phoneme /y/ of the verbal stem substitute *vay-* 38] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*).

ay-dtuṣ (38)/*ūv-dtuṣ* but *uvāy-a*, *uvāy-i-tha* since these l'substitutes are not *K-IT* (being substitutes for affixes with *P* as *IT*).

6.1.40 veÑ-ah

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] veÑ- 'weave' (I 1055) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 38 with it marker K 39].

This rule blocks the operation of both 15 and 17 above. $veÑ+IIṬ = va+IIṬ$ (45) = $vā+añ$ (7.1.34) = $va-vañ$, $va-vñ-dtus$, $va-v-ñs$ (4.64).

6.1.41 LyaP-i ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem veÑ- 'weave' (I 1055) 40] also [before 1.1.66 the substitute affix] LyaP (for Ktvā 7.1.37).

$pra+veÑ+Ktvā = pra-vā+LyaP$ (45; 7.1.37) = $pra-vā-ya$ 'having woven'.

6.1.42 jy-as=ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] jyā- 'grow old' (IX 29) also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the absolutive or gerundial affix 3.1.1 substitute LyaP 41].

$pra+jyā+Ktvā = pra-jyā-ya$ 'having aged'.

6.1.43 vy-as=ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] vyā- (= vyeÑ- I 1056) 'wrap, cover' also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the absolutive substitute affix 3.1.1 LyaP 41].

$pra-vyeÑ+LyaP = pra-vyā-ya$ (45) 'having enveloped'.

6.1.44 vibhāṣā páre-ḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem vyā- (= vyeÑ- I 1056) 'wrap, envelop, cover' 43] when it co-occurs [after 1.1.67 the preverb participle] pári- 'optionally'.

$pari-vyā-ya/pari-vñ-ya$ (6.4.2) 'having wrapped around', blocking out the [tyk] increment (61) through 6.4.2 by metarule 1.4.2.

6.1.45 āT=eC-aḥ=upa-dés-e=āŚ-IT-i

The substitute phoneme long vowel āT replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 vowels] denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) occurring in verbal stems when first introduced (in the Dhātu-pāṭha) [before 1.1.86 affixes 3.1.1] not marked by Ś as IT.

mañ pra-ni-dā-ne (1010) 'trade, exchange, barter' +*tumyN* = *mā-tum*; but *meñ+ŚaP+te* = *māy-a-te* (78); *glai+tumyN* = *glā=tum* 'to be wearied' but *glā+ŚaP+tiP* = *glāy-a-ti*; *śo+tumyN* = *śā=tum* 'to what'; *śo+ŚyaN+tiP* = *ś-yā-ti* (7.3.71) 'whets'.

6.1.46 nā vy-aḥ=IT-i

[The substitute phoneme ā 45] does not (nā) replace [the stem-final vowel (e) 45 of the verbal stem] *vyā* (= *vyeñ* I 1056) 'wrap, envelop, cover' [before 1.1.86 l-substitutes of] IT "Perfect Tense".

sam+vye+IT = *sam-vi-vye+NāL* = *sam-vi-vyāy-a* (78; 7.2.115) 'has enveloped securely'; *sam-vi-vyāy-i-tha* 'thou hast wrapped well'.

6.1.47 ¹sphur-ā-ti-²sphul-ā-ty-or GHañ-i

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme /o/ 46 of the verbal stems] *sphúr-*, *sphúl-* 'throb' (VI 95-96) [before 1.1.86 the *kṛt* 3.1.93 affix 3.1.1] GHañ.

vi-sphur-/sphul+GHañ = *vi-sphār-ā-/vi-sphāl-ā-* (7.2.115; 8.2.144) 'trembling, throbbing'.

6.1.48 ¹kṛī-²iñ-³jī-n-ām N-au

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme ai 45 of the verbal stems] *kṛī-* 'buy' (IX 1), *iñ-* 'study' (II 37) and *jī-* 'win' (I 593), co-occurring [before 1.1.86 the causative marker] NīC.

1. *kṛī+NīC+ŚaP+tiP* = *krai+f+a+ti* = *krā-pyK+i+a+ti* (7.3.36) = *krāp-ā+ti* (7.3.84) = *krāp-āy-a-ti* (78) 'causes to buy'.
2. *ādhī+iñ+NīC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ādhī+ā-pyK+f+a+ti* = *ādhy-āp-ay-a-ti* 'teaches, instructs'.
3. *jī+NīC+ŚaP+ti* = *jā-p-āy-a-ti* 'causes to win'.

6.1.49 *śidh-ya-te-r ā-pāra-laukik-e*

[The substitute phoneme *ā* replaces the phoneme *e* of the verbal stem 45] *śidh-* 'accomplish, succeed' (IV 83) [co-occurring with the causative marker *ŃiC* 48] when no reference is made to the other world (*ā-pāra-laukik-e*).

śidh+ŃiC+ŚaP+tiP = *śedh+ē+a+ti* = *śādh-āy-a-ti* 'succeeds, accomplishes', but
śedh-āy-a-ti tāp-as tāpasā-m 'asceticism enlightens the ascetic (with reference to the other world)'

6.1.50 ¹*mī-nā-ti*-²*mī-nó-ti*-³*dīŃ-ām LyaP-i ca*

[The substitute phoneme *ā* replaces the vowel phoneme of the verbal stems 45] *mī-* 'injure' (IX 4), *mī-* 'scatter' (V 4) and *dīŃ-* 'decay, perish' (IV 26) [before 1.1.66 the substitute absolutive affix 3.1.1] *LyaP* [of *Ktvā*] and [affixes not marked by *Ś* as IT 45].

1. *pra+mī+tumN* = *pra-mā-tum* 'to injure'; *pra+mī+LyaP* = *pra-mā-ya* 'having injured'.
2. *nī+mī+tumN/+LyaP* = *nī-mā-tum/pra-mā-ya* 'to scatter/having scattered'.
3. *upa+dī+tumN/LyaP* = *upa-dā-tum/upa-dāya* 'to destroy/having destroyed'.

6.1.51 *vibhāṣā lī-ya-te-ḥ*

[The substitute phoneme *ā* 45] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) replaces [phoneme *e* 45 of the verbal stems] *lī(Ń* IV 31) and *lī-* (IX 31) 'adhere, stick' [before 1.1.66 the substitute affix *LyaP* 50 and those which are not marked by *Ś* as IT 45].

vi+lī+LyaP = *vi-lā-ya/vi-lī-ya* 'having adhered or stuck'; *vi-lā-tum/vi-lē-tum* 'to stick or adhere'.

6.1.52 *khid-e=chāndas-i*

In the *Chāndas* [the substitute phoneme *ā* 45 optionally 51 replaces the phoneme *e* 45 of the verbal stem] *khid-* 'be distressed' (IV 61).

khid+HIT = *ci-khid+Nal* = *ci-khéd-a/ci-khād-a* 'has been distressed'; in non-*Chāndas*: *khed-āy-a-ti* 'causes distress'.

6.1.53 *apa-gur-o NamyL-i*

[The substitute phoneme *ã* replaces the phoneme *o* 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] *apa+gur-* (*gurĩ ud-yám-an-e* VI 103) 'exert' [before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1] *NamyL*.

apa-gur+NamyL = *apa-gór-am apa-gor-am/apa-gár-am apa-gár-am* (3.4.22; 8.1.4);
*asy-apa-gár-am/*apa-gór-am yudh-ya-nie* (3.4.53) 'they fight, brandishing swords'.

6.1.54 *'ci-²sphúr-or N-au*

[The substitute phoneme *ã* 45 optionally 51 replaces the phonemes denoted by the siglum *eC* 45 of the verbal stems] *ci-* 'pile, collect' (V 5) and *sphúr-* 'throb' (VI 95) [before 1.1.86 the causative marker] *NíC*.

1. *ci+NíC* = *cái+é+ŚaP+tiP* = *cáy-áy-a-ti/cā-p+áy-a-ti* (7.3.36) 'causes (someone) to pile or gather'.
2. *sphúr+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *sphor-áy-a-ti/ephār-áy-a-ti* causes to throb'.

6.1.55 *pra-ján-e ví-ya-te-h*

[The substitute phoneme *ã* replaces the phoneme *ai* 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] *vĩ-* (II 39) when denoting the sense of 'become enciente or pregnant' (*pra-ján-e*) [before 1.1.86 the causative marker *NíC* 54].

pra-vĩ+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = *pra-vāy-áy-a-ti/pra-vā-p-áy-a-ti* 'make pregnant, inseminate'.

6.1.56 *bí-bhe-te-r hetu-bhay-é*

[The substitute phoneme *ã* replaces the phoneme *ai* 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] *bhĩ* 'fear' (III 2) [before 1.1.86 the causative marker *NíC* 54] to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative (*hetu-bhay-é* 1.3.68).

bhĩ+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = *bhā-p-áy-a-te* 'frightens, causes fear', alternating with *bhĩ+gyK+NíC+ŚaP+te* = *bhīp-áy-a-te* (7.3.40). When the cause of the fear is other than the agent of the causative verb: *kuñcikay-ā enām bhāy-áy-a-ti* 'causes fear with a bamboo stick'.

6.1.57 nítya-m smay-a-te-h

[The substitute phoneme \bar{a} 45] necessarily (nítya-m) [replaces the phoneme ai 45 of the verbal stem] smi- 'smile' (I 996) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NiC 54 to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative verb 58].

vi+smi+NiC+ŚaP+te = *vi-smā-p-ay-a-te* but when fear is not so denoted:
vi-smāy-ay-a-ti 'causes wonder, astonishes'.

6.1.58 'srj-²drś-or jhaL-i=aM=ā-K-IT-I

The infixed increment aM is inserted after the [last vowel 1.1.47 of the verbal stems] srj- 'project' (VI 121) and drś- 'see' (I 1037) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with non-nasal consonants (jhaL-i) excluding those marked with K as IT.

1. *srj+tumN* = *sr-ā-j+tumN* (77) = *srās-tum* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'to project', but
srj+Kta = *srś-tā* 'projected, created'.
2. *drś+tumN* = *dr-ā-śtum*; *drś+Kta* = *drś-tā*.

6.1.59 ānudātta-sya ca=f'T=upadha-sya=anya-tará-syām

[The infixed increment aM 58] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) inserted [after the last vowel 1.1.47 of verbal stems] which are low-pitched (ānudātta-sya) [when first introduced (in the Dhp.)] and contain the short vowel ɾ(T) as penultimate (°=upa-dhá-sya) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with non-nasal consonants excluding those with K as IT 58].

trp+tumN = *tr-ā-p+tum*/*tārp-tum*/*tārp-i-tum* (7.2.45) 'to please'; similarly:
dr-ā-p-tum/*dārp-tum*/*dārp-i-tum* 'to be foolish'; but from *vṛh* Ū *ud-yam-a* (VI 57):
vṛh+tumN = *vārh+tum* = *vārdh+tum* (7.3.84; 8.2.31) = *vārdh+dhum* (8.2.40) = *vārdh+dhum* (8.4.41) *vārḥ=dhum* (6.3.111) 'to raise, elevate'.

6.1.60 śīrśan=chandas-I

In the Chāndas the expression śīrśan- is introduced (as a synonym of śīras- 'head').

śīrṣ-ā hi tātra śoma-m kri-tām hār-a-nī 'they carry the Soma purchased on the head'.

6.1.61 y-e ca taddhit-e

[The substitute morpheme *śīrṣān-* 60 replaces the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stem *śīras-* 'head' before 1.1.66] a taddhitá affix [3.1.1] beginning with phoneme y-^a.

śīras-i bhāvu-a-h = *śīras+yāT* (4.3.55) = *śīrṣaṇ-yā-h* (4 168; 8.4.2) 'chief, foremost, at the head', but *śīraḥ icch-dti* = *śīras+KyāC+ŚaP+tiP* = *śīras-yā-ti* (97).

6.1.62 aC-i śīrṣā-h

The substitute morpheme *śīrṣā-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *śīras-* 'head' before 1.1.66 a taddhitá affix 61] beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

hastīn-aḥ iva śīraḥ asyā = *hastī-śīras-* 'elephant-faced'; *hastī-sīras-aḥ āpatya-m* = *hastī-śīra+a+iN* (4.1.96) = *hastī-śīrṣā-i-h* 'descendant of Hastīśīras'.

6.1.63 ¹pād-²dāt=³nās=⁴mās=⁵hṛd=⁶nīs=⁷asān=⁸yūṣān=⁹doṣān=¹⁰yakān=¹¹śakān-¹²udān=¹³āsān Śas-pra-bhṛ-ti-ṣu

The substitute morphemes *pād-*, *dāt-*, *nās-*, *mās-*, *hṛd-*, *nīs-*, *asān-*, *yūṣān-*, *doṣān-*, *yakān-*, *śakān-*, *udān-* and *āsān-* [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stems 4.1.1] (*pādā-* 'foot', *dānta-* 'tooth', *nāsikā* 'nose', *māsa-* 'month', *hṛdaya-* 'heart', *nīśā* 'night', *āsṛj-* 'blood', *yūṣa-* 'soup', *dōs-* 'arm', *yākṛt-* 'liver', *śākṛt-* 'ordure, dung', *udakā-* 'water' and *āsyā-* 'oral cavity') [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with Śas (4.1.2).

pādā+Śas/Ṭā/bhyām/bhis, etc. = *pād-aḥ/pad-ā/pad-bhyām/pad-bhis*, etc.; similarly: *dāt-aḥ/-ā/-bhyām/-bhyām/-bhis*; *nāsikā+Śas* = *nās-aḥ*; *māsa+Śas* = *mās-aḥ*; *hṛdaya-Śas* = *hṛd-aḥ*; *nīśā+Śas* = *nīs-aḥ*; *āsṛj+Śas* = *asṛj-aḥ*; *yūṣa+Śas* = *yūṣ-aḥ*; *dōs+Śas* = *doṣ-aḥ*; *yākṛt+Śas* = *yakṛt-aḥ*; *śākṛt+Śas* = *śakṛt-aḥ*; *āsyā+yāT* = *āsan-yā-m prāṇā-m āc-uḥ* 'they spoke of the air within the oral region'. In the case of 7-13 of the examples above (4.134) operates to replace penultimate vowel of the stem before an affix beginning with y- or a vowel.

Kāśikā has the reading [āsāna-] for [āsyā], cf. Siddhanta-Kaumudī where Kāśikā has been criticized for a wrong reading.

6.1.64 dhātv=ādēḥ ṣ-aḥ sa-ḥ

The substitute dental phoneme *s* replaces the retroflex phoneme *ṣ* occurring as the initial of a verbal stem (dhātv=ādēḥ) [when first introduced in the Dh. 45].

śdhA mdrṣ-aṇ-e I 905: *śdh+ŚaP+te* = *śdh-a-te* 'bears, endures'; *ṣicĀ ksṛ-aṇ-e* VI 140: *ṣic+Śā+tiP* = *si-nṃM-e+ā-ti* (7.1.59) = *siñc-ā-ti* 'sprinkles'.

The purpose of representing verbal stems with initial retroflex sibilant [ṣ] is in connection with the operation of 8.3.59. Such verbal stems are also listed by another enumeration: all verbal stems with initial *s*-, followed by a vowel or dental stops are introduced in the Dh. with initial retroflex [ṣ], in addition to the following: *smi*- 'smile', *svid*- 'sweat', *svad*- 'taste', *svanj*- 'clasp', *svap*- 'sleep', and excluding *ṣp*- 'creep, crawl', *ṣj*- 'project', *stṛ*- 'strew, cover', *stṛ*- 'ib.', *styai*- 'coagulate', *sek*- 'go, move' and *ṣj*- 'move'.

6.1.65 ṇ-aḥ na-ḥ

The substitute phoneme dental *n* replaces retroflex phoneme *ṇ* [occurring as initial of a verbal stem when first introduced in the Dh. 45],

ṇiñ prāp-aṇ-e I 950 'lead': *ṇf+ŚaP+tiP* = *nāy-a-ti*; *ṇamĀ pra-hav-tvé* I 1030: *nām-a-ti* 'bows, bends'.

The purpose of so representing such verbal stems in the Dh. is in connection with the operation of 8.4.14. The exceptions are *ṇṛt*- 'dance', *nand*- 'be pleased', *nard*- 'sound', *nakk*- 'disappear', *naṭ*- 'fall down', *nath*- 'seek' and *nadh*- 'help'.

6.1.66 lópa v-y-or vaL-i

Lópa (= Ø) replaces phonemes [v] or [y] [before 1.1.66] the phonemes denoted by the siglum *vaL* (= all consonants excluding [y]).

div+lit = *div+KvdsU* (3.2.107) = *diØ-div+KvdsU* = *di-diØ-vas* = *di-di-vds* 'who has sported'; similarly *ay+Ktā* = *aØ-tā* 'woven', but *āy-yā-ta* 'is woven' and *div+ŚyaN+tiP* = *div-ya-ti*, but *div-am icchāti* = *div+KyaC+ŚaP+tiP* = *div-yā-ti* 'desires heaven'.

6.1.67 vṛ-r ā-pṛk-ta-sya

[Lópa (Ø) 66 replaces the single phoneme affix 3.1.1] (ā-pṛk-ta-sya 1.2.41) *vṛ*.

[*vṛ*] is the cover term for the following affixes: (a) *kṛt*: *KvṛN*, *KvṛP*, *Nvṛ*, *NvṛN*, *vṛC* and *vṛT*; (b) *taddhita*: *Cvṛ*.

ghṛ-tā-m spr-śā-ti = *ghṛ-ta+sprś+KviN* (3.2.87) = *ghṛ-ta-sprś+θ* 'touching clarified butter'; *brāhmāṇ-aṁ hān-ti* = *brāhman+han+KviP* = *brahmañ+han+θ* (8.2.7) = *brahma-hān-* 'slayer of brāhman' (3.2.87). *drdha-m bhāḥj-a-te* = *drdha+bhāj+Nvi* = *ardha-bhāḥj+θ* 'sharing half' (3.2.82). *śvetā-h enam vāh-a-nti* = *śveta+vah+NviN* (3.2.71) = *śveta-vāh+θ* 'borne by white steeds'; *ūpa-yaj-a-te* = *upa-jay+viC* (3.2.73) = *upa+yāj+θ* 'additional formula at an animal sacrifice'; *kravyā-m āt-ti* = *kravya+ad+viT* (3.2.69) = *kravyād+θ* 'flesh-eater'.

6.1.68 ¹haL=²Ńṛ=³āP=bhyaḥ dīrgh-āt ¹sU=²tī=³śi=ā-prk-ta-m haL

[Lópa (θ) 66 replaces] a single phoneme consonantal (ā-prk-ta-m haL affix) sU (4.1.2) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-) or the long vowel (dīrgh-āt) [of the feminine affixes 3.1.1] Ńṛ or āP as well as the [affixes 3.1.1] t(i) and s(i) (3.4.78) introduced [after 3.1.2 a verbal stem 3.1.91] ending in a consonant.

[Ńṛ] and [āP] are cover terms respectively for affixes ŃṛN, ŃṛP, ŃṛṢ and CāP, TāP, DāP.

1. haL: *rājān+sU* = *rājān+sU* (6.4.8) = *rājān+θ* = *rājā+θ* (8.2.7) = *rājā*; *nadī+sU* = *nadī+θ* = *nadī*; *ramā+sU* = *ramā+θ* = *ramā*.
2. *bhyŃ+IAŃ* = *āT+bhy+Śtu+tiP/siP* = *ā-bi-bhar+t/s* (4.71; 7.4.76; 7.3.84; 3.4.100) = *ā-bi-bhar+θ* = *ā-bi-bhar*. But in the case of *grāma-m nāy-a-ti* = *grāma+nī+KviP* = *grāma-ñf+sU* = *grāma-ñf-h* 'village-head' and *nīṣ-krān-tā-h kauśāmbi-āh* = *nīṣ-kauśāmbi+sU* = *nīṣ-kauśāmbi-h* 'who has departed from Kauśāmbi'.

6.1.69 ¹eŃ=²hrasv-āt sam-būd-dhe-h

[Lópa (θ) replaces 86 a consonantal phoneme 68] of the vocative singular (sam-būd-dhe-h) [affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the vowel denoted by the siglum eŃ (= e, o) or a short (vowel hrasv-āt 1.2.28).

1. eŃ: *agnī+sU* (voc.) = *agne+sU* (7.3.108) = *agne+θ* = *agne* 'O Agni'; similarly *vāyu+sU* = *vāyo+s* = *vāyo+θ* = *vāyo*.
2. short vowel: *devā+sU* = *dēva+θ* = *dēva*; *nadī+sU* = *nādi+s* (7.3.107) *nādi+θ* = *nādi*; *vadhū+sU* = *vādhu+s* = *vādhu+θ* = *vādhu*.

6.1.70 Śe-s=chāndas-i bahulá-m

[In the domain of Chāndas lópa Ø 66] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] Śi (7.1.20).

$yāḍ+Śi\ kṣētra+Śi = yaa+Śi$ (7.2.102) = $ya+Śi$ (97) = $ya+nyM+Śi$ (7.1.72) = $yā-n-i\ kṣētrā-n-i = yāḥ\ kṣētrāḥ$ with Ø replacement of Śi along with its operation of the infix increment (by 8.2.7).

6.1.71 hrasvā-sya P-IT-i kṛt-i tuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] tuK is inserted [at the end of 1.1.46 a verbal stem before 1.1.66] a kṛt [affix 3.1.1] with marker P as IT when the stem (ends in 1.1.72) a short (vowel 1.2.28).

$sōma-n\ su-tāvān = sōma+su+KvP$ (3.2.90) = $soma-sū-t+ḥ = soma-sūt-$ 'who has pressed Soma'; similarly $agnī-n\ ci-tāvān = agnī-ci-t+ḥ = agni-cit-$ 'who has piled the sacrificial fireplace'; $pra+kṛ+Ktvā = pra+kṛ-LyaP = pra-kṛ-t-ya$ 'having taken up'. Here LyaP replacement of Ktvā, being a P-IT operates the final increment tuK.

6.1.72 sām-hitā-y-ām

In the domain of continuous utterance (sām-hitā-y-ām).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-ā] heading this section up to and including 157 below, and the expression [sām-hitā-y-ām] recurs in each of the subsequent rules dealing with euphonic combination in continuous speech.

6.1.73 ch-e ca

[The final increment tuK 71 is inserted at the end of a short vowel 71 before 1.1.66] the phoneme ch [in continuous utterance 72].

$gām+ŚaP+tiP = gāch-a-ti$ (7.3.77) = $gā-tuK-ch-a-ti = ga-c-ch-a-ti$ (8.4.40) = $gācch-a-ti$ 'goes'.

6.1.74 ¹āÑ-²māÑ-os=ca

[The final increment tuK 71 is inserted at the end of particles] āÑ and māÑ [before 1.1.66 the phoneme ch 73 in continuous utterance 72].

$āÑ+chāyā = ā+tuK+chāyā = ā-c-chāyā$ (8.4.40) = $śac-chāyā$ 'a little shadow';
 $āÑ+chād-āy-a-ti = ā-t+chād-āy-a-ti = ā-c-chād-āy-a-ti$ 'covers, wraps, envelopes'.

$mā\dot{N}+ā\dot{T}+chait-s-π/ā\dot{T}+chid-a-t$ (1U \dot{N} 3rd sing.) = $mā+āchait-s-ṛ-t/chid-a-t$ (6.4.74)
 = $mā+tyK+chait-s-π/chid-a-t = mātchait-s-π/mātchid-a-t$ 'let him not cut'.

By denoting the particle $\dot{ā}$ with marker \dot{N} , this operation is blocked in the case of its counterpart without that marker denoting either a sentence or remembrance (vākyā- or smār-apa-) as a necessary operation (76 below): $\dot{ā}$ *chāyā/āc-chāyā* 'oh! the shadow'.

6.1.75 dīrgh-āt

[The final increment tyK 71 is inserted after 1.1.67] a long (vowel 1.2.28: dīrgh-āt) [before 1.1.66 the phoneme *ch* in continuous utterance 72].

$hrīch+SaP+tiP = hrī-t-ch-a-ti = hrīch-a-ti$ (8.4.40) 'feels shy'; so also $mīech-: mīēch-a-ti$ 'speaks indistinctly'; $āpa+aho+ya\dot{N}+ŚaP+te = āpa+chā+ya+te = āpa-cā-chā-ya-te$ (45) = $āpa-cā+ti+chā-ya-te = āpa-cāc-chā-ya-te$ 'continuously breaks'.

6.1.76 padā=ant-āt=vā

[The final increment tyK 71] is optionally (vā) inserted [after 1.1.67 a long vowel 75] occurring at the end of a padā [before 1.1.66 the phoneme *ch* 75 in continuous utterance 72].

$kuṭi-chāyā = kuṭi-tyK+chāyā = kuṭi-c-chāyā/kuṭi-chāyā$ 'shadow of a hut'.

6.1.77 iK-aḥ ya \dot{N} aC-i

The substitute semivowel phonemes denoted by the siglum $ya\dot{N}$ (=y, v, r, l) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ṝ) (before 1.1.66) a vowel phoneme (aC-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

$dādhi/mādhv+ātra = dādhy-/mādhv-ātra$ 'curds/honey here'. $nadf/vadhā+Tā = nady-ā/vadhv-ā$ 'by the river/by the daughter-in-law'. $mātf+Tā = mātr-ā$ 'by the mother' $ṛ+ā-kr-ti-ḥ = ṛ-ā-kr-ti-ḥ$ 'configuration of the phoneme ṛ'.

For an exception to this rule cf. 101 below.

6.1.78 eC-aḥ=¹ay-²av-³āy-⁴āv-aḥ

The substitute elements ay, av, āy and āv [respectively 1.3.10] replace the vowels denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [before 1.1.66 a vowel phoneme 77 in continuous utterance 72].

cf+LyuT = *ce+LyuT* (7.3.84) = *ce+ana-* (7.1.1) = *cáy-ana-* 'piling up'; *lá+LyuT* = *ló+ana-* = *láu-ana-* 'cutting, reaping'; *cf+NvuL* = *caś+aka-* (7.1.1; 2.115) = *cáy-aka-* 'gatherer'; similarly *lá+NvuL* = *lau+aka-* = *láu-aka* 'reaper'.

6.1.79 *va=anta-h y-i praty-ay-é*

[Before 1.1.66] an affix (*praty-ay-é*) with initial phoneme *y-°* (*y-i*) elements ending in phoneme *°-v* (= *av*, *āv* 78: *va=anta-h*) [respectively replace the vowels *o* and *au* of *eC* 78].

babhró-r ápatyam = *babhrú+yaN̄* (4.1.105) = *babhro+yaN̄* (4.146) = *bābhrav-ya-h* (7.2.117) 'gotrá descendant of Babhrú'. *nāv-á tár-yá-m* = *nau+yáT* (4.4.91) = *nāv-yá-m* 'navigable'.

6.1.80 *dhāto-s tán-nimitta-sya=evá*

[Before 1.1.66 an affix with initial phoneme *y-°* the substitute elements ending in *°-v* (= *av*, *āv*) 79 respectively 1.3.10 replace the vowels *o* and *au* of *eC* 78] provided (*evá*) only that these vowels are replacements caused by that affix itself of the verbal stem-final (*dhāto-h*) [in continuous utterance 72].

lū+yáT (3.1.97) = *lo+yáT* (7.3.84) = *láv-ya-* 'reapable'; *lá+NyáT* (3.1.125) = *lau+yá* (7.2.117) = *lav-yá-* 'necessarily to be cut'. But *āN̄+veN̄+yaK+te* 3rd p. sg. passive of the Pres. Tense = *ā-ū-ya-te* = *o-ya-te* 'is woven', with the corresponding Imperfect *āT+ū+yaK+ta* = *au-ya-ta* (90) 'was woven'; in both situations the initial diphthongs are not caused by the affix *yáK* and thus do not come under the operation of this rule.

6.1.81 *'kṣáy-ya-²jáy-ya-au śákya=arth-é*

The expressions *kṣáy-ya-* and *jáy-ya-* are introduced to denote the sense of 'capable of' (*śák-ya=arth-e*).

kṣé-tum śák-ya-m = *kṣi+yáT* = *kṣé+yaT* = *kṣáy-ya-m* 'capable of being destroyed' where /e/ is replaced irregularly by /ay/. Similarly *jé-tum śák-ya-m* = *jáy-ya-m* 'capable of being conquered', against the regular forms *kṣé-ya-/jé-ya-* 'to be destroyed'/'to be conquered'.

6.1.82 *kráy-ya-s tad-arth-é*

The expression *kráy-ya-* is introduced to denote 'exhibited for the purpose of sale' (*tad-arth-é*).

krí+yaT = *kré+ya-* = *kráy-ya-* 'displayed for the purpose of sale', but *kré-ya-* 'vendible, purchaseable'.

6.1.83 *bhá-y-ya- pra-váy-y-e ca=chándas-i*

In the domain of Chándas the expressions *bhá-y-ya* and *pra-váy-yā* are introduced as special forms.

bí-bhe-ti a-smát = *bhí+yáT* (3.3.113) = *bhe+yáT* = *bhá-y-ya-* 'should be afraid of'; in opposition to non-Chándas *bhé-ya-* 'to be feared or dreaded'; *pra+ut+yáT* = *pra+ve+yáT+TāP* (4.1.4) = *pra-váy-y-ā* 'fit for impregnation' versus non-Chándas *pra-uē-y-ā* 'to be impregnated'.

6.1.84 *éka-h pūrva-paráy-oḥ*

A single substitute replaces both the preceding and succeeding phonemes (*pūrva-paráy-oḥ*) [in continuous utterance 72].

This is a governing rule (1.3.11) heading this section which extends up to and including 112 below. This will, therefore, recur in the subsequent rules of this section.

6.1.85 *anta=ādi-vát=ca*

[A single substitute element which replaces both the preceding and succeeding phonemes 84 in continuous utterance 72] functions as the final (*anta-°*) of the preceding unit and the initial (*ādi-vat*) of the following unit.

In the expression *vykṣ-āú* (*vykṣ+au/auT*), resulting from the single replacement [au] of stem-final [a] and the affix [au] of sUP, [au] is considered as the initial of sUP and the final of [vykṣ-] so that by 1.4.14 one can define *vykṣau* as a Padá. Similarly in the expression *brahma-bandh-ā* (= *brahma-bandhú+āN*) f. the single replacement [u] resulting from the replacement-final [u] of *brahma-bandhú-* m. and the feminine affix [āN] is considered as the final of the nominal stem and therefore sUP can be introduced after it by 4.1.1.

6.1.86 ¹ṣa-tva-²tuK-or á-sid-dha-ḥ

[A single substitute element replacing the preceding and succeeding phonemes 84 in continuous utterance 72] is deemed inoperative for the purpose of replacement by retroflex /ṣ/ or for the final augment tuK.

In *kīm+oU d-sic-a-t* = *kā+s* (7.2.103)+*d-sic-a-t* = *kārU+d-sic-a-t* (8.2.66) = *kā-u+d-sic-a-t* (113) = *kā+d-sic-a-t* (87) = *kā-sic-a-t* (109), dental /s/ is not replaced by the retroflex sibilant, since by this rule the single replacement of *padā-final* /o/ and the following /a/ blocks out the operation of 8.3.59.

In *ādhi+iN+Ktvā* = *adhi+i+LyaP* = *adh-i-LyaP* (7.1.37), the single substitute /ɿ/ of the preverb final /i/ and the initial /i/ of the verbal stem /iN/ is considered inoperative and thus does not block out the operation of 71 above: *adh-f-t-ya* 'having studied'.

6.1.87 āt=guṇá-ḥ

[A single phoneme 84] denoted by the t.t. guṇá (1.1.2 = a, e, o) replaces [both the vowel following 1.1.87] the phoneme-class /a/ as well as the phoneme-class /a/ [preceding 1.1.66 that vowel phoneme 77 in continuous utterance 72].

devā+indra- = *dev-e-ndrā-* 'king of gods'; *nār-air īd-ya-ḥ nāra+fāya-* = *nār-e-dya-* 'to be praised by men'; *ā+ti-tāḥ* = *ē-tāḥ* 'they two come'; *prā+īks-a-te* = *pr-ē-ks-a-te* 'sees'; *pārā+īks-e-ta* = *par-e-ks-e-ta* 'one should look at'; *uṣṇa+udaka-* = *uṣṇ-o-dakā-* 'hot water'; *kutsā+ūk-ti-* = *kuts-o-k-ti-* 'slander, contemptuous speech'; *karahā+ārā-* = *karbh-āru-* 'whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant'; *jihvā+ardhva-bhāgā-* = *jihv-o-rdhva-bhāgā-* 'upper part of the tongue'; *devā+fṣi* = *dev-ar-ēf* (1.1.51) 'divine seer' (Nārada); in this case /a/ being the most proximate to both phonemes among the guṇá vowels, replaces them and by 1.1.51 a vowel replacement of vocalic /ḡ/ by a simple vowel (a, i, u) is always accompanied by the phoneme /r/ which gives the working rule that the guṇá and vṛddhi grades of /ḡ/ are respectively /ar/ and /ār/ and of /ḡ/ are /al/ and /āl/: *tava+f kārāḥ* = *tav-al-kār-a-ḥ* 'your sonant lateral /l/'.

6.1.88 vṛd-dhi-r eC-i

[A single substitute 84] denoted by the t.t. vṛd-dhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) replaces [both 84 the vowel 77 following the vowel-class /a/ 87] represented by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [and the vowel phoneme-class /a/ preceding 1.1.66 it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

śveta+edaka- = *śvet-ai-dakā-* 'white ram'; *brahma+odana-* = *brahm-au-dand-* 'rice meant for a brahman'; *brahma+aitikā-yana-* = *brahm-ai-tikāyand-* 'brahmin descendant of Itika'; *tikṣṇā+auśadhā-* = *tikṣṇ-au-śadhā-* 'bitter medicine'.

6.1.89 ¹é-ti=²édh-a-ti=³uṭṭH-su

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi 88 replaces both 84 the preceding 1.1.86 phoneme-class /a/ and the following 1.1.87 eC 84,88 before 1.1.86] the expressions é-ti 'goes', édh-a-ti 'grows' and the substitute element uṭṭH (of °-vāh- 4.132 below) [in continuous utterance 72].

úpa+e-mi/e-ṣi/e-ti = *úp-ai-mi/°-ṣi/°-ti* but *úpa+i-tas* = *up-e-tas* 'they two approach'; *úpa+édh-a-te* = *úp-ai-dh-a-te* 'grows'; *praṣṭha-vāh+Śas* = *praṣṭha-uṭṭH-h+Śas* (4.132) = *praṣṭh-au-h-as* = *praṣṭhauh-aḥ* acc. plur. 'young bulls trained for the plough'.

The (recurrent expression) [eC-i] applies here properly only to the strong forms of the verbal stem [iN gat-au II 38] 'since in the weaker forms guṇá does not take place. Also it is not relevant to [uṭṭH].

6.1.90 áṭṭ-as=ca

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88 replaces both 84 the vowel denoted by the siglum aC 77 occurring after 1.1.67] the initial increment áṭṭ and áṭṭ (4.72) [preceding it 84, in continuous utterance 72].

áṭṭ+ikṣ+ŚaP+ta = *aṭ-ks-a-ta* 'saw'; *ubh+IUN* = *áṭṭ+ubh+siC+t* (3.1.44) = *á-ubh+iṭṭ-e+Iṭṭ+t* (7.2.35; 3.96) = *au-bh-i-ṭṭ-r-t* (8.2.28) = *au-bh-r-t* 'has filled with'; *rdh+IAN* = *áṭṭ+rdh+Śnu+t* = *ár-dh-no-t* 'prospered'.

6.1.91 upa-sarg-āt ṛṭ-i dhāt-au

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88 replaces both 84] the preverb [final 1.1.52 phoneme-class /a/ 87] and the (initial 1.1.54) syllabic resonant /ṛ/ of a verbal stem (dhāt-au) [occurring after 1.1.67 it in continuous utterance 72].

úpa+ṛcch-a-t- = *úp-ār-cch-a-ti* 'importunes'.

6.1.92 vā sUP-y āpīśale-ḥ

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88] optionally (vā) replaces [both 84 the pre-verb final 91 phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the initial syllabic resonant /ṛ/ 91] of a denominative (sUP-i) [verbal stem 91 in continuous utterance 72] according to the grammarian Āpīśali.

ṛṣabhā-m atmān-aḥ icch-a-ti = *ṛṣabhā+KyāC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ṛṣabhr-yāti* (7.4.38)
 'desires a bull for one's self': with the preverb *prā+ṛṣabhr-ya-ti* =
pr-ār-sabhr-ya-ti/pr-dr-sabhr-ya-ti. Since option is indicated by the indeclinable
 /vā/ Āpīśali's name is for honorific purpose only.

6.1.93 ǣ=oT-aḥ=¹am-²Śas-oḥ

[The single substitute phoneme 84] /ǣ/ replaces [both 84 stem-final 1.1.52] phoneme /o/ [and the following initial vowel 84 of the affix 3.1.1] am and Śas (4.1.2) [in continuous utterance 72].

gō+am/Śas = *g-ā-m/g-ā-h* (8.3.15) acc. sing./plur. of *gō-* 'cow, bull'.

6.1.94 eÑ-i para-rūpā-m

[A single substitute 84] consisting of the second of two (contiguous phonemes para-^{*}) [replaces both the preceding 84 pre-verb-final phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the following 84] vowel denoted by the siglum eÑ (= e, o) [of a verbal stem 91 in continuous utterance 72].

Exception to 88 above. *ūpa+el-ay-a-ti* = *ūp-e-l-ay-a-ti* 'impels towards';
ūpa+oṣ-ay-a-ti = *ūp-o-ṣ-ay-a-ti* 'burns down'.

6.1.95 ¹óm=²āÑ-os=ca

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces both the preceding 84 stem-final phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the following vowel 84] of the particles óm and āÑ [in continuous utterance 72].

kā oóm ity ā-voc-a-t = *k-óm ity ā-voc-a-t* 'who uttered Óm?'. *āÑ+vaḥ+tr-* =
ā+uḍh+dhṛ- (8.2.40) = *ā+uḍh+dhṛ-* (8.4.41) = *ā+oḥ+dhṛ-* (8.3.13) = *o-dhṛ-*
 'harbinger'; so also *adyā+oḍhṛ-* = *ady-o-dhṛ-* 'harbinger of today'.

6.1.96 us-i ś-pada=ant-āt

[A single substitute 86 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces] a non-padā-final (ś-pada=ant-ā) [phoneme-class /a/ 87 preceding the substitute affix 3.1.1] ^{*}-us [and the initial vowel of ^{*}-us following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

dā+HUN = *dT+dā+(Chī→siC→∅ 3.1.43.44; 2.4.77)+us* (3.4.108) = *d+dā+us* =

d-d-us 'they have given'; *chid+IŃ* = *chid+ŚnaM+yās+Jus* (3.4.103,108) = *chi-nŃ-d+yās+us* (4.11; 7.2.79) = *chind-yās+us* = *chind-y-ās* 'they should cut off'.

6.1.97 aT-aḥ=guṇ-é

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two continuous phonemes 94 replaces a non-padá-final 96] short vowel /a(T)/ [preceding 84] a guṇá vowel (= a,e,o) [and the guṇa vowel following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

pdc+ŚaP+jhi = *pdc-a+anti* (7.1.3) = *pac-a-nti* 'they are cooking'; *yāj+ŚaP+Ń* = *yāj-a+e* (3.4.79) = *yāj-a* 'I am sacrificing'.

6.1.98 a-vyak-ta=anu-kār-aṇa-sya=at-aḥ it-au

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces the final 1.1.52] element /at/ of an echo-word (a-vyak-ta=anu-kār-aṇa-sya) [preceding (1.1.66) 84] the indeclinable iti [and the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of iti following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

paṭat+iti = *paṭ-i-ti*; *jhaṭat+iti* = *jhaṭ-i-ti*.

6.1.99 ná=ā-mreḍ-i-ta-sya=ānt-ya-sya tu vā

[A single substitute 84, consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94] does not (ná) replace [the element /at/ 99] of a re-duplicated (ā-mreḍ-i-ta-sya) [echo-word 98 and the following initial 1.1.54 phoneme of iti 98], but (tu) will optionally (vā) replace [the final 1.1.52] phoneme [of the echo-word and the initial of iti 98 in continuous utterance 72].

paṭ-at-puṭ-ad-iti/paṭ-at-paṭa+ti = *paṭ-at-paṭ-e-ti*.

6.1.100 nitya-m ā-mreḍ-i-t-e DāC-i

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94] necessarily (nitya-m) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the element /at/ 99 of the first half as well as the second half] of the echo-word co-occurring with [affix 3.1.1] DāC.

By 5.4.57 affix DāC is introduced after echo-words, with re-duplication of the echo-

word; this rule operates prior to the operation of Ø replacement of the syllable beginning with the last vowel (6.4.143): *pat-at+DāC* = *paṭ-at-paṭ-at+DāC* = *paṭ-at-paṭ-ØØ+ā* (97) = *paṭ-at-paṭ-ā kar-o-ti* = *paṭ-aṭ-paṭ-ā kar-o-ti*.

6.1.101 aK-aḥ śá-varṇ-e dīrghá-ḥ

[A single substitute 94] long (vowel: dīrghá-ḥ 1.2.28) replaces [both 84] a vowel denoted by the siglum aK (= a, i, u, ṛ, ṝ) and [the following 84] homogeneous vowel (śá-varṇ-e) [in continuous utterance 72].

Exception to the general rule 77 with reference to [iK]. *daṇḍā+dgra-* = *daṇḍ-ā-grā* 'tip of a staff'; *kavī+īndra-* = *kavī-ī-ndrā-* 'poet laureate'; *mādhū+udakā-* = *mādh-ū-dakā-* 'honey and water'; *pitṛ+ṛṇā-* = *pit-ṛ-ṇa-* 'debt owed to the father'.

6.1.102 prathamáy-oḥ pūrva-savarṇá-ḥ

[The single substitute 84 long vowel 101] homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels (pūrva-sa-varṇá-ḥ) [denoted by the siglum /aK/ 101] replaces [both the nominal stem-final 1.1.52 vowel aK 101 and the initial aC vowel 77 of the affixes 3.1.1] of the first and second (prathamáy-oḥ) sUP triplets introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 in continuous utterance 72].

agnī+au = *agnī-f* 'two fires'; similarly *vāyú+au* = *vāy-ū* 'two winds'; *harā+Jas* = *har-ā-ḥ* 'Hara-s'; in this instance both 101 and 102 can operate to give the expected surface form, but by metarule 1.4.2 the later rule prevails. Though 97 can also cover the situation it blocks the operation of 101 but not of 102, by a general metarule that a prior exception blocks the operation of an immediately following rule and not one which follows it later.

6.1.103 tá-smāt=Śas-aḥ=ṇa-ḥ puṃs-i

After (tá-smāt) [that single substitute 84 long vowel replaces both the stem-final aK and initial vowel of affix 3.1.1] Śas, phoneme /n/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of Śas [in continuous utterance] in the case of masculine [nominal stems 4.1.1] (puṃs-i).

harā+Śas = *har-ā-s* = *har-ā-n*; *hārī+Śas* = *hārī-ṛ-s* = *hārī-ṛ-n*; *vāyú+Śas* = *vāy-ū-n*; *pitṛ+Śas* = *pit-ṛ-n*.

6.1.104 ná=āt=iC-i

[A single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 102] does not (ná) replace [both 84] the phoneme-class /a/ [and the following vowel 84 denoted by the siglum] iC (= all vowels other than the phoneme-class /a/) [before 1.1.66 the first and second sUP triplets 102 introduced after nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.52] the phoneme-class /a/.

hard+au = *har-au* (88); *śāla+ŚI* (7.1.18) = *śāl-e* (87) 'two halls'; *vāna+ŚI* (7.1.19) = *vān-e* 'two forests'; *śarva+ŚI* (7.1.17) = *śarv-e* 'all'.

6.1.105 dīrgh-āt=Jas-l ca

[A single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homogeneous with the first of two contiguous vowels 102 does not replace 104 both 84 stem-final 1.1.52] long vowel (dīrgh-āt) [and the following 84 initial vowel 77 of the affix 3.1.1] Jas and (ca) [the initial vowels denoted by the siglum iC 102 in continuous utterance 72].

nadī+Jas = *nady-dh* (77) 'rivers'; *nadī+au* = *nady-au* 'two rivers'. Rules 102-107 deal only with the first and second sUP triplets.

6.1.106 vā chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [a single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homogeneous with the first of two contiguous vowels 102 does not 105] optionally (vā) replace [both the stem-final long vowel and the following initial vowel 84 of Jas 105 or the first and second sUP triplets 102 beginning with iC 104 in continuous utterance 72].

mārut+Jas = *mārut-f-h/mārut-y-dh* *cdtas-ah* 'four Mārutī-s'; similarly *vārāh-f/vārāh-y-au* 'two V. sāmān-s'.

6.1.107 am-i pūrva-ḥ

[A single substitute 84] homologous to the first (pūrva-ḥ) [of two contiguous vowels denoted by the siglum aK 101 replaces that vowel as well as the following initial vowel 84 of the affix 3.1.1] am [of the second sUP triplet 102 in continuous speech 72].

dev+am = *dev-d-m*; *māta+am* = *māt-a-m*; *hāri+am* = *hār-i-m*; *nadī+am* = *nad-ī-m*; *dhenū+am* = *dhen-ū-m*; *vadhū+am* = *vadh-ū-m*. In the case of nominal

stems ending in /-ṛ/ 7.3.110 replaces the stem-final with *guṇá* and being a later rule, takes precedence over this by virtue of the metarule 1.4.2.

6.1.108 sam-pra-sār-aṇ-āt=ca

[A single substitute 84 vowel homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 107] also (ca) replaces [both 84] the sam-pra-sār-aṇa vowel (=iK) [and the vowel following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

yaṣ+Ktá = *iaṣ+td* (15) = *ij+td* = *ia-ṭd-* (cf. 15 above).

6.1.109 eÑ-aḥ pada=ant-āt=aT-i

[A single substitute 84 vowel homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 107] denoted by the siglum /eÑ/ (= e,o) replaces [both 84] *padá*-final eÑ and [the following 84] short initial /a/ of (the following *padá*) [in continuous utterance 72].

agne+átra = *agn-e-tra* 'O Agni! here'; similarly *vandé+ahám* = *vand-é-hám* 'I salute'; *vāyo+atra* = *vāy-o-tra*.

6.1.110 ÑasI-Ñas-os=ca

[A single substitute 84 vowel denoted by the siglum eÑ 109] replaces [both itself and the following short initial /a/ 109 of the affixes 3.1.1] ÑasI and Ñas (4.1.2) [in continuous utterance 72].

agni+ÑasI/Ñas = *agné+as* (7.3.111) = *agn-é-s* = *agn-é-h* (8.3.15); similarly *vāyú+ÑasI/Ñas* = *vāy-ó-s* = *vāy-ó-h*.

6.1.111 ṛT-aḥ=uT

[A single substitute 84 vowel] short /u/ replaces [both the stem-final 1.1.52] short vowel /ṛ/ [and the following 84 initial short /a/ of the sUP triplets ÑasI and Ñas 110 in continuous utterance 72].

mātṛ+Ñas(I) = *māt-úr-s* = *māt-úrḥ* (8.2.24) = *māt-úh* (8.3.15).

6.1.112 khyā-ty-āt pára-sya

[A single substitute 84 vowel short /u/ 111 replaces the initial short /a/ of the sUP triplets ŅasI and Ņas 110 after 1.1.67] °-khy- and °-ty- [of nominal stems 4.1.1 in continuous utterance 72].

sdkhi+ŅasI/Ņas = sdkhy+as = sakhy-us (77) = sakhy-uh; pdti+ŅasI/Ņas = pdty+as = pdty-us = pdty-uh.

6.1.113 aT-aḥ=rO-ḥ=á-plut-āt=á-plut-e

[The substitute short vowel /u/ 111 replaces] rU (8.2.66) when it is preceded and followed by (1.1.66-67) a non-prolated (á-plut-āt+á-plut-e) short phoneme /a/ [in continuous utterance 72].

hard+eU+d-tra = hard-rU+d-tra = hard+u+dtra = haró+dtra (87) = har-ó-tra (109).

6.1.114 haŚ-i ca

[The substitute short vowel /u/ 111] also (ca) replaces [rU when it is preceded by a non-prolated short vowel a 113 before 1.1.66] a voiced consonant (haŚ-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

hard+eU+hás-a-ti = hard+rU+hás-a-ti = hard+u+hás-a-ti = haró hás-a-ti 'Hará laughs'.

6.1.115 pra-kḥ-ty-ā=antaḥ-pādā-m á-v-y-a-par-e

[A padā-final vowel denoted by the siglum eŅ (= e,o) and short /a/ following it 109] retain their forms (pra-kḥ-ty-ā) when occurring within a quarter of the ḡk-verse (antaḥ-pādā-m), provided it is not followed by phonemes /v/ or /y/ [in continuous utterance 72].

*śu-jāt-e dśva-saṅt-e (RV 5.79.1) 'O well-born one, who art pleased with horses';
ddhvaryo ddrī-bhūh su-tā-m (RV 9.51.1) 'O Adhvaryu! (the soma) has been
pressed with stones', but té d-vad-an = t-é-vad-an 'they spoke'. té-yaj-anta (= té
d-yaj-anta) 'they sacrificed'.*

6.1.116 ¹avyāt=²avadyāt=³áva-kramus=⁴á-vrata=⁵ayám= ⁶ávantu=⁷avas-yú-ṣu

[Pada-final eŅ (= e,o) 109 occurring within a ḡk-verse quarter 115 and

the following short vowel /a/ retain their forms 115] also when [short vowel /a/ occurs as initial 1.1.54] of *av-yāt* 'may he assist', *a-vad-y-āt* 'from disgrace', *áva-kram-us* 'they have trampled underfoot', *á-vrata-* 'impiety', *ayám* 'this', *áv-a-ntu* 'may they protect' and *avas-yú-* 'desiring assistance' [in continuous utterance 72].

These are exceptions to the constraints placed on the phoneme /a/ by the preceding rule of not being followed by phonemes /v/ or /y/.

1. *ágniḥ prathamó vásu-bhir no ayāt* 'May Agni, the foremost, assist us with wealth' (T.S. 2.1.11.3).
2. *mītra-m aho a-vady-āt* (R.V. 4.4.15).
3. *mā śivāso áva-kram-uḥ* (R.V. 7.32.27) 'may happiness not overcome'.
4. *té no á-vrat-ā-h* 'they behave impiously towards us'.
5. *śatá-dhāro ayám mañi-h* 'this jewel has a hundred edges'.
6. *té no av-a-ntu pitár-aḥ* (R.V. 10.15.1) 'may the Manes protect us'.
7. *kusikā-so av-as-yáv-aḥ* (R.V. 3.42.9) 'descendants of Kusika, desirous of assistance'.

6.1.117 *yájus-ī=uraḥ*

In the domain of Yajur-Veda [padá-final /o/ of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *úras-* 'chest, breast' [and following short phoneme /a/ 109 retain their form 115 in continuous utterance 72].

úro antárikṣa-m (V.S. 3.42.9) 'the chest is the intermediate region'.

6.1.118 ¹áp-o=²jus-āṇ-o=³vṛṣṇ-o=⁴vārs-iṣṭhe=⁵ámbe=⁶ám-bāle=⁷ám-bike-pūrv-e

[In the domain of Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final vowels denoted by the siglum eÑ (=e,o) 109 of the expressions] *áp-o* 'waters', *jus-āṇ-o* 'pleasing', *vṛṣṇ-o* 'man's', *vārs-iṣṭh-e* 'in the highest', and *ámbe/ám-bāle* preceding *ám-bike* [retain their shape 115 before 1.1.66 short vowel /a/ 119 in continuous utterance 72].

1. *áp-o aemán mātár-aḥ sundh-ay-a-ntu* (V.S. 4.2) 'may the motherly waters purify us'.
2. *jus-āṇo aptár ájya-sya* (V.S. 5.35) 'busy loving clarified butter'.
3. *vṛṣṇ-o amśú-bhyām gābhasti-pā-taḥ* (V.S. 7.1) 'purified by a man's hands with two Soma libations'.
4. *vārs-iṣṭh-e dāhi nāk-e* (T.S. 1.1.8.1) 'in the highest heaven'.
5. *ámbe ám-bāle ám-bike* 'O mothers!'. These vocatives are not subject to the operation of 7.3.107 in YV.

6.1.119 āṅga ity-ād-au ca

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eÑ (= e,o) of the nominal stem 4.1.1] āṅga- 'limb' (i.e., āṅg-e) and (ca) initial /a/ of the following expression aṅge (tad-ād-au) [both retain their shape in continuous utterance 72].

aindrā-h prāṇ-ó dṅge aṅge ní-dīdhy-at 'the breath of Indra meditated on each limb'.

6.1.120 ānu-dātt-e ca 'kU-²dhā-par-e

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eÑ 109] and (ca) [the following 1.1.66] low-pitched (ān-udātt-e) [short vowel /a/ 109] preceding velar stops (kU- " 1.1.89) or phoneme /dh/ [both retain their original shapes 115 in continuous utterance 72].

ayám só agní-h 'this is that Agni' (V.S. 5.37) but *adhās+āgr-e adhó+āgre = adh-ó-gr-e* (109).

6.1.121 á-vap-a-thās-i ca

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eÑ (= e,o) 109 and the following ānudatta short vowel /a/ 109 of the verbal form] á-vap-a-thās 'thou hast sown' [both retain their original form 115 in continuous utterance 72].

trī rudré-bhyo a-vāp-a-thās (K.S. 30.8.32) 'thou has sown thrice for the Rudra-s'.

The verbal form [á-vap-a-thās] loses its high-pitched accent when following a non-verbal form by 8.1.28, but by 8.1.30 *yád rudré+bhyas á-vap-a-thās=yád rudré-bhy-ó-vap-a-thās* the verbal padá retains its original accent and is thus subject to 109.

6.1.122 sarvá-tra vibhāṣā go-h

[Pada-final eÑ 109 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] go- 'cow f., bull m.' and [the following short vowel /a/ 109 both retain their original form] optionally (vibhāṣā) everywhere (sarvá-tra) [i.e., in the Chāndas and elsewhere in current speech, in continuous utterance 72].

gó+āgra-m = gó-agram/g-ó-gram 'headed by cattle'.

6.1.123 *avaṆ sphōṭāyana-sya*

According to the grammarian Sphōṭāyana the substitute *avaṆ* replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *go-* 'cow, bull' 122 before 1.1.66 a vowel 77 in continuous utterance 72].

gō+āgra-m = *gava+āgra-m* = *gav-ā-gra-m/gd-agram/g-ō-gra-m*; *go+ajind-m* = *gav-ā-jind-m/g-o-jind-m* 'cow-hide'; *go+odand-m* *gav-au-dand-m/gav-o-dand-m* 'cattle-feed'; *go+uṣṭrā-* *gav-o-ṣṭrā-m* 'cows and camels'. But *gō+akṣa-* = *gav-ā-kṣa-* 'window' without option.

6.1.124 *indr-e (nītya-m*)*

[The substitute element *avaṆ* 123] necessarily (*nītya-m*) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *go-* 'cow, bull' 123 before 1.1.66] *indra-* [in continuous utterance 72].

gō+indra- = *gava+indrā* = *gav-e-ndrā-* 'lord of cattle (= bull)'.

6.1.125 *plu-tá=pra-gḥh-y-ā-ḥ aC-i nītya-m*

Prolated (*plu-tá-*) vowels and *pra-gḥh-ya* vowels (1.1.11) necessarily (*nītya-m*) [retain their original form 115 before 1.1.66] vowels (*aC-i*) [in continuous utterance 72].

According to Patañjali the word [*nītya-m*] occurs only in this rule and not in 124 above, since its separate mention following 123 itself indicates the absence of option. The use of this word here is to block the operation of 127 below.

dēvadatta!ś ihā ās-ana-m alam-kur-u 'Devadatta! please grace this seat'; *agnf+au* = *agn-f* (102)+*iti*, *vāy-ā iti*, *śāl-e iti*.

6.1.126 *āṆ-ah=ānu-nās-ika-s=chāndas-i*

In the *Chāndas* a nasalized (*ānu-nās-ika-ḥ*) particle /ā/ replaces *āṆ* [before 1.1.66 a vowel 77 in continuous utterance 72].

āṆ+ap-dh = *ā ap-dh*.

6.1.127 *iK-ah=ā-sa-varṇ-e śākalya-sya hrasvaś=ca*

According to the grammarian Śākalya [a *padā-final* 109 vowel denoted by the siglum] *iK* (= *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*) [retains its form 115 before 1.1.66] non-

homogeneous [vowels 77] (á-sa-varṇ-e) and the (corresponding) short vowel replaces it [in continuous utterance 72].

dádhi+ḍtra = dddhi ḍtra/dádhy-ḍtra, mádhv ḍtra/mádhv-aṭra; kumārī+ḍtra = kumārī ḍtra/kumāry-ḍtra; vadhū+aṭra = vadhū ḍtra/vadhv-a-ṭra.

6.1.128 ɽT-y aK-aḥ

[According to the grammarian Śākalya 127 padá-final vowel 109 denoted by the siglum] aK (= a, i, u, ɽ, ɰ) [retains its form 115 and the corresponding short vowel replaces it 127 before 1.1.86] the short vowel /ɽ/ [in continuous utterance 72].

brahma+ɽṣṣ = brahma-ɽṣṣ/brāhmaṣ-ṣṣ 'brahmin sage'; khāṭva+ɽśya-h = khāṭva-ɽśya-h/khāṭv-ḍr-śya-h.

6.1.129 á-plu-ta-vat=upa-sthi-t-é

[A prolated vowel (plu-tá) 125] is treated like a non-prolated one (á-plu-ta-vat) [before 1.1.86] the indeclinable iti (upa-sthi-t-é) used in the Padapāṭha (for separating padá-s).

su-slokaḥ+iti (8.2.84)/su-slok-ḥ-ti (87).

6.1.130 ɽ3 cākra-varmaṇ-á-sya

According to the grammarian Cākra-varmaṇ-á [the prolated vowel 125] ɽ3 [is treated like a non-prolated vowel 123 before 1.1.86 vowels 77 in continuous utterance 72].

This is an optional rule: *ḍs-tu hṣṣ iti/as-tu h-f-ti; ci-nú hṣṣ idam = cínú-h-f-dam.*

6.1.131 div-aḥ=uT

The substitute short vowel /u/ replaces [padá-final 109 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] dív- 'heaven, sky'.

div-f kām-ḥ+a-syá = dív-ḥ+kāma-h = dí-u-kāma-h = dyú-kāma-h 'n.pr. (lit. whose desire is in heaven)'; dív+bhis = dyú-bhis; vímala dyáu-r a-smín = vímala+dív-vimala-dyu (= di-u) 'bright day'. But when not padá-final: div+au/Jas/am/Śas = dív-au, dív-as, dív-am/dív-as.

6.1.132 etád=tád-oh sU-lopá-ḥ=á-k-oh á-naÑ-sam-ās-e ḥaL-i

Lopa (Ø) [zero affix 3.1.1] replaces [the first sUP triplet 4.1.1] sU introduced [after 3.1.2 the pronominal stems] etád- 'this' and tád- 'that' not co-occurring with [the affix ák(ḡC) 5.3.71] or with the privative particle náÑ in composition (á-naÑ-sam-as-e) [before 1.1.66] a consonant (ḥaL-i).

etád+sU = etáda+sU (7.2.102) = et-á+sU (97) = eśá+sU (7.2.106) = eśá-sU (8.3.57)+dá-dā-ti = eśáØ dá-dā-ti 'this one gives'; so also tád+sU ná dá-dā-ti = eśá-Ø ná dá-dā-ti 'he does not give'; but eśá-ka+sU dá-dā-ti = eśá-ka+U dá-dā-ti (8.2.68) = eśá-ka+u dá-dā-ti (113) = eśá-ko dá-dā-ti; náÑ+etád+sU dá-dā-ti = án-eśa+sU = án-eśa dá-dā-ti.

6.1.133 sya-ś chándas-i bahulá-m

In the Chándas [lópa (Ø) replaces the first sUP triplet sU 132] variously, [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 4.1.1] syá- (= tyád-) 'that one' [in continuous utterance 72].

eśá syá te paav-a-ta indra sóma-ḥ (R.V. 9.97.46) 'here, O Indra, that soma flows off clearly for you', contra yá-ta syó ni-pat-et 'where that one may fall down'.

6.1.134 s-aḥ=aC-i lóp-e cét pāda-pūr-aṇá-m

[In the Chándas 133 lópa (Ø) replaces the first sUP triplet sU, introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 4.1.1 tád- 132 before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i), if by that replacement (cét) the quarter-verse can become complete (pāda-pūr-aṇá-m) [in continuous utterance 72].

eśdu rája kṣay-a-ti carṣaṇī-nām (R.V. 1.32.15) for eś-ḥ íd. This rule is extended to the epic language on the basis of the maxim chando-vat kavīy-aḥ kur-v-ānti: eśiśá dáśarathī rāma-ḥ for eś+sU+eśá+sU.

6.1.135 syṭ k-at pūrva-ḥ

The initial increment syṭ is inserted before (pūrva-ḥ) the phoneme /k/ [in continuous utterance 72].

This is a governing rule heading this section and extending up to and including 157 below, and recurs in the subsequent rules in this section.

6.1.136 ¹aṭ=²abhyāsa-vy-av-āy-é=ápi

[The initial increment *suṭ* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135] even (ápi) when there is intervention (between them *vy-av-āy-é*) by *áṭ* (4.72) or the reduplicated syllable (°-*abhy-ās-á*-°) [in continuous utterance 72].

sám+kar-ó-ti = *sám-skar-o-ti* 'adorns' (137); *sám+kṛ+IAṆ* = *sám+dṭ+kṛ+u+i* = *sám-d-syṭ-kar-o-i* (7.3.84) = *sám-d-skar-o-i*; *sám+kṛ+IIṬ* = *sám+ca-s-kār-a*; *sám+kṛ+IUN* = *sám-d-s-kār-ṣ-i-t*. This is also a governing rule along with 136.

6.1.137 ¹sám-²pári=³úpe-bhyḥ kar-ó-t-au bhūṣ-aṇ-e

[The initial increment *suṭ* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem] *kar-ó-ti* (= *kṛ*- 'do, produce' VIII 10), co-occurring with the pre-verbs *sám*-, *pári*- and *úpa*- to denote 'adorn, beautify' [even with the intervention of *áṭ* or the reduplicated syllable 136 in continuous utterance 72].

sám-s-kar-o-ti, *sám-d-s-kar-o-i*, *sám-ca-s-kār-a*; *sám-s-kār-tum*, *sám-s-kar-tṣ-*, *sám-s-kar-tāvya-m*; *pári-ṣ-kar-tṣ-* (8.3.70), *pári-ṣ-kār-tum*; *úpa-s-kār-tum*, *úpa-s-kar-tṣ-*.

6.1.138 sam-av-āy-é ca

[The initial increment *suṭ* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kar-ó-ti*, co-occurring with the preverbs *sám*-, *pári*- and *úpa*- 137, even with the intervention between them by *áṭ* or the reduplicated syllable 136 in continuous utterance 72] also (ca) to denote 'assemblage, collection' (*sam-av-āy-é*).

sám+kṛta- = *sám-s-kṛ-ta-* 'assembled, put together'; so also *pári-ṣ-kṛ-ta-* 'combined'; *úpa-s-kṛ-ta-* 'assembled'.

6.1.139 úp-āt ¹prati-yat-ná-²vai-kṛ-tá-³vākya= adhy-ā-hār-é-ṣu

[The initial increment *suṭ* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kar-ó-ti* 137] co-occurring with the preverb *úpa*- [in continuous utterance 72] to denote the senses of 'make an effort' (*prati-yat-ná*-), 'transform' (°*vai-kṛ-tá*-°) and 'fill an ellipsis in a sentence' (°-*vākya*=*adhy-ā-hār-é-ṣu*).

1. *edho-daká-sya úpa-s-kur-u-te* 'makes an effort to prepare fuel and water (for the sacrifice)'.

2. *úpa-s-ky-ta-m bhu-n-k-té* 'eats stale food'.

3. *úpa-a-s-ky-ta-m adh-t-té* 'studies (the text) with elaboration (i.e., filling the gaps)'.

6.1.140 *kir-á-t-au lāv-an-e*

[The initial increment *syṭ* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kir-á-ti* (= *kṛ* VI 118) 'scatter' [co-occurring with the preverb *úpa-*° 139 in continuous utterance 72] to denote 'reap, cut, split' (*lāv-an-e*).

upa+kṛ+NamūL = *upa-syṭ+kār-am mādṛakā lu-n-dnti* 'the citizens of Madrá scatter and cut' but *deva-dattā-h úpa-kir-a-ti* 'D. scatters'.

6.1.141 *himsā-y-ām prāte-s=ca*

[The initial increment *syṭ* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kir-á-ti* 'scatters' 140] co-occurring with the preverb *prāti-*° and also (*ca*) [*úpa-*° 139] to denote 'hurt, injure' (*himsā-y-ām*) [in continuous utterance 72].

prāti+kṛ+Ktā = *prāti-s-kir-ṇa-* (7.1.10; 8.2.42,83) = *úpa-s-kir-ṇa-* 'hurt, injured, violated', but *úpa-kir-ṇa-* 'bestrewed', *prāti-kir-ṇa-* 'scattered'.

6.1.142 *áp-āt=¹cātuṣ-pād=²śakúni-ṣu=ā-lékh-an-e*

[The initial increment *syṭ* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kir-á-ti* 140] co-occurring with the preverb *ápa-*° [in continuous utterance 72] to denote 'the scraping of the earth (*vi-lékh-an-e*) by quadrupeds (*cātuṣ-pād-*°) and birds (*-śakúni-ṣu*)'.

ápa-s-kir-a-te vṛṣabhá-h 'the bull scratches the ground'. *ápa-s-kir-a-te bhakṣy-ā-rthā kukkud-h* 'the rooster scratches the earth in search of food', but *ápa-kir-a-ti Devadattā-h* 'Devadattā scatters'.

6.1.143 *ku-s-tumburū-ṇ-i jā-ti-h*

The expression *kústumburu-* 'coriander' is introduced [with the initial increment *syṭ* inserted before the phoneme /t/] to denote a genus (*jā-ti-h*) [in continuous utterance 72].

kú-s-tumburu- m. 'coriander or cilantro plant', n. 'its seed' but *kuts-i-tā-n-i tumburū-ṇ-i* = *kú-tumburū-ṇ-i* 'fruit of *Diospyros embriopteris* = *induk*'.

6.1.144 a-para-s-par-ā-h kriy-ā-sātāt-y-é

The expression a-para-s-par-ā-h is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote 'continuity of action' (sā-tāt-y-é) [in continuous utterance 72].

a-para-s-par-ā-h gacch-a-nti 'they go one after another (= in succession)' but
apara-par-āh (sārth-ā-h) gacch-a-nti 'the ones and the others (traders) go (simultaneously)'.

6.1.145 go-ṣ-padā-m ¹sevitā=²ā-sevita-³pramāṇe-ṣu

The expression go-ṣ-padā-m is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote a locality which is occupied (sevitā-°) or not occupied (°-ā-sev-i-ta-°) or a measure of quantity (°=pra-mā-ṇe-su) [in continuous utterance 72].

gāv-aḥ pād-y-a-nte a-smīn = go+pad+GHā (3.3.118) = go-ṣ-padd-m 'a locality frequented by cattle'; ā-gospadam dranyam 'a forest not frequented by cattle';
go-ṣ-pada-mātrā-m kṣētra-m 'a part of a field the size of a cow's hoof' but gō-h
paddm = go-padd-m 'impression of a cow's hoof in soil'.

6.1.146 ā-s-padā-m prati-ṣṭhā-y-ām

The expression ā-s-padā-m is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote a fixed place (prati-ṣṭhā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 72].

ā+pad-ya-te a-smīn = ā-s-pad+GHā (3.3.118) = ā-s-padd-m 'place, seat, abode, dignity', but ā pad-āt (2.1.13; 3.10) = ā-padā-m ind. 'up to the foot'.

6.1.147 ā-ś-cār-ya-m ā-ni-ty-e

The expression ā-ś-cār-ya-m is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before phoneme /c/] to denote 'something unusual' (ā-ni-ty-e) [in continuous utterance 72].

āN+car+yaT = ā-ś-cār-ya-m 'wonderful, marvellous, astonishing' but ā-cār-ya- 'to be practiced or performed'.

6.1.148 *vārc-as-k-e=ava-s-kar-ā-ḥ*

The expression *ava-s-kār-a-* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /k/] to denote 'ordure, excrement' (*vārc-as-k-e*) [in continuous utterance 72].

ava+kṛ+aP (3.3.57) = *ava-s-kar-d-* 'excrement, ordure' but *ava-kar-d-* 'dust, sweepings'.

6.1.149 *apa-s-kar-ó ratha=aṅgá-m*

The expression *apa-s-kār-a* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before phoneme /k/] to denote a part of a chariot (*rathāṅgám*) [in continuous utterance 72].

apa+kṛ+aP = *apa-s-kar-d-* 'any part of a chariot' but *apa-kar-d-* 'scattering'.

6.1.150 *vi-ṣ-kir-ā-ḥ śakúni-r vā*

The expression *vi-ṣ-kir-ā-* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /k/] optionally (*vā*) to denote a bird (*śakúni-ḥ*) [in continuous utterance 72].

vi+kṛ+Ká (3.1.135) = *vi-ṣ-kir-d-/vi-kir-d-* 'a gallinaceous bird such as domestic fowl, partridge, quail' etc., while *vi-kir-d-* has also the general sense of 'scattering'.

6.1.151 *hrasv-āt=candra=ut-tara-pad-e mántr-e*

[The initial increment *suṭ* 135 is inserted before the nominal stem 4.1.1] °*cāndra-* as a final member (in composition: °*uttara-pad-é*), co-occurring with [a prior member ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel 1.2.28), in the domain of *Mántra* [in continuous utterance 72].

sū+cāndra- = *su+suṭ+cāndra-* = *su-ś-candra-* (8.4.40); *hari+cāndra-* = *hári-ś-candra-* 'n.pr.' (cf. 153 below), but *sāryā-candra-mās-au* 'sun and moon' but in non-Chands *su-candrā paurṇa-māś*, *hári-candra-*.

6.1.152 *prāti-ṣ-kaśa-s=ca kaśe-ḥ*

The expression *prati-ṣ-kaś-ā-* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /k/] of the verbal stem *kaś-* 'move' (II 14) co-occurring with the preverb *prāti-* ° [in continuous utterance 72].

prāti+kaś+āC (3.1.134) = *prāti+syT+kaś-ā-* 'emissary, agent', but *prāti-ga-tā-h*
kāś-ām = *prāti-kāś-a-h* 'a horse not responding to or obeying the whip'.

6.1.153 ¹*prā-s-kaṇva-*²*hāri-s-candr-au=ḥṣ-ī*

The expressions *prā-s-kaṇva-* and *hāri-ś-candra-* are introduced [with initial increment *syT* 135 respectively before 1.2.10 phonemes /k/ and /c/] to denote names of Vedic seers (ḥṣ-ī) [in continuous utterance 72].

hāri-ś-candra- is included here for the purpose of showing its occurrence outside the domain of Māntra also (cf. 151).

6.1.154 ¹*mā-s-kar-a-*²*ma-s-kar-ṇ-au* ¹*véṇu-* ²*pari-vrāj-akay-oḥ*

The expressions *mā-s-kar-a-* and *ma-s-kar-ṇ-* are introduced [with initial increment *syT* 135 inserted before the phoneme /k/] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] a bamboo (*véṇu-*[°]) and a wandering monk ([°]-*pari-vrāj-akay-oḥ*) [in continuous utterance 72].

In other senses: *mākara-* 'sea monster, whale, shark'; *makar-ṇ-* 'ocean'.

6.1.155 ¹*kā-s-tīra=*²*ajā-s-tund-e* *nāgar-e*

The expressions *kā-s-tīra-* and *ajā-s-tunda-* are introduced [with initial increment *syT* 135 before the phoneme /t/] to denote the names of cities [in continuous utterance 72].

But *kā-tīra-* 'bad shore or bank'; *ajā-tundā-* 'protruding belly of a ram'.

6.1.156 *kār-a-s-kar-ā* *vṛkṣá-ḥ*

The expression *kār-a-s-kar-ā* is introduced [with initial increment *syT* 135 before the phoneme /k/] to denote a tree [in continuous utterance 72].

But *kār-a-kar-ā-* (3.2.21) 'acting as agent'.

6.1.157 *pāra-s-kar-á=pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca saṁjñā-y-ām*

The class of expressions beginning with *pāra-s-kar-á-* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the initial consonantal phoneme of the posterior member in composition] to form names (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [in continuous utterance 72].

pāra-m kar-d-ti = *pāra+kr+ṭa* (3.2.20) = *pāra+suṭ+kar-d-* = *pāra-s-kar-d-*;
rātha-m pā-ti = *rātha+pā+Kd+ṭaP* (3.2.3) *ratha-s-pā* (*nad-f*).

6.1.158 *án-udatta-m padá-m eka-várja-m*

With the exception of one syllable (*eka-várja-m*) [for which an *udátta* 'high-pitch' or *svaritá* 'circumflex, high and low pitch' accent is introduced] a *padá* (1.4.14ff.) bears the *ánudatta* 'low pitch' accent.

This is a metarule governing accentuation. Accent rules introduce either an *udátta* or *svaritá-* accent on a particular syllable of a *padá*, the rest bearing the *ánudatta* accent. A nominal stem (*prātipadiká*) or a verbal stem (*dhātu*) or an affix (*praty-ayá*) has its particular *udátta* or *svaritá* accent, and when a *padá* is generated by a combination of stem and affix, the *padá* bears the *udátta* or *svaritá* accent on a single syllable, the rest being *ánudatta*. Thus by 162 below the final syllable of a verbal stem is considered to bear the *udátta* accent in general. Thus from the verbal stem *lú-* 'cut' (IX 13) we derive the theme *lú+Śnā* where the class-marker also bears the *udátta* accent, so that the theme will be *lu-nā-* before *l-* substitutes *tiP*, *tás*, *ánti*, generating the Present Indicative forms *lu-nā-ti* (*tiP* being *ánudatta* by 3.1.4), *lu-n-tás*, *lu-n-ánti*; further if we derive the comparative form *lu-ni-tás+ taraP+ām* we arrive at *lu-nāś-tar-á-m*. A grammatical form or *padá* may consist of stems (*pra-kṛ-ti*), increments (*śgama*), replacements (*śdeśá*) and affixes (*praty-ay-á*), each of which may be bearing its own accent, but when the surface form emerges it can have only one accented syllable, leaving all others without accent. The last step in the successive derivation will determine the final position of the accent in the *padá*.

6.1.159 ¹*karṣ-á=*²*āT-vat-aḥ* *GHaÑ-aḥ=ánta=udátta-ḥ*

The final syllable (*ánta-ḥ*) of an expression [ending in 1.1.72 the *kṛt* 3.1.93 affix 3.1.1] *GHaÑ* bears the *udátta* accent when it is derived from [the verbal stem 3.1.91] *krṣ-* 'draw, drag' (VI 6) or from those containing the vowel phoneme long /ā/ (*āT-vat-aḥ*).

This is a prior exception to 197 below. Under normal conditions the marker *Ñ* of *GHaÑ* introduces the *udátta* accent on the initial syllable of the derived form.

krṣ+GHaÑ = *karṣ-d-* (7.2.88) 'dragging, ploughing'; *pac+GHaÑ* = *pak-d-* (7.2.116;

3.52) 'cooking'; *rañj+GHaÑ* = *rag-á-* (4.27) 'dying, coloring'; *dā+GHaÑ* = *dā+yuk+á* (7.3.33) *dā-y-á-* 'donation, presenting'; *dhā-y-á-* 'beaving'.

6.1.160 uñch-á=ādī-n-ān ca

[The final syllable 159 of the class of derived nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with uñch-á- 'gleaning' [derived with various affixes 3.1.1 such as GHaÑ, aP, etc. bears the udātta accent 159].

uñch+GHaÑ = *uñch-á-*; *gṛ+aP* = *gar-á-* 'poison' but in other meanings regularly *gār-a-* (197).

6.1.161 án-udātta-sya ca yātra=udātta-lopá-ḥ

[The udātta accent 159 replaces] an ánudātta syllable when the preceding udātta syllable is replaced by lopa (Ø) on account of it.

kumārd+ÑIP = *kumārØ+I* = *kumār-ī* 'maiden' (4.1.20; 6.4.148); *path-fn+Śas* = *pathØØ+as* (7.1.88) = *path-ás*, *path-ís*, *path-é* etc.; *kumudd+ḌmatUP* (4.2.87) = *kumudØ+mat-* = *kumud-vát* (8.2.10) 'abounding in lotuses'.

6.1.162 dhāto-ḥ

[The final syllable 159] of a verbal stem [bears the udātta accent 159].

DU-pac-AŚ pác-é (I 1045): *pác+ŚaP+tiP* = *pác-a-ti* 'cooks'; *ārṇáÑ ācchād-an-e* (II 30): *ārṇá+Ø²+tiP* = *ārṇó-ti* 'covers'; *gop+āya+ŚaP+tiP* = *gop-āyá+a-ti* = *gop-āy-á-ti* (97) 'protects'.

6.1.163 C-IT=aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] marked with C as IT or [ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 so marked bears the udātta accent 159].

kṣetriyáO = *kṣetriyá-* 'incurable in the present life' (5.2.92). *bhāś+GHuráO* = *bhāś-urá* (3.2.161) 'shining'; similarly *bhañj+GHuráC* = *bhañg-urá-* (7.3.52) 'fragile'.

6.1.164 taddhitá-sya

[The final syllable 159] of a taddhitá derivative [i.e., a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a taddhitá affix 3.1.1 marked with C as IT 163 bears the udātta accent 159].

kuñja+CphaN̄ (4.1.98)+*N̄ya* (5.3.113) = *kauñj-āyand̄+N̄ya* - *kadñj-āyan-ya-h* 'descendant of Kuñja', but in the plural affix [*N̄ya*] is replaced by *θ*¹ (2.4.62): *kuñja+CphaN̄+θ*¹+*Jas* = *kunj-āyan-āh* since affix [*CphaN̄*] remains in position, marker [*N̄*] functioning to operate 7.1.117 and C the present rule; [*N̄ya*] becomes inoperative by 1.1.63.

6.1.165 K-IT-aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a taddhitá 164 affix 3.1.1] with marker K as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

nadā+phaK = *nad-āyand̄* (7.1.2; 2.118) 'descendant of Nadā'.

6.1.166 tisf-bhyaḥ Jas-aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of the sUP triplet 4.1.2] *Jas* introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *tisf-* f. 'three' [bears the udātta accent 159].

This is a prior exception to 8.2.4. *tisf+Jas* = *tisr-dh* f. '3'. By 8.2.4 the semivowel substitute of an udātta or svaritá vowel operates a svaritá on the following vowel, and since *Jas* is ánudātta (3.1.4) and /r/ is the substitute for /ɿ/ which bears the udātta accent, the form realized by the operation of that rule would have been **tisr-dh*, but this prior exception blocks that rule. Cf. also 174 and 179 below.

6.1.167 catur-aḥ Śas-i

[The final syllable 159 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *catur-* 'four' [bears the udātta accent 150 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet 4.1.2] *Śas*.

catur+Śas = *catúr-aḥ paśya* 'look at the four', but *cātasr-aḥ paśya* f.

6.1.168 e-au éka=aC-as=tṛ-tīyā=ādīr vi-bhák-ti-h

sUP triplets (vi-bhák-ti-h) beginning with the third (tṛ-tīyādi-h) [bear the udātta accent 159] when introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] which are monosyllabic (éka=aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 the seventh sUP triplet] su.

The binding condition here is that the nominal stem should be monosyllabic before the locative plural affix su.

vác+su = *vák-su* whence *vác-ā*, *vāg-bhyām*, *vāg-bhiḥ* but *vák*, *vác-au*, *vác-aḥ*, *vác-am* and *rājan+suP* = *rājāḥ-su*; *rājñ-ā*, *rājñ-e* etc.; similarly *tváy-ā*, *máy-ā* since the locative plural forms are *yugmā-su*, *asmā-su* (disyllabic).

6.1.169 ánta=udatt-āt=uittara-pad-āt=anya-tará-syām á-nitya-sam-ās-e

[sUP triplets beginning with the third 168, introduced after 3.1.2 a monosyllabic 168 nominal stem 4.1.1] constituting the final member of a compound which is not obligatory (á-ni-tya-sam-ās-e) and bears the udātta accent on its final syllable, optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bear the udātta accent 159].

para-m-ā vāk = *parama*θ+*vāc*- 'highest speech' +*ṭā* = *parama-vāc-ā/parama-vāc-ā*, but *ā-vāc*- 'absence of speech; dumbness' generates *ā-vāc-ā*, *ā-vāc-e*, etc. (6.2.2); on the other hand *a-vāc* (2.172) 'speechless, dumb': *a-vāc-ā/a-vāc-ā* *brāhmaṇ-ēna* 'by a non-speaking brahmin' which is a non-obligatory compound (2.2.11). In the case of obligatory compounds: *agni-cīt-ā*, *soma-sūt-ā*, etc., since these are not governed by (2.2.11).

6.1.170 añc-s=chāndas-i=ā-sarva-nāma-sthā-ne

[sUP triplets] excluding those denoted by the t.t. *sarvanāma-sthāna* (1.1.42-43 Śi, sUṬ) [bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-añc- in the domain of Chāndas.

By 222 below a nominal stem ending in °-añc- bears the udātta accent on the last syllable of the prior member when θ-replacement reduces it to °-c- only: *dadhī-c* (3.138)+*Śas* = *dadhī-c-dh*, *dadhī-c-ā*, *dadhī-c-ē*, etc.

6.1.171 ¹ūṬH=²idám=³pád-ādi=⁴áp-⁵púm-⁶raí-⁷dyú-bhyaḥ

[sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. *sarvanāma-sthāna* 170 (= Śi, sUṬ: weak declensional endings) bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ūṬH (4.132) and *idám*- 'this', word-class beginning with °-pád- (63 above up to níś-). °-áp- 'water', °-púms- 'male', °-raí- 'riches' and °-div- 'heaven'.

1. *praṭha-vāh*+*Śas* = *praṭha*+*āṬHāh*+*Śas* (4.132) = *praṭhauh-dh* (89), *praṭhauh-ē*, etc.; 2. *ā-bhyám*, *ā-bhāh*, etc.; 3. *ni-pad-dh/ni-pad-ā*; *dat-dh*, *dat-ā*, etc. 4. *ap*+*Śas* = *ap-dh*, *ap-sú*; 5. *pums-dh*, *pums-ā* etc.; 6. *rāy-dh*, *rāy-ē*, etc.; 7. *div-ā*, *div-ē*, *div-dh* etc.

6.1.172 *aṣṭān-o dīrgh-āt*

[sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanamasthāna 170 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *aṣṭān-* 'eight' [ending in 1.1.72] a long (vowel 1.2.28: *dīrgh-āt* 7.2.84).

aṣṭā-bhīh/ *~bhīdāh* etc., but when not ending in a long vowel: *aṣṭā-su*.

6.1.173 *Śātu-r ś-nyM-aḥ* ¹*nad̐*=²*āC=ādī*

The feminine (*nad̐*) [affix N̐P 4.1.6 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *ŚātṚ* without the infixed increment *nyM* (*a-nyM-aḥ*) (7.1.80) [and bearing the udātta accent on the final syllable 169] as well as [sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāna 170] beginning with a vowel (*āC=ādī*) [bear the udātta accent 159].

tud+Śā+ŚātṚ+N̐P = *tud-ā-at+N̐P* = *tud-ā-i+I* (97) = *tudat-f* contra *tud-dnt-i* 'piercing' (7.1.80). *tudāt+Śas* = *tudat-dh/* *~ā/* *~ē* etc., but *tud-dnt-aḥ*; likewise *dā-d-at-aḥ*, *dād-at-ā* since this has the udātta accent on the initial syllable.

6.1.174 *udātta-yaN-aḥ* *hāL-pūrv-āt*

[The feminine affix (N̐P) 173 as well as sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāna 170 beginning with a vowel 173 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] whose (final 1.1.72) udātta vowel is replaced by a semivowel (*udātta-yaN-aḥ*) preceded by a consonant (*hāL-pūrv-āt*).

kṛ+tfC+N̐P = *kar-tf+I* = *kar-tr-f* f. 'doer, agent', but *kṛ+trN+Tā/Ne* = *kār-tr-ā/kār-tr-e* etc.

This rule is a prior exception to 8.2.4. In the Bahuvr̥thi compound *bahu-tita-d̐ brāhman-f* 'a brahmin lady possessing many sieves', the udātta accent falls on the final syllable by 2.175 below and *bahu-tita-d̐+Tā* = *bahu-dtita v-ā*, since the semivowel replacement of the udātta vowel is not preceded by a consonant, the present rule does not operate and by 8.2.4 the following anudātta vowel of the sUP triplet bears the svaritā accent.

6.1.175 ná=¹ñN-²dhātṽ-oh

[sUP triplets excluding those indicated by the t.t. sarvanāmasthāna 170 beginning with a vowel 173 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 whose final udātta vowel of the feminine affix 3.1.1] ñN (4.1.66) or of a verbal stem (*dhāto-ḥ) [is replaced by a semivowel preceded by a consonant 174] does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 159].

brahma-bandhu-ñCanu(N) = *brahma-bandh-ñ+Tñ* = *brahma-bandhṽ-ñ* (8.2.4) 'by a brahmin-like lady'; *khalā-pū+Tñ* = *khalapṽ-ñ* (8.4.83; 8.2.4) 'by a sweeper'.

6.1.176 ¹hrasvá-²nuṭ=bhyām matUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel 1.2.28: hrasvá-') [bearing the udātta accent 169] or the initial increment nuṭ (8.2.16).

1. *agní+matUP* = *agní-mát-* 'maintaining a sacrificial fire'; similarly *kṛ+ṭṣC+matUP* = *kar-ṭṣ-mát-* 'active', but *kṛ+ṭṣN+matUP* = *kár-ṭṣ-mat-*.
2. *akṣ+matUP* = *akṣ-án+matUP* (7.1.76) = *akṣán+nuṭ+matUP* (8.2.16) - *akṣāḥ-n-mat* (8.2.7) *akṣa-n-vāt-* (8.2.9; 4.2) 'having eyes'; similarly *astha-n-vāt-* 'possessing bones' or *śīṣa-n-vāt-* 'having a head', but *vásu-mat* 'rich, wealthy'.

6.1.177 n-ām anya-tará-syām

[The sixth sUP triplet 4.1.2] n-ām optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a short udātta vowel 176 before affix matUP 176].

agní+ām = *agní+nuṭ-ām* (7.1.54) = *agní-n-ām/agní-n-ām* (7.3.102) since this stem ends in a short udātta vowel before the matUP. But *vásu-n-ām*.

6.1.178 Ñy-ās=chándas-i bahulá-m

In the domain of Chándas [the sixth sUP triplet n-ām 177 bears the udātta accent 159] variously (bahulá-m) [when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affix 3.1.1] Ñī.

bahú+ÑīP (4.1.45) = *bahv-f+ām* = *bahv-I-n-ām pítā* (RV 8.75.5) 'father of many (daughters)'; but *jáy-ant-I-n-ām marút-aḥ* (RV 10.103.8).

6.1.179 ¹ṣāṣ-²tri-³catúr-bhyaḥ haL=ādi-h

[A sUP triplet] beginning with a consonant (haL=ādi-h) [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 denoting number words covered by the t.t.] ṣāṣ (1.1.24) and tri- 'three' and catúr- 'four'.

ṣāṣ+bhīḥ = *ṣād+bhīḥ* (8.4.53) = *ṣad-bhīḥ*; *ṣad-bhydh*, *ṣan-n-ām*; *pañcā-n-ām*, *saptā-n-ām*, etc.

tri-bhīḥ, *tri-bhydh*, *traya-n-ām* *catur-bhīḥ*, *catur-bhydh* etc. For an exception see 172 above: *aṣṭā-su*.

6.1.180 jhaL-l úpottama-m

The penultimate (úpa=uttama-m) [of a polysyllabic padá derived from the number words denoted by the t.t. ṣāṣ as well as tri- and catúr- 179 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets beginning with] non-nasal consonantal phonemes (jhaL-l) [bears the udātta accent 159].

1. *pañcan+bhīḥ* = *pañcāṇ-bhīḥ* = *pañcā-bhīḥ*/'-bhyah; *saptā-bhīḥ* *saptā-bhyah*; but before initial nasal phoneme: *saptā-n-ām*, *pañcā-n-ām*.

2. *tiṣṭ-bhīḥ*; *catúr-bhyah*; in the case of non-polysyllabic padás: *ṣad-bhīḥ*, *tri-bhydh*.

6.1.181 vibhāṣā bhāṣā-y-ām

In the domain of current speech (bhāṣā-y-ām) [the penultimate syllable of a polysyllabic padá derived from the number words denoted by the t.t. ṣāṣ as well as tri- '3' and catúr '4' 179 with sUP triplets beginning with non-nasal consonants 180 bears the udātta accent 159] optionally.

1. *pañcā-bhīḥ*/*pañca-bhīḥ*; *saptā-bhīḥ*/*sapta-bhīḥ*.

2. *tiṣṭ-bhīḥ*/*tiṣṭ-bhīḥ*, *catasṭ-bhīḥ*/*catasṭ-bhīḥ*; *aṣṭā-su*/*aṣṭa-sú* (cf. 172 above).

6.1.182 ná ¹gó-²śván-³aAU=a-varṇa=⁴rāj=⁵āñ=⁶krún=⁷kṛd-bhyaḥ

[The operations indicated in 168-181] do not (ná) take place [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] gó- 'cow/bull', śván- 'dog', a stem [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme class /a/ [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] sU, rāj- 'ruler, king', a stem [ending in 1.1.72] '-āñc-, or '-krún- 'curlew' and kṛ-t- 'doer, agent'.

1. gó: *gáv-a*, *gó-bhyām* (blocking 168 above); *sugá-nā*, *sugáv-a* (blocking 169).

2. évan: éun-ā, éun-é, parma-éun-ā etc.
3. sAU=a-varṇa: yá-h, yébhyaḥ, té-bhyaḥ.
4. ráj: ráj-ā, parma-ráj-ā etc.
5. áñc: práñc-ā, práñc-e but prác-ā etc.
6. krúñc: krúñc-ā, parama-krúñc-ā etc.
7. kṛt: kṛt-ā, kṛt-e, parama-kṛt-e etc.

6.1.183 div-o jhāL

[A sUP affix 4.1.2] beginning with a non-nasal consonant (jhāL) [does not 182 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] dív- 'heaven, sky'.

dív + bhyām = dyú-bhyām (131) but dív-ā. This rule blocks the operation of either 168 or 171.

6.1.184 nṛ ca=anya-tará-syām

[A sUP triplet 4.1.2 beginning with a non-nasal consonant 182] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [does not 182 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] nṛ- 'man'.

nṛ-bhīh/nṛ-bhīḥ (168).

6.1.185 T=IT svar-i-tá-m

An element marked with T as IT bears the svar-i-tá accent.

vac + NyaT = vāk-yá- (7.2.116; 3.52); kṛ + NyaT = kār-yá-.

6.1.186 ¹tásj = ²án-udātta = IT = ³ÑIT = ⁴aT = upa-des-āt la-sārvadhātuká-m ánu-dāttam á-¹hnu = ²iÑ-oh

A sārvadhātuka (3.4.113) [affix 3.1.1 replacing an] l-member (=tiÑ 3.4.78 and ŚatR, ŚānaC 3.2.124-25) bears the anudātta accent when introduced [after 3.1.2 the tense marker] tásj (3.1.33) or verbal stems with anudātta or Ñ as IT markers, excluding the stems hnuÑ 'hide' (II 72) and iÑ [with ádhi-°] (II 37) and short aT which have been introduced as such when first introduced (in the Dhṛp.).

1. kṛ + tásj + Dā (2.4.85) = kār-táṭṭh-ā (3.4.143); kṛ + tásj + ras/ras = kār-táṭṭh-rau/ras (7.4.51).
2. anudātta=IT: āsA upa-ves-an-e (II 11) + te = ās-te 'sits'.

3. \dot{N} -IT: $\acute{s}t\acute{N}$ *svap-n-t* (II 22)+*te* = $\acute{s}t\acute{e}$ -*te* 'sleeps'.
4. aT =upa-deś-a: themes ending in short vowel /a/: $p\acute{a}c+\acute{S}aP+t\acute{e}$ = $p\acute{a}c$ -a-taḥ 'they two cook'; $tud+\acute{S}a+t\acute{e}$ = tud -a-taḥ 'they two vex'.
5. In other cases: $ci+\acute{S}nu+tiP/t\acute{a}s$ = ci -nó-ti/ci-nu-tás; here, although / $\acute{S}nú$ / is a \dot{N} -IT by 1.2.4, it is so only in so far as it affects the preceding morpheme. In $p\acute{a}c+\acute{S}aP+v\acute{a}s/m\acute{a}s$ = $p\acute{a}c$ -ā-vas/mas the accent shift to the l-substitutes is not blocked by /a of $\acute{S}aP$ / being replaced by /ā/(7.3.101) since in grammatical operation the theme still ends in /a/. Similarly in $han+t\acute{a}s$ = $ha\theta$ -tás the theme is still ha -(n→ θ) blocking out the operation of this rule, though /tás/ here is preceded by /ha/. But exceptions to 3. above are: $hnu-t\acute{e}$ 'hides', $yad adhi-t\acute{e}$ (8.1.30) 'that he studies'.

6.1.187 ādi-ḥ siC-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

The first (ādi-ḥ) syllable (of a verbal stem) [ending in 1.1.72 the Aorist Marker] siC optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

$mā$ hi $K_f+siC+tām$ = $mā$ hi $kār$ -s-tām/ $kār$ -s-tām (7.2.1; 8.4.2,41); $mā$ hi $lāv$ -i-s-tām/ $lāv$ -i-s-tām since normally the marker C of siC indicates that the syllable containing it bears the udātta accent.

6.1.188 ¹svap=ādi=²hiṃs-ām aC-i=an-iT-i

[The first syllable 187 of the class of verbal stems] beginning with sváp- 'sleep, lie down' (II 59-61) and hiṃs- 'hurt, injure' (VII 19) [optionally 187 bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 a sārva dhātuka affix replacing an l-member 186] beginning with a vowel excepting that of the initial increment iT (aCi=an-iT-i).

The verbal class beginning with [svap-] consists of: svap-, śas-, an- and jakṣ-; $svap+\theta^1+anti$ = $sv\acute{a}p$ -anti/ $svap$ -ānti; $\acute{s}v\acute{a}s$ -anti/ $\acute{s}vas$ -ānti; $hiṃs+\acute{S}naM+anti$ = hi -na-ns+anti hi -nṭh-s-anti (4.111,23) = $h\acute{f}m\acute{s}$ -anti/ $hiṃs$ -ānti (8.3.24). But $svap+t\acute{e}$ = $svap+iT-t\acute{e}$ = $svap$ -i-tāḥ (7.3.76).

6.1.189 abhy-ās-tā-n-ām ādi-ḥ

The first (ādi-ḥ) syllable of a reduplicated verbal theme [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 a sārva dhātuka affix replacing an l-member 186 beginning with a vowel other than the initial increment iT 188].

$dā$ (III 9)+ $\acute{S}tu+jhi$ = $d\acute{a}$ -dā-ati = $d\acute{a}$ -dṭh-ati (4.112) 'they give'; similarly $d\acute{a}$ -d-atu 'let them give'; $j\acute{a}$ -kṣ-atu 'let them eat', but $jakṣ+iT+t\acute{e}$ = $jakṣ$ -i-tāḥ.

6.1.190 ān-udātt-e ca

Also (ca) [the first syllable of a reduplicated verbal theme 189 bears the udātta accent 159 before a sārva dhātuka affix 186] not containing an udātta accent (ān-udātt-e).

$dā+Ślu+tiP = dā-dā-ti$ 'gives'; $hā+θ^1+ti = jā-hā-ti$ 'abandons'; $mā hi dā-dhā-t$
(: $dhā+IAN+t = dhā+θ^3+t$) 'let him not bear'; $dā-dhā-ti$ 'bears'.

6.1.191 sarvá-sya sUP-i

[The first syllable 189 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all' [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets (sUP-i).

$sarva-h$, $sarva-au$, $sarva-e$ but $sarvā+ taraP/ tamaP = sarvā-tara-/ -tama-$.

6.1.192 ¹bhī-²hrī-³bhṛ-⁴hu-⁵māda-⁶janA-⁷dhanA-⁸daridrā-⁹jāgar-ām pūrva-m P-IT-i

The syllable preceding (pūrva-m) [a sārva dhātuka affix replacing an l-member 186] with marker P as IT [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the reduplicated themes of] bhī- 'fear' (III 2), hrī- 'be ashamed' (III 3), bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5), hu- 'offer an oblation' (III 1), māda- 'rejoice' (I 853), jan- 'be procreated' (III 24), dhan- 'run' (III 23), daridrā 'be in need' (II 64) and jāgr- 'wake up' (II 83).

Affixes with marker P referred to here are [tiP, siP, miP] with their replacements.

- (a) $bi-bhā+ti/si/mi$; (b) $ji-hrē-mi/si/ti$; (c) $bi-bhār-mi/si/ti$; (d) $ju-hā-ti/si/mi$;
(e) $ma-māt-tu$, $ma-mād-at$; (f) $ja-jān-at$; (g) $da-dhān-at$; (h) $daridrā-ti/si/mi$;
(i) $jā-gār-ti/si/mi$.

6.1.193 L-IT-i

[The syllable preceding 192 an affix 3.1.1] with marker L as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

$kṛ+saN+NvuL = ci-kṛ-ṣa+NvuL = ci-kṛ-ṣṭh-aka-$ (4.148) 'wishing to do, desirous of doing'; $bhaūriki+vidhaL = bhaūriki-vidha-$ (4.2.54).

6.1.194 ādf-r NamyL-i=anya-tarā-syām

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] NamyL the first (ādf-h) syllable (of a verbal stem) optionally (anya-tarā-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

lā+yañ+NamūL = *lā-lā-yā+am* *lā-lā-y-am/lā-lā-y-am* *lā-lā-y-am* 'having repeatedly cut'.

6.1.195 aC-aḥ kar-tṛ-yaK-i

[Before the marker 1.1.66] yāK (3.1.67 of passive construction) used reflexively (kar-tṛ-yaK-i) [the initial syllable of verbal stems 194 which end in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-i) [when first introduced (in the Dhp.) 186 optionally 194 bears the udātta accent 159].

lā-ya-te/lā-yā-te kedarā-ḥ svayā-m evā 'the field is reaped by itself', but *bhid-yā-te svayā-m evā* 'breaks automatically' and *lā-yā-te kedarā-ḥ Deva-datt-ēna* 'the field is being reaped by Devadattā'.

For the verbal stems jan-, san- and khan- also the present rule applies as by 4.82 the stem-final is replaced by ā before affixes beginning with non-nasal consonants: *jā-ya-te/jā-yā-te*; *sā-ya-te/sā-yā-te*; *khā-ya-te/khā-yā-te*.

6.1.196 thaL-i ca sā-iṭ-i=iṭ=anta-ḥ=vā

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] thaL (3.4.82), co-occurring with initial increment iṭ, either iṭ or the final (ānta-ḥ) syllable or (vā) [the initial syllable 194 bears the udātta accent 159].

When this rule does not operate, the general rule 193 operates, giving in all four different placements for this suprasegmental phoneme: *lā+iṭ* = *lā=thaL* = *lu-lā+iṭ-thaL* = *lu-lo+iṭ+thaL* = *lu-lav-i-tha/lu-lav-i-thā/lā-lav-i-tha/lu-lāv-i-tha* 'thou hast cut'.

6.1.197 Ñ-N-IT-y ādī-r nitya-m

[Before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ñ or N the initial (ādī-ḥ) syllable [of the stem] necessarily (nī-tya-m) [bears the udātta accent 159].

gargā+yañ (4.1.105) = *gārgā-ya-* (4.148) 'gotrā descendant of Gargā'; *vāsudevā+vuñ* = *vāsudevaḥ-aka-* (4.3.98) 'a partisan of Vāsudeva'; similarly *dr̥jun-aka-*.

6.1.198 ā-mantr-ita-sya ca

[The initial syllable 197] of a vocative (ā-mantr-i-ta-sya) also (ca) [bears the udātta accent 159].

dēvadatta! hāre! vāyo! etc.

6.1.199 ¹pathf-²math-óh sarvanāmasthān-é

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathfn- 'path' and mathfn- 'churning stick' [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets] denoted by the t.t. (sarva-nāma-sthān-é).

pánthāh (7.1.85-87)/*pánthān-au*/*pánthān-ah*/*pánthān-am*/*pánthān-au*; *mánthā-h*/
mánthān-au/*mánthān-ah*/*mánthān-am*/*mánthān-au*. But *path-āh*/*path-ā*/
path-é/*path-f* etc.

6.1.200 ántas=ca távai yugapát

[The initial syllable 197] as well as (ca) the final (ánta-s) syllable of an expression [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] távai (3.4.9) simultaneously (yugapát) [bear the udātta accent 159].

kṛ-távai = *kár-tavai* 'to do'; *mlécc-h-i-tavai* 'to speak indistinctly'.

6.1.201 kṣáy-a-h ní-vāsa-é

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] kṣáy-a- [bears the udātta accent 159] when denoting the sense of 'residence' (nivāsa).

kṣiy-ánti ní-vas-a-nti a-amfn = *kṣi + GHá* (3.3.118) - *kṣáy-a* 'residence'; the normal affix is [áC 3.3.58] yielding *kṣi + áC* = *kṣay-d-* 'destruction, consumption'.

6.1.202 jáy-a-h kár-aṇa-m

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] jáy-a- [bears the udātta accent 159] to denote 'instrument or means of victory' (kár-aṇa-e).

jáy-anti an-éna = *jī + GHá* = *jáy-a* (3.3.118) 'instrument or means of victory' as in *jáy-a-h déva-h* 'horse of victory' but *jī + aC* = *jay-d-* (3.3.58) 'victory'. In the case of both [GHá, áC] the normal accent should fall on the final syllable; however, affix GHá is in operation as the derived form is a samjñá or name.

6.1.203 vṛṣa=ādī-n-ārn ca

[The initial syllable 197 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vṛṣ-a- 'bull' [bears the udātta accent 159] also (ca).

vṛṣ + Ká (3.1.135) = *vṛṣ-a-* 'bull' (exception to 3.1.2); *jvar + áC* (3.1.134) = *jvár-a-* 'temperature, fever' against normally expected word-final accentuation.

6.1.204 *saṃjñā-y-ām upa-mā-na-m*

[The initial syllable 197 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] serving as an object of comparison (*upa-mā-na-m*) in a proper name (*saṃjñā-y-ām*) [bears the udātta accent 159].

cānā 'straw-man, scare-crow'; *udhrtā* 'eunuch'; *khṛa-kuṭi* 'barber's shop'; *dās-ī* 'n.pr.'; in the generation of these forms there is Ø³ replacement of affix *kaN* (5.3.98).

6.1.205 *niṣṭhā ca dvy-āC ān-āT*

[The initial syllable 197] of dissyllabic (*dvy-āC*) [nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā*, excluding those with vowel phoneme /ā/ in the first syllable (*ān-āT*) [serving as proper names 204 bears the udātta accent 159].

dā+Kta = *dad+Kta* (7.4.46) = *dāt-taḥ*; *gūp-ta=ḥ* when occurring as proper names; but otherwise *dat-tā-* 'given'. *gup-tā-* 'protected'; similarly for the polysyllabic *rakṣ-i-tā-* even when denoting a proper name; likewise *trā-tā-* 'protected'.

6.1.206 *¹sūs-ka=²dhṛṣ-ṭ-au*

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 *niṣṭhā* affixes 205] *sūs-ka-* 'dry' and *dhṛṣ-ṭa* 'bold, daring' [bears the udātta accent 159].

sūṣ+Ktā = *sūṣ+kā* (8.2.51) = *sūs-ka-*; *dhṛṣ+Ktā* = *dhṛṣ-ṭa-*.

6.1.207 *ās-i-ta-ḥ kar-tā*

The expression *ās-i-ta-* used as an agent (*kar-tā*) (noun) [bears the udātta accent 159 on its initial syllable 197].

ās-i-ta-ḥ deva-datitā-ḥ 'Devadattā has eaten' (exception to 2.144) but *ās-i-tā-m ānna-m* 'food has been eaten' (passive construction) and *ās-i-ta-m (devadatt-ēna)* 'eating has taken place' (by Devadattā) [impersonal construction].

There are three views on the derivation of this expression: (a) *ās+Ktā* with high pitched accent on the initial and replacement of the vowel by the corresponding long one; (b) *ās+NIC+Kta* with initial udātta accent or (c) *āN+ās+Kta* contra 2.144 below.

6.1.208 rik-t-é vibhāṣā

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] rik-tā- [ending in 1.1.72 in a niṣṭhā affix 205] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 159].

rik+Kta = rik-ta-/rik-tā- (8.2.30) 'emptied, voided'.

6.1.209 ¹jūṣ-ṭa=²ār-p-i-t-e ca=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] jūṣ-ṭa- 'pleasant' and ār-p-i-ta- 'inserted, fixed' also (ca) [optionally 208 bears the udātta accent 159].

jūṣ-ṭa-/jūṣ-ṭā-; ār-p-i-ta-/ār-p-i-tā-.

6.1.210 nītya-m māntr-e

In the domain of Māntra [the initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] jūṣ-ṭa- 'pleasant' and ār-p-i-ta- 'inserted, fixed' necessarily (nītya-m) [bears the udātta accent 159].

jūṣ-ṭa; ār-p-i-ta-.

6.1.211 ¹yuṣmád=²asmád-or Ōas-i

[The initial syllable 197 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.86 the sUP triplet] Ōas (genitive singular).

*yuṣmád+Ōas = tava+Ōas (7.2.96) = tava+aś (7.1.27) = tava (97) 'thine'; similarly
asmád+Ōas = māma 'mine'.*

6.1.212 Ōay-i ca

[The initial syllable 197 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.86 the sUP triplet] Ōe also (ca).

The two rules 211-12 have been separated to avoid the operation of metarule 1.3.10.

yuṣmád+Ōe = tubhya+Ōe (7.2.95) = tubhya+am (7.1.28) = túbhya-a-m (97) 'to thee'; so also asmád+Ōe = máhya-a-m 'to me'.

6.1.213 yàT-ah=á-nāv-ah

[The initial syllable 197 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yàT, [consisting of two syllables 205, bears the udātta accent 159] excluding the [nominal stem 4.1.1] naú- 'boat' [before it 1.1.86].

ci+yàT (3.1.97) = *cé-ya-* 'to be piled'; but *naú+yàT* = *nāv-yá-* 'navigable' and
kṛ+saN+yaT = *ci-kṛ-ṣa+yaT* = *ci-kṛ-ṣṭ-yá-* = *ci-kṛ-ṣ-yá-* 'desiring to be done'.

6.1.214 ¹īḍA-²vānda-³vṛ-⁴śámsa-⁵duh-ān NyàT-ah

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 derived with affix 3.1.1] NyàT [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] īḍ- 'praise' (II 9), vānd- 'salute' (I 11), vṛ-(IX 38) 'choose', śámsa- 'praise' (I 764) and duh- 'milk' (II 4) [bears the udātta accent 159].

īḍ-/vānd-/vṛ-/śámsa-/duh-/ + NyàT = *īḍ-ya-* 'to be praised'; *vānd-ya-* 'to be saluted';
vāṛ-ya- 'to be chosen'; *śámsa-ya-* 'to be praised'; *dóh-ya-* 'to be milked'.

6.1.215 vibhāṣā ¹veṇú=²indhānaya-oh

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] veṇú- 'reed, bamboo' and indh-āna- 'who kindles' optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 159].

ve-ṇu-/ve-ṇú-; *indh+CānáŚ* = *indh+CāndŚ* = *iṭ+na-dh+CānáŚ* = *i-nṭ-dh+CānáŚ*
 (4.23, 111) = *indh-āná-/indh-āna-*; *indh+ŚānáC* = *indh+ŚānaC* (188) =
iṭ-ná-dh+ŚānaC = *i-nṭ-dh+ŚānaC* (4.111) = *indh-āna-* (181).

6.1.216 ¹tyāg-a-²rāg-a=³hās-a-⁴kúh-a-⁵śvāṭh-a-⁶kráth-ā-n-ām

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] tyāg-a- 'renouncing', rāg-a- 'passion', hās-a- 'laughter', kúh-a- 'deceiver', śvāṭh-a- 'speech' and kráth-a- 'destruction' [optionally 215 bears the udātta accent 159].

The first three forms are derived with affix [GHaÑ] and the rest with affix [āC].
tyaj/ranj/has+GHaÑ = *tyāg-a-/tyāg-á-* (159); *rāg-a-/rāg-á-*; *hās-a-/hās-á-*;
kuh/śvāṭh-/kraith+dC = *kúh-a-/kúh-á-*; *śvāṭh-a-/śvāṭh-á-*; *kráth-a-/kráth-á-*.

6.1.217 úpa=ut-tama-m R-IT-i

The penultimate (úpottaman) syllable [of a (polysyllabic) nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] with marker R as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

kr+anfyar = *kar-anfyar*- (3.4.3) 'to be accomplished'; *paṭá+jātfyar* = *patu-jātfyar*- (5.3.69).

6.1.218 CaÑ-i=anya-tará-syām

[The penultimate syllable 217 of a polysyllabic grammatical form ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] CaÑ (3.1.48) optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

mā hí ci-kar-á-tām/ci-kār-a-tām 'do not cause him to make'. This form is derived as follows: *kr+ÑKO+CaÑ+tām* = *dT+ci-kār-(i→θ)+a+tām* (4.51) = *á-ci-kar-a-tām* (7.4.1), and with privative particle [mā] θ replaces the initial increment [áT] leaving *ci-kar-a-tām* which then gets the placement of accent by this rule.

6.1.219 matO-ḥ pūrva-m āT samjñā-y-ām striy-ām

The phoneme long /ā(T)/ preceding (pūrva-m) [the affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [in a derivative nominal stem 4.1.1] in the feminine gender denoting a name (samjñā-y-ām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

udumbdra+matUP+ÑIP = *udumbará-vat-I* (3.119) 'n.pr. of a river'; so also *śard+matUP+ÑIP* = *śarā-vat-I* (3.120) 'n.pr. of a river', but *ikṣá+matUP+ÑIP* = *ikṣu-mát-I* (176), *ajrā+matUP+ÑIP* = *ajra-vat-f* (220).

6.1.220 ánta-ḥ=avaty-āḥ

The final syllable (ánta-ḥ) of [a derived nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-a-vat-ī [bears the udātta accent 159 when denoting a name in the feminine gender 219].

ajrā+matUP+ÑIP = *ajra-vat-f* 'n.pr. of a river' and likewise *khadr-a-vat-f*.

6.1.221 I-vaty-āḥ

[The final syllable 220 of a derived nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in] °-I-vat-I [bears the udātta accent 159 when denoting a name in the feminine gender 219].

ahI-vat-f (3.120), *munI-vat-f* 'names of rivers'.

6.1.222 c-au

[The final syllable 220 of the prior member 219 bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.68 the following element] °c- (= replacement of °-añc- 4.138).

Before affix [Kv₁N] introduced after {añc-} by 3.2.59 the penultimate nasal is replaced by Ø (4.24) [= aØc = ac] and before weak affixes beginning with a vowel it is further reduced by Ø replacement to [c] by 4.138; it is before this reduced posterior stem that the prior member has its final vowel accented with udātta: *dādhi+añc+Kv₁N+Śas* = *dādhi+Øc+as* = *dadhī-c-as* (3.138).

6.1.223 sam-ās-ā-sya

[The final syllable 220 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound (sam-ās-ā-sya) [bears the udātta accent 159].

rājñ-ah pūruṣa-h = *rājñ-Ø+Ø+puruṣā-h* (8.2.7) 'royal servant'. This is a general rule [ut-sarg-ā], exceptions to which are dealt with in subsequent sections of the next pādā.

6.2.1 bahu-vrīh-aú pra-kṛ-ty-ā pūrva-padā-m

In a Bahuvrīhī compound the prior member (pūrva-padā-m) retains its (original) accent.

This is an exception to 1.223. The word udātta (1.159) and svar-i-tá- (1.185) recur as needed in this section to characterize the accent of the prior member. In the compound *kāṛṣ-na-h uttarāsaṅgā-h a-syd* = *kāṛṣṇottarā-saṅga-h* the udātta accent should fall on the final syllable, but in the Bahuvrīhī compound derived from these constituent members to denote 'whose upper or outer garment is made out of the skin of the black antelope' the prior member retains its original accent: *kṛṣ-ṇa+aN* = *kāṛṣ-ṇ-a-* (1.197) as against *kāṛṣṇa-h uttarāsaṅgā-h* = *kāṛṣṇottarāsaṅgā-h* 'skin of the black antelope' (1.223). When the prior member has no accent at all, 1.223 will operate as in *sama-h bhā-gā-h a-syd* = *sama-bhāgā-h* 'receiving an equal share'.

6.2.2 tatpuruṣ-é ¹túlya=artha-²tṛ-tīyā-³saptamī-⁴upamāna=⁵ávyaya-⁶dvi-tīyā-⁷kṛtyā-h

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [the prior member retains its original accent 1] if it consists of synonyms of *túlya-* 'comparable, similar' or [ends in 1.1.72] the third or seventh sUP triplets or serves as an object of comparison (*upa-māna-*°) or is an indeclinable (°-*ávyaya-*°) or [ends in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet or in a *kṛtya* [affix 3.1.1].

Exception to 1.223. (1) *túl-ya-h śveta-d-h* = *túlya-śveta-h* 'similar whiteness'; *sa-dīś-a-loh-i-ta-h* 'same redness' (2.1.68); (2) *śaṅkulá-yā khaṇḍá-h* = *śaṅkulá-khaṇḍa-h* 'cut off with a pair of nippers'; (3) *akṣá-su śaṇḍa-h* = *akṣá-śaṇḍa-h* 'fond of gambling'; (4) *śastrí-iva śyām-ā* = *śastrí-śyām-ā* 'blue like the blade of a knife'; (5) *ná brāhmaṇá-d-h* = *á-brāhmaṇa-h* 'not a brahmin'; *nīś-krān-ta-h* *kauśāmbi-d-h* = *nīś-kauś-āmbi-h* 'who has departed from Kauśāmbi'; (6) *muhūrtá-m sukha-m* = *muhūrtá-sukha-m* 'momentary happiness'; (7) *bhoj-yá-m lavaṇá-m* = *bhoj-yá-lavaṇa-m* 'salt fit to be eaten' from *bhuj+NyāT* (3.1.124). *Kṛtya* affixes are dealt with in 3.1.95ff.

6.2.3 várṇa-h várṇe-ṣu=án-et-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1] if it is a color-word (*várṇa-h*) co-occurring [before 1.1.66] another color-word (*várṇe-ṣu*), excluding the word *éta-* 'variegated'.

kṛṣ-ṇá-sāraṅga- 'spotted black', but *kṛṣ-ṇ-ai-tá-h* 'shining black or black-spotted'.

6.2.4 ¹gādhá-²lavaṇáy-oḥ pra-mā-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a measure (pra-mā-ṇ-e) [the prior member retains its original accent 1] when co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] gādhá- 'shallow, fordable' and lavaṇá- 'salt'.

śám̐ba-sya gādhá-m = *śám̐ba-gādhā-m* 'water as shallow as the depth of an oar';
similarly *ar-ītra-gādhā-m* 'as deep as the length of a pestle'; *gó-ḥ lavaṇá-m* -
gó-lavaṇa-m 'as much salt as can be given to a cow'.

6.2.5 dāyād-ya-m dāy-ā-d-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting an inheritance (dāyād-ya-m) [the prior member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] dāy-ā-dá- 'heir'.

vidyá-y-āḥ dāy-ā-d-dḥ = *vidyá-dāy-ā-d-a-ḥ* 'heir to knowledge, inheritor of knowledge'.

6.2.6 prati-bandh-í ¹cirá-²kṛcchráy-oḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member 1] denoting obstruction or difficulty (prati-bandh-í) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ¹-cirá- 'long' and ²-kṛcchrá- 'difficult'.

gám-ana-m̐ ca yát cird-m̐ ca = *gám-ana-cira-m* 'slowed down or delayed in departure'; similarly *gám-ana-kṛcchra-m* (2.1.57,72) 'an obstacle or difficulty involved in the departure'.

6.2.7 pad-é=apa-deś-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a pretext (apa-deś-é) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ¹padá-.

mūtra-pad-ena pra-sthi-tá-ḥ 'started to go on the pretext of urinating'; similarly *uc-cār-ā-pad-ena-* 'on the pretext of defecating', but *viś-ṇo-ḥ padám* = *viś-ṇu-padd-m* 'V.'s footprint'.

6.2.8 ni-vāt-é vāta-trā-ṇ-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting 'protection from the wind' (vā-ta-trā-ṇ-é) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °ni-vā-tā- 'sheltered from the wind'.

kūt-I eva ni-vā-tā-m = *kūt-I-ni-vā-ta-m* 'a hut sheltering from the wind', but *rāja-nivāsi-ś vas-a-ti* 'lives in the vicinity of the king'.

6.2.9 śārad-é ān-ārtav-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-śārad-ā- employed in a sense other than autumnal (ān-ārtav-e).

rājju-śārada-m udakā-m 'water freshly drawn from the well with a rope'; similarly *dyśāt-śārad-ā-ḥ sāk-tav-aḥ* 'freshly ground groats', but *parama-śāradā-* 'best autumnal (produce)'.

6.2.10 °adhvaryú-²kaṣāyay-or jā-t-au

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a genus (jā-t-au) [the prior member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °adhvaryú- 'n. of an officiating sacrificial priest' and °-kaṣāya-a 'decoction'.

prāc-y-ā-dhvaryu- 'n. of an officiating priest of the Kāthā school'; *sarpir-maṇḍā-kaṣāya-* 'decoction made from the scum of melted butter', but *param-a-dhvaryú-* 'the highest adhvaryú priest' and *parama-kaṣāyā-* 'best decoction'.

6.2.11 °sa-dṛś-a-²prāti-rūpay-oḥ sādṛśy-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sadṛś-a- 'resembling' and °-prāti-rūpa- 'image, likeness' to denote resemblance (sādṛśy-e).

pi-tṛ-sa-dṛś-a- 'resembling the father'; *mā-tṛ-prati-rūpa-* 'an image of the mother' but *uttama-sa-dṛś-a-* 'highest likeness'.

6.2.12 dvig-aú pra-mā-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 2 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] a Dvigú compound (as a prior member) to denote a dimension (pra-mā-ṇ-e).

saptá sám-ā-h pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syá = *saptaṭ-samā+mātrāC* (5.2.37) = *sapta-samā+ṭ* (by a vārttika) 'aged seven years'; *prác-ya-ś ca asaú sapta-samā-ś ca* = *prácya-sapta-sama-* 'an eastern lad aged seven years'.

6.2.13 ¹gan-távyā-²pāp-ya-m vāñij-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1] if it denotes (a locality) which is to be reached (gan-távyā-°) or (an object) which is to be sold (°pāp-ya-m), co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-vāñij-á- 'merchant, trader'.

mad-rá-vāñij-a-h = *madr-é vāñij-á-h/madr-é ga-t-vá vy-dua-har-a-ti* 'a merchant carrying on trade in Madrá'; *gó-vāñij-a-h* 'cattle rancher', but *parama-vāñij-á-h* 'best merchant'.

6.2.14 ¹mātrā=²upa-jñā=³upa-kram-á=°chāy-é ná-puñs-ak-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] occurring in the neuter gender (ná-puñs-ak-e) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °mātrā 'measure', °-upa-jñā 'invention', °upa-kram-á- 'initiation' and °-chāyā 'shadow' (2.4.2ff.).

bhikṣá-y-ās tál-ya-pra-mā-ṇa-m = *bhikṣá-mātra-m* 'equivalent measure of alms'; *pāṇinā-sya upa-jñā* = *pāṇin-ó-pa-jña-m* 'invention of Pāṇinā'; *ādhyā-sya upa-kram-a-h* = *ādhy-ó-pa-kram-a-m* (2.4.21) *prāsāda-h* 'a mansion begun by the rich'; *īṣā-ṇ-ām chāyā* = *īṣu-ccāya-m* (2.4.22) 'shadow cast by a mass of arrows'.

6.2.15 ¹sukhá-²priyá-y-or hi-t-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-sukhá- 'happiness' and °-priy-á- 'dear' to denote 'beneficial' (hi-t-é).

gám-ana-m sukhá-m = *gám-ana-su-kha-m* 'pleasure consisting in going'; similarly *gám-ana-priy-a-m* 'beneficial for going'.

6.2.16 prf-t-au ca

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-sukhá- 'happiness' and °-priyá- 'dear' 15] also (ca) to denote 'pleasure' (prf-t-au).

The three words [su-khá-, priy-á-, prf-ti-] having the same significance, the use of [prf-ti-] here is to indicate the intensity of that feeling. *brāhmaṇ-d-su-kha-m pāya-sa-m* 'the milk pudding delightful to the brahmin'; *kanyā-priy-a-h mṛd-aṅga-h* 'the drum delightful to the maiden'. But *rāja-sukhā-m* 'king's welfare or happiness' and *rāja-priyā-m*.

6.2.17 svā-m svāmin-i

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member 1] denoting possession (svā-m) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-svāmin- 'possessor, owner'.

gō-svāmin- 'cattle owner'; *dśva-svāmin-* 'horse owner', *dhāna-svāmin-* 'owner of riches', but *parama-svāmin-* 'chief owner'.

6.2.18 páty-au=aiś-var-y-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member bears its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pāti- 'master, chief' to denote 'ruler, chief' (aiś-var-y-e).

grhā-pa-ti- 'head of the household'; *śenā-pa-ti-* 'army chief'; *nāra-pa-ti/nṛ-pa-ti-* 'king, ruler of men', but *vṛṣālī-pa-ti-* 'husband of a vṛṣālī'.

6.2.19 ná ¹bhū-²vāc=³cit=⁴didhīṣu

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2, with °pā-ti- 'master, ruler' 18 as a posterior member, the first members 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhū-° 'earth', vāc-° 'speech', cit-° 'thought' and didhīṣū- 'a widow remarried' do not (ná) [retain their original accent1].

bhū-pa-ti-/vāk-pa-ti-/cit-pa-ti-/didhīṣū-pa-ti- 'king, ruler of earth/master of speech/controller of thought/husband of a remarried widow' respectively.

6.2.20 vā bhūv-ana-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 with °-pá-ti- 'master, chief' 18 as a final member, the first member 1 consisting of the nominal stem 4.1.1] bhūv-ana- ° 'earth' optionally (vā) [retains its original accent 1].

bhūv-ana-pa-ti-/bhuv-ana-pa-ti- 'lord of the earth, king, emperor'.

6.2.21 'ā-śāṅká=²ā-bādhá-³néd-tyas-su sam-bhāv-an-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °ā-śāṅk-á- 'fear', °ā-bādh-á- 'obstacle, impediment' or °néd-tyas- 'very near, nearer' to denote an assumption (sam-bhāv-an-e).

gām-an-ā-śāṅk-a-m 'apprehension about going'; *gām-an-ā-bādh-a-m* 'obstacle or impediment for going' and *gām-ana-ned-tyas-* 'imminent departure'; in all these cases it is an assumption and not an actual occurrence.

6.2.22 pūrv-e bhū-tá-pūrv-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pūva- 'preceding' to denote [something which had] occurred earlier (bhū-ta-pūrv-e).

adhyá-h bhū-tá-pūrv-a-h = adhyá-pūrv-a-h (2.1.57,72) 'formerly rich'.

6.2.23 'śá-vidha-²śá-nīḍa-³śá-mar-yāda-⁴śá-veśa-⁵śá-deśa-ṣu sāmīp-y-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-śá-vidha-, °-śá-nīḍa-, °śá-mar-yāda-, °-śá-veśa- and °-śá-deśa- to denote 'proximity, neighborhood' (sāmīp-y-e).

mad-rá-śa-vidha-m/°śa-nīḍa-m/śa-maryāda-m/śa-veśa-m/śa-deśa-m 'in the vicinity or neighborhood of Madrá'.

6.2.24 ví-spaṣ-ṭa=ādi-n-i guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 first members 1 consisting of nominal stem-class 4.1.1] beginning with ví-spaṣ-ṭa- 'evident, apparent' [retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] qualifying words (guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu: adjectives).

vi-spaṣ-ṭa-kaṭu-ka-m (2.1.4) 'evidently acid' (accent by 49 below); *vi-citra-lavaṇa-* 'variously salty'.

6.2.25 'śra-²jya=³avamá-'kan-⁶pāpá-vat-su bhāv-e karma-dhār-ay-é

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the first member 1 consisting of] an action noun (bhāv-e) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °śra- (5.3.60), °-jya- (5.3.61), °-avamá- 'lowest', °-kan- (5.3.64) and °-pāpá- 'evil, bad'.

gám-ana-śr-e-ṣṭha=/°-śr-e-yaś 'most/more excellent departure'; *gám-ana-jy-e-ṣṭha*/°-jyá-yaś- 'ibid.'; *gám-an-ā-vama-* 'last or final departure'; *gám-ana-kan-iṣṭha*/°-kan-yaś- 'shortest/shorter departure'; *gám-ana-pāp-iṣṭha*/°-pāp-yaś- 'most/more wicked departure'.

6.2.26 kumārā-s=ca

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25 the first member 1] kumārā- 'youth' [retains its original accent 1].

kumār-f śram-aṇ-ā = *kumārā+ÑiP+śram-aṇ-ā* = *kumārā+ḥ+śram-aṇ-ā* (2.1.70; 6.3.34) 'young female ascetic'.

6.2.27 ādi-ḥ práty-enas-i

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25] the initial syllable (ādi-ḥ) [of the first member 1 kumārā- 26 bears the (udātta) accent 1, when co-occurring before 4.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-práty-enas- 'the nearest or closest heir' (of a dead person).

kúmāra-práty-enas- 'a young heir (responsible for the debts of his deceased father)'.

6.2.28 pūge-ṣu=anya-tará-syām

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25 the initial syllable 27 of the first member 1 *kumārā-* 'youth' 26 bears (the udātta) accent 1] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting a group of people (*pūge-ṣu*).

kumāra-cātaka-/kumārā-cātaka- 'a group of youths led by Cātaka' in the plural [[°]-cātak-ā-ḥ]: *cātaka+Ñya* (5.3.112)+*Jas* = *cātaka+Ø+Jas* (2.4.62); this option also provides for the operation of 1.223: *kumāra-cātak-ā-ḥ*.

6.2.29 ¹iK=anta=²kālā-³kapāla-⁴bhagāla-⁵śārāve-ṣu dvig-aú

In a Dvigú compound [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ), time words ([°]-kālā-[°]), [°]-kapāla- 'pot', [°]-bhagāla- 'skull' and [°]-śārāva- 'dish'.

pāñca aratnāy-uh pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syā (2.1.51) = *pāñc-ā-ratni-* 'measuring five cubits'; *pāñca mās-ā-ḥ bhū-t-ā-ḥ* = *pāñca-māsa+yaP* (5.1.82) = *pāñca-mās-ya-ḥ* 'five months old'; *pāñca-su kapāle-ṣu sām-s-ky-ta-ḥ* = *pāñca-ka-pāla-ḥ puroḍāśā-ḥ* (4.2.16) 'prepared in five pots'; similarly *pāñca-bhagāla-ḥ* 'prepared in five skulls'; *pāñca-śārāva-ḥ* 'prepared in five dishes'.

6.2.30 bahú=anya-tára-syām

[In a Dvigú compound 29 the first member 1] *bahú-* 'many' optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iK or time-words, [°]-kapāla-, [°]-bhagāla- or [°]-śārāva- respectively denoting 'pot/skull/dish' 29].

bahū-aratni-/bahū-aratni (8.2.4; 6.1.223); *bahū-mās-ya-/bahū-mās-ya-*; *bahū-kapāla-/bahū-kapāla-*; *bahū-bhagāla-/bahū-bhagāla-*; *bahū-śārāva-/bahū-śārāva-*.

6.2.31 ¹dīṣ-ṭi-²vī-tas-ty-os=ca

[In a Dvigú compound 29 the first member 1 optionally 30 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *dīṣ-ṭi-* and *vī-tas-ṭi-* 'measures of length'.

pāñca dīṣṭay-ah pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syā = *pāñca-dīṣ-ṭi-/pāñca-dīṣ-ṭi-* 'five dīṣṭi-s long'; similarly *pāñca vī-tas-ṭi-/pāñca-vī-tas-ṭi-* 'five vī-tasṭi-s long'.

6.2.32 *sapta-m-í* ¹*sid-dhá-* ²*śús-ka-* ³*pak-vá-*
⁴*bandhé-ṣu=ś-kāl-āt*

[The first member of a compound 1] excluding time-words (*ś-kāl-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*saptamf*) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-*siddhá-* 'prepared', °-*śús-ka-* 'dried', °-*pak-vá-* 'cooked', °-*bandhá-* 'tied'.

The compounds are derived by 2.1.41. It is a prior exception to 144 below. *samkāsya-é sid-dhá-h* = *samkāsya-sid-dha-h* 'prepared in *Samkāsya*'; *ś-lap-ś-śus-ka-h* 'sun-dried'; *bhrāśtra-pak-va-h* 'cooked in a frying pan'; *cakrā-bandha-h* 'attached to the wheel'. But *pūrv-ā-hṇ-e-sid-dhá-h* 'prepared in the forenoon'. Cf. 2 above.

6.2.33 ¹*pāri-* ²*prāti=* ³*ūpa=* ⁴*āp-ā-h* ¹*varj-yá-m-āna=* ²*aho-rātra=*
³*ava-yavé-ṣu*

The preverb particles *pāri-*°, *prāti-*°, *ūpa-*°, *āpa-*° [occurring as prior members of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 (final members)] denoting what is excluded (*varj-yá-m-āna*°) or parts of a day or of a night (°-*aho-rātra-ava-yavé-ṣu*).

pāri-tri-garta-m/āpa-tri-garta-m vṛṣ-śś devā-h (2.1.12) 'it rained outside (i.e., excluding) Trigarta'; *prāti-pūrv-ā-hṇa-m* 'each forenoon'; *ūpa-pūrv-ā-hṇa-m* 'near forenoon'; *prāti-pūrvā-rātra-m* 'each evening'.

6.2.34 ¹*rājan-yā-* ²*bahu-vac-ana-dvaṁdv-é* *āndhaka-vṛṣṇi-ṣu*

In a *Dvaṁdvā* compound constituted by names of warriors (*rājan-yā-*°) in the plural (°-*bahu-vac-anā-*°) [the first member retains its original accent 1] when referring to *Āndhaka-s* or *Vṛṣṇi-s*.

śvāphalkā-caitraka-rodhak-ā-h 'n.pr. of three *Āndhaka* warrior families'. *śmī-vāsudev-ā-h* 'n.pr. of two *Vṛṣṇi* warrior families'; but *dvaipa-haimāyan-ā-h* who are not warriors, although belonging to the *Āndhaka* and *Vṛṣṇi* clans; similarly *sam-karṣ-aṇa-vāsudev-au* since this is a dual *Dvaṁdvā* or *vṛṣṇi-kumār-ā-h* since it is a genitive *Tatpuruṣā* compound and *kuru-pañcal-ā-h* as they do not belong to the clans specified above.

6.2.35 sam-khy-ā

[In a Dvandvā compound 34 the first member 1] constituting a numeral word (sam-khy-ā) [retains its original accent 1].

ekā-daśa 'eleven'; *dvā-daśa* 'twelve'; *trayā-daśa* '13'.

6.2.36 ā-cār-yā=upa-sarj-anaś=ca=ante-vās-ī

[In a Dvandvā compound 34 the first member retains its original accent 1] if the constituent members of the compound denote names of pupils (ante-vās-ī) derived from their teacher's name (ā-cār-yā=upa-sarj-ana-ḥ).

āpīśala-śya āpatyam = *āpīśala+iN* (4.1.95) = *āpīśal-i-ḥ ā-cār-yā-ḥ i-ēna pr-ō-ktam adh-īy-ate* = *āpīśal-i+dN+Jas* = *āpīśal-ā-ḥ, te ca pāṇinīy-ā-ś* = *āpīśalā-pāṇinīy-ā-ḥ* 'pupils of Āpīśali and Pāṇini'.

6.2.37 kārta-kaujapa=āday-aḥ

[In the class of Dvandvā compounds 34] beginning with (°-āday-aḥ) kārta-kaujapa-au 'descendants of Kṛta and Kujapa' [the first member retains its original accent 1].

kṛta-śya āpatya-m+kujapa-śya āpatyam = *kṛta+dN+kujapa+dN+au* (4.1.114) = *kārt-ā=kaujapa-au*.

6.2.38 mahān ¹vr̥thī=²apar-ā-hṇā=³gr̥ṣṭī=⁴iṣv-āsā-⁵jābālā-⁶bhārā-⁷bhārata-⁸hailihilā-⁹rauravā-¹⁰prā-vṛd-dhe-ṣu

[The first member of a compound 1] mahāt- 'great' [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °vr̥thī- 'rice', °apar-ā-hṇā- 'afternoon', °gr̥ṣṭī- 'a cow which has calved for the first time', °iṣv-āsā- 'archer', °jābālā- 'n.pr. of a person', °bhārā- 'burden', °bhārata- 'descendant of Bharatā', °hailihilā- 'of a sporty or wanton woman', °rauravā- 'n.pr. of a hell', °prā-vṛd-dha- 'grown'.

mahān vr̥thī-ḥ = *mahā-vr̥thī-ḥ* (3.46) 'long-grained rice'; similarly: *mah-ā-par-ā-hṇa-* 'a late hour in the afternoon'; *mahā-gr̥ṣṭī-* 'a primiparous cow'; *mah-ē-ṣv-āsa-* 'great archer'; *mahā-jābāla-* 'n.pr. (= elder Jābāla)'; *mahā-bhāra-* 'heavy load'; *mahā-bhārata-* 'the Great Epic of the descendants of Bharatā'; *mahā-hailihila-* 'great Hailihila'; *mahā-raurava-* 'n.pr. of a hell'; *mahā-pra-vṛd-dha-* 'greatly overgrown'.

6.2.39 *kṣullaká-s=ca vaiśva-dev-é*

[The first member 1 mahát- 'great' 38] as well as (ca) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *kṣullaká-* 'small insignificant' [of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*vaiśva-devá-* 'consecrated to the universal gods (*viśve-devā-s*).

kṣullaká-vaiśva-deva-m 'n.pr. of a small oblation consecrated to the *Viśve Dev-ā-s*;
mahá-vaiśva-deva-m 'n.pr. of a more elaborate offering to *Viśve Dev-ā-s*'.

6.2.40 *úṣtra-ḥ¹sādī-²vāmy-óḥ*

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] *úṣtra-* 'camel' [occurring as a first member in a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °*sādīn-* 'rider' and °-*vāmī* 'mare'.

úṣtra-sād-in- 'camel rider'; *úṣtra-vāmi* 'camel mare'. *Kaśikā* notes these forms as neuters ending in °-*sādi*, °-*vāmi* while *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* has °-*sād-in-*, °-*vām-f*.

6.2.41 *gaú-ḥ¹sād-á-²sād-ī-³sārathi-ṣu*

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] *gó-* 'cow/bull' [as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-*sād-á-*, °-*sād-ín-* 'rider' and °-*sārathi-* 'charioteer'.

gó-ḥ sād-á-ḥ/gá-m sād-dy-a-ti vā = *gó-sād-a-/gó-sād-in-* 'cattle rider'; *gó-sārathi-* 'cattle charioteer'. The question whether *sād-i* or *sād-in-* is the form occurring in this and the above rules is open to question. If *sād-i*, it is to be derived from *sada+iN̄* (4.1.95) and if *sād-in-*: *sad+N̄in̄* (3.2.78).

6.2.42 *¹kurú-gārha-pat-a-²rik-ta-guru=³á-sū-ta-jar-at-I=⁴á-śī-la-dṛ-ḍha-rūp-ā-⁵pāré-vaḍavā-⁶taittilá-kadrū-ḥ-⁷pānya=kambala-ḥ=dāśī-bhārā-ṇ-ām ca*

[The first members of the following compounds 1] *kurú-gārha-pata-*, *rik-ta-guru/rik-tá-guru-*, *á-sū-ta-jar-at-I*, *áśī-la-dṛ-ḍha-rūp-ā*, *pāré-vaḍavā*, *taittilá-kadrū-*, *pān-ya-kambala-* and the class of compounds beginning with *dāśī-bhāra-* [retain their original accent 1].

kurū-ṇ-ām gārha-pat-ā-m = *kurú-gārha-pat-a-m* 'headship of the Kurú clan';
rik-ta-ḥ/rik-tá-ḥ gurū-ḥ = *rik-ta-guru-/rik-tá-guru-* (1.208) 'indigent teacher';

d-sū-t-a jāṛ-at-I = *d-sū-ta-jāṛat-I* 'a woman who has become old without bearing children'; *d-sū-I-a dy-dhā-rap-a* = *d-sū-la-dy-dha-rap-a* 'a woman of an unpleasant but strong figure'; *pāre vḍavā iva* = *pāre-vaḍavā* 'like a mare on the opposite side'; *taittilā-n-am kadr-ū-h* = *taittilā-kadr-a* 'a soma vessel of Taittila(?)'; *paṇ-ya-kambala-* 'a blanket of a definite size and fixed price' as a n.pr.; in other senses: *paṇ-ya-kambalā-* 'a blanket for sale'. *dāsy-āḥ bhārā-d-h* = *dāś-bhāra-h* 'the burden of a dāś'; *devā-hū-ti-* 'invocation of the gods'.

6.2.43 caturthī tād-arthe

[The first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when it ends in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (caturthī) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 (a posterior member)] denoting (something) intended for what the prior member signifies (tād-arth-e).

yūpā-ya dāru = *yūpā-dāru* 'wood intended for the purpose of a sacrificial post';
kundalā-ya hiraṇya-m = *kundalā-hiraṇya-m* 'gold intended for the purpose of earrings'.

6.2.44 ārth-e

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 43 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ārtha- 'object, purpose' (as a posterior member).

mā-tr-é idam = *mā-tr-ā+ārtha-m* = *mātr-ārtham* (8.2.4) 'meant for the mother';
 similarly *devā-tā+ārtha-m* = *devātārtha-m* 'intended for the gods'.

6.2.45 Kt-é ca

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 43 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktā.

gō-bhayaḥ, hi-tā-m = *gō-hi-ta-m* 'beneficial to cattle'; similarly *gō-rakṣ-i-ta-m* 'reserved for cattle'.

6.2.46 karma-dhāray-é=ā-niṣṭhā

In a Karmadhārayā compound [the first member 1 consisting of a nominal stem 4.1.1] not (ending in 1.1.72) affixes denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.28: Ktā, KtāvatU) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā 45].

śreṇi-ḥṛ-t-ā-h (2.1.59) 'made into rows'; but *śreṇy-ā ḥṛ-tā-m śreṇi-ḥṛ-tā-m* (144) 'made with rows'; so also *ḥṛ-tā-m ca tad ā-ḥṛ-ta-m ca =ḥṛ-t-ā-ḥṛ-tā-m* 'made and unmade'.

6.2.47 á-hī-n-e dvi-tīyā

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (dvi-tīy-ā) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45] when not signifying separation (a-hī-n-e).

kaṣṭā-m śri-tā-h = kaṣṭā-śri-ta-h (2.1.24) 'fallen into misfortune'; *grāma-m ga-tā-h = grāma-ga-ta-h* 'gone to the village', but *kāntāra-m at-ta-h = kāntār-ā-t-tā-h* 'passed beyond the wood'. Exception to 144 below.

6.2.48 ṭṛ-tīyā kár-maṇ-i

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (ṭṛ-tīy-ā) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45] used in the passive construction (kár-maṇ-i) [= denoting the object].

ahī-nā ha-tā-h = ahī-ha-ta-h 'stung by a serpent'; *nakh-aír nír-bhin-na-h = nakhá-nír-bhín-na-h* 'torn by the nails' but *ráth-ena yā-tā-h = ratha-yā-táh* 'has gone by car'. Constraint on 2 above.

6.2.49 gá-ti-r án-antara-h

A member of the gáti-class (1.4.60) [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45 to denote the object 48] without intervention (án-antara-h).

prá-ḥṛ-ta- '(something) was commenced'; *abhy-ú-d-ḥṛ-ta-* '(something) was lifted up'; *sam-ud-ā-ḥṛ-ta-* 'was talked to/addressed (someone)' but *pra-ḥṛ-tā-h káṭa-m devadattā-h* 'Devadattā started making a mat' (3.4.71).

6.2.50 tṣ=āc-au ca N-IT-i kṛt-i=ā-t-au

[A member of the gáti-class 49 occurring as the first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when occurring immediately 49 before 1.1.66] a kṛt [affix 3.1.1] beginning with phoneme /t/, excluding [the affix 3.1.1] tu, with /N/ as IT-marker.

prá+kr+ṭṛN = *prá-kar-ṭṛ* 'producer'; *prá+kr+tumN* = *prá-kar-tum* 'to begin producing' but *prá+kr+ṭṛC* + *pra-kar-ṭṛ* 'doer' and *ā+gam+tuN* = *ā-gán-tu* 'accidental'. Prior exception to 139 below.

6.2.51 *távai ca=ánta-s=ca yugapát*

[A member of the gáti-class 49 occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring immediately before 1.1.66 a final member ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *távai* [which bears the udátta accent] on its final (*ánta-s=ca*) accent simultaneously (*yugapát*).

anu+i+távai = *anu-s-tavaí* 'to follow'; *dpa-bhāṣ-i-tavaí* 'to speak incorrectly'; exceptions to 139 below.

6.2.52 *án-iK=anta-ḥ=āñc-a-t-au va-praty-ay-é*

[A member of the gáti-class 49] not ending in a vowel phoneme denoted by the siglum iK (= i,u) [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] the expression '-āñc- followed by affix *va* (= KvīN 2.2.59).

prá+añc+KvīN = *pr-ā-ñc-* 'turned eastwards'; similarly *pár-ā-ñc-* 'turned away, averted' but *prati+añc+KvīN* = *praty-āñc-* 'turned westwards'; *anu+añc+KvīN* = *anu-āñc-* 'going after, following'.

6.2.53 *¹nī=²ádhi-ī ca*

[The gáti members 49] *nī-*° and *ádhi-*° also (*ca*) [as prior members of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 '-āñc followed by the affix *va* 52].

Exception to 52 above: *nī+añc+KvīN* = *ny-āñc-* 'turned downwards'; *ádhi+añc+KvīN* = *ádhy-añc-* 'tending upwards' but *adh-ī-c-ā* (1.222).

6.2.54 *ṛṣát=anya-tará-syām*

The indeclinable *ṛṣát* 'a little' [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*).

ṛṣát-kadāra-ḥ (2.2.7) 'slightly tawny', alternating with *ṛṣat-kadārá-ḥ* (1.223) but *ṛṣát+bhīd+KHaL* = *ṛṣad-bhéd-am* (139) 'fragile'.

6.2.55 hiraṇya-pari-mā-ṇa-m dhān-e

[The first member of a compound 1] denoting a quantity of gold (hiraṇya-pari-mā-ṇa-m) [retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] "-dhāna- 'riches'.

dv-aú suvarṇ-au pari-mā-ṇa-m a-syá = dvi-suvarṇ-d-m (2.1.51); tád evá dhānam = dvi-suvarṇ-d-dhana-m/dvi-suvarṇa-dhān-d-m 'wealth consisting of two measures of gold'. In the case of a Bahuvrīhi compound dvf-suvarṇa- 'owner of two measures of gold' the prior member retains its accent and when the fresh Bahuvrīhi compound is generated the same option operates: dvf-suvarṇa-dhana-/dvf-suvarṇa-dhān-d-.

6.2.56 prathamá-ḥ=á-cira=upa-sam-pat-t-au

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] prathamá- 'first, foremost' [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54] while denoting recent acquisition (á-cira=upa-sam-pat-t-au).

prathamá-ś ca vaiyākarān-ś ca = prathamá-vaiyākarāṇa-ḥ/ prathama-vaiyākarān-d-ḥ 'a beginner in the study of grammar' but prathama-vaiyākarān-d-ḥ, 'first/foremost among grammarians'.

6.2.57 k-atará- k-atam-aú karmadhāray-é

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the nominal stems 4.1.1] k-atará- 'which of two?' and k-atamá- 'which of many?' [occurring as first members of a compound retain their original accent 1 optionally 54].

k-atará-kāṭha-ḥ/k-atara-kāṭh-d-ḥ (2.1.63) 'which of you two is an adherent of Kāṭhā school?'; similarly k-atam-d-kāṭha-ḥ/k-atama-kāṭh-d-ḥ.

6.2.58 árya-ḥ¹brāhmaṇa-²kumāray-oh

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] árya- 'noble, Aryan' [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] "-brāhmaṇá- 'brahmin' and "-kumārá- 'youth'.

árya-brāhmaṇa-/árya-brāhmaṇ-d- 'a noble brahmin or one belonging to the Aryan race'; árya-kumāra-/árya-kumār-d- 'a noble youth or one belonging to the Aryan race'.

6.2.59 *rājā ca*

Also (ca) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *rājan-* [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-*brāhmaṇá-* 'brahmin' and °-*kumārā-* 'youth' 58].

rāja-brāhmaṇa-/rāja-brāhmaṇá- 'a brahmin king'; *rāja-kumāra-/rāja-kumārā-* 'royal prince'.

6.2.60 *gaṣṭhī prāty-enas-i*

[The first nominal stem 4.1.1 *rājan-* 'king' 58 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet [in a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *prāty-enas-* 'heir-apparent, representative, regent'.

rāja-prāty-enas-/rāja-prāty-enaś- 'viceroy' (= *rājñ-as+prāty-enas-*) but *rājā ca asaú prāty-enaś ca* = *rāja-prāty-enaś-* 'a regent king'.

6.2.61 *Kt-e nitya=arth-é*

[Before 1.1.66 (a posterior member of a compound) ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *Ktá* [the first member retains its original accent 1 optionally 54] when denoting the sense of 'always, constantly' (*nitya=arth-é*).

nitya-pra-has-i-ta-/ni-tya-pra-has-i-tá- 'always laughing'; similarly *sa-ta-tá-pra-has-i-ta-/sa-ta-ta-pra-has-i-tá-* 'ibid', but *muhūrta-pra-has-i-tá-* 'laughing for an instant'.

6.2.62 *grāma-h śilpín-i*

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] *grāma-* 'village' [occurring as a prior member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting an artisan (*śilpín-i*).

grāma-nāpita-/grāma-nāpitá- 'village barber' but *grāma-rathyd́* 'village street' and *parama-nāpitá-* 'chief barber'.

6.2.63 *rājā ca pra-saṁsā-y-ām*

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] *rājan-* 'king' [occurring as a prior member in a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 5 4] also (ca) when denoting the sense of praise (*pra-saṁsā-y-ām*).

rāja-nāpita-/rāja-nāpitā-: (a) as a Karmadhāraya compound: *rājā ca asaś nāpita-s* ca 'barber (having the quality of a king)'; (b) as a genitive Tatpuruṣa: *rājñi-aḥ nāpitā-h* 'royal or king's barber'.

6.2.64 *ādī-r udātta-h*

The initial (*ādī-h*) syllable [of the first member of a compound 1] bears the *udātta* accent.

This is a governing rule [*adhi-kār-ā*] covering the section beginning here and extending up to 91 inclusive below. The words [*ādī, udātta*] respectively recur up to and inclusive of 91 and 138 below.

6.2.65 ¹*saptamī-²hār-īṇ-au dharm-y-è=ā-har-aṇ-e*

[The initial syllable 64 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the *udātta* accent 64 if it ends in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*saptamī-*°) or denotes the name of a collector of taxes (°=*hār-īṇ-au*) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting 'what is lawful' (*dharm-y-è*), excluding [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *hār-aṇa-* 'fodder given to an animal'.

stūp-e-śāṇa-h (2.1.44; 8.3.9,10) 'n. of a tax: a whetstone presented at a reliquary as part of a local custom'; *mākuṭ-e-kāṣṭhapaṇa-m* 'n. of a tax for a royal diadem'; *hāl-e-dvi-pad-ik-ā/hāl-e-tri-pad-ik-ā* 'names of various types of taxes'; *yājñik-ā-śva-* 'a horse presented to a sacrificer as his dues'; *vafyākaraṇa-hastin-* 'an elephant presented to a grammarian', but *vāḍava-har-aṇ-d-m* 'fodder given to a mare'.

6.2.66 *yuk-t-é ca*

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the *udātta* accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting (someone) appointed (*yuk-t-é* to look after the object denoted by it).

śva-bhalla- 'horse groom'; *gō-maṇinda-/gō-saṁ-khya-* 'cowherd'.

6.2.67 vibhāṣā=ādhy-akṣ-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ādhy-akṣ-a- 'supervisor'.

dāu-a-dhyakṣa/aśu-a-dhyakṣa- 'overseer in charge of horses'.

6.2.68 pāpa-in ca śilp-in-i

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] pāpa- 'evil, bad' [optionally 67 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting an artisan (śilp-in-i).

pāpa-nāpita-/pāpa-nāpitā- 'a bad or inefficient barber'.

6.2.69 ¹gotrā=²antevāsi(n)=³māṇavā-⁴brāhmaṇe-ṣu kṣép-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting patronymics (gotrā- °) or names of pupils (°-ante-vās-in- °) or student (°-māṇava- °) or (°-brāhmaṇe-ṣu) to imply a pejorative sense (kṣép-e).

1. *jāṅghā-vāts-ya-h* = *yó jāṅghā-dānā-m dā-dā-mi ahám iti vāts-ya-h śám-pad-ya-te* 'a descendant of Vatsā who boasts of making a gift of his shanks'; *bhāryā-sauśruta-h* 'hen-pecked descendant of Suśruta'; 2. *kūmāri-dākṣ-ā-h* 'pupils of Dākṣi desiring to win maidens'; *śāṅga-pāṇin-īy-ā-h* 'who study Pāṇini with the sole purpose of gaining a rice plate'; 3. *bhikṣā-māṇava-* 'one who becomes a student for the main purpose of seeking alms'; 4. *dāśī-brāhmaṇa-* 'a brahmin infatuated with a slave girl'.

6.2.70 āṅgā-n-i mair-ey-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] denoting the constituent elements (āṅgā-n-i) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-mair-eya- 'a kind of liquor'.

gūḍa-maireya- 'liquor prepared from molasses'; *mādhya-maireya-* 'liquor made from honey', but *parama-maireya-* 'best liquor'.

6.2.71 bhak-ta=ā-khy-ās tād-arthe-su

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] denoting an item of food (bhak-ta=ā-khy-ā-s) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] (signifying a receptacle to contain it: tād-arthe-ṣu) [bears the udātta accent 64].

bhikṣā-kamśa - 'an alms-bowl to receive food'; *śrāṇā-kamśa* - 'a vessel for containing rice gruel'.

6.2.72 ¹gó-²bḥdāla-³siṁhā-⁴saindhavé-ṣu upa-mā-n-e

[The initial syllable 84 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-gó- 'cow/bull', °-bídāla- 'cat', °-sindhá- 'lion' and °-saindh-avá- 'a horse from the Sindhu region', serving as objects of comparison (upa-mā-n-e).

1. *dhān-ya-n gaur iva* = *dhān-ya-pau-a*-(TđC 5.4.92) 'grain arranged in the shape of a cow/bull'; 2. *bhikṣa-biddāla* - 'alms arranged in the shape of a cat'; 3. *tṛṇa-simha* - 'grass or hay arranged in the shape of a lion'; 4. *śāk-tu-saindhava* - 'barley meal arranged in the shape of a horse'.

6.2.73 ak-e jīv-ik-ā=arth-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-aka- (7.1.1) when the compound denotes a means of livelihood (jiv-ik-ā=arth-é).

dānta-lekh-aka- 'professional painter of teeth (2.2.17); *nakha-lekh-aka-* 'manicure'.

6.2.74 *prāc-ām kṛṣṇā-y-ām*

[The initial syllable 84 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 84 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in the affix 3.1.1 °-aka- 73] to denote a sport in the Eastern country (prāc-āṁ kṛdā-y-āṁ).

śuddhāśaka-puṣpa-bhañj-ik-ā (2.2.17 q.v.).

6.2.75 áṆ-i ní-yuk-t-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] áṆ to denote a functionary (ní-yuk-t-e).

chūtī-ira-dhār-a- 'parasol-bearer'; *kāmaṇḍalu-grāh-a-* 'bearer of the kaṇḍalu'

Exception to 3.1.3.

6.2.76 śilp-in-i ca ś-kṛÑ-aḥ

And (ca) in a compound denoting an artisan (śilpín-i) [the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix áṆ 75] except that derived with verbal base kṛÑ- 'do' (VIII 10).

Exception to 3.1.3. *tāntu-vāya-* = *tantu+ve+dṆ* (3.2.1) 'weaver'; *tánna-vāya-* 'a tailor'; *vāla-vāy-a-* 'hair weaver or dresser' but *kumbha-kār-d-* 'potter'; *ayas-kār-d-* 'blacksmith'.

6.2.77 sañjñā-y-ām ca

Also (ca) in a compound denoting a proper name (sañjñā-y-ām) [the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 75 except that derived from the verbal stem kṛÑ (VIII 10) 76].

tāntu-vāy-a-h = *kṛā-h* 'silk-worm or any worm which builds a cocoon', but *ratha-kār-d-* 'n.pr. of a brahmin'. Exception to 3.1.3.

6.2.78 gó-tánti-yáva-m pāl-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of compounds 1] gó- 'cow/bull', tán-ti- 'cord, string' and yáva- 'barley' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *-pālá- 'guardian, protector'.

gó-pāl-a- 'cowherd'; *tánti-pāl-a-* 'a guardian of calves tied to a long cord by means of smaller strings'; *yáva-pāl-a-* 'guardian of a barley field'.

6.2.79 Nīn-i

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Nīni.

pūṣpā-n-i hār-a-ti = *pūṣpa+hy+Nīni* (3.2.81) = *pūṣpa-hār-in-* 'repeatedly plucking flowers'.

6.2.80 upa-mā-nam śabda=arthā-pra-kṛ-t-au=evā

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] serving as an object of comparison (*upa-mā-na-m*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Nīni 79] and solely (*evā*) denoting sound by itself (*śabd-ā-rthā-pra-kṛ-t-au*: without the aid of preverbs).

uṣṭra-h iva kṛś-a-ti = *uṣṭra+kṛś+Nīni* = *uṣṭra-kṛś-in-* 'making a noise like a camel'; *dhvāṅkṣa-h iva rāu-ti* = *dhvāṅkṣa+ru+Nīni* = *dhvāṅkṣa-rāu-in-* 'cawing like a crow'; but *gārdabhā-h iva ūc-car-a-ti* = *gārdhabha+ūc-car+Nīni* *gārdabh-o-c-cār-in-* 'braying like a donkey'.

6.2.81 yūk-ta=ā=roh-i(n)=āday-as=ca

[The initial syllable 64 of the first members of compounds 1] beginning with *yūk-t-ā-roh-in-* 'who mounts an animal which is harnessed' also (*ca*) [bears the udātta accent 64].

Besides final members ending in affix Nīni this class includes many others with various types of affixes.

6.2.82 ¹dīrghā-²kāśā-³tūṣa-⁴bhrāṣṭra-⁵vaṭa-m j-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a long (*dīrgha-* = vowel 1.2.28) or *kāśā-* 'n. of a herb', *tūṣa-* 'bran', *bhrāṣṭra-* 'frying pan' and *vaṭa-* 'bunyan or Indian fig tree' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *-ja-* [bears the udātta accent 64].

kuṭy-ām ja-id-h = *kuṭi+jan+Dā* (3.2.97) = *kuṭi-ja-h* 'born in a hut'; similarly *śāmi-ja-* 'produced in the Śāmi tree'; *kāśa-ja-/tūṣa-ja-/vāṭa-ja-* 'produced in the kāśa grass/bran/bunyan tree'.

6.2.83 ant-y-āt pūrva-m bahv-ác-ah

The penultimate syllable (ant-y-ā pūrva-m) [of a (poly-syllabic) first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-ja- 82].

upa-sdra-ja- 'born from impregnation or covering (said of animals)'; *mandūra-ja-* 'born in a stable', but *dag-dha-jā-n-i tñān-i* 'grass grown on burnt ground'.

6.2.84 grām-e á-ni-vas-ant-ah

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-grāma- not denoting a place of residence' (á-ni-vas-ant-ah).

indriya-grāma- 'group of sense organs'; *vāṇig-grāma-* 'a company of merchants', but *dākṣi-grāma-* 'a village where descendants of Dakṣa reside'.

6.2.85 ghóṣa=ādi-ṣu

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ghóṣa- 'a settlement of herdsmen'.

dākṣi-ghoṣa- 'a settlement of herdsmen belonging to the descendants of Dakṣa'; similarly *dākṣi-hṛda-* 'n.pr. of a lake'.

6.2.86 chātrí=āday-as śālā-y-ām

[The initial syllable 64 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with chātr-(in- 'pupil, student' [as first members of compounds 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-śālā 'hall (of residence)').

chāt-tr-iṣ-śālā 'residence hall for pupils', alternating with *chāt-tr-i-śāla-m* (2.4.25).

6.2.87 pra-sth-é=¹á-vṛd-dha-m ²á-karkī=ādi-n-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pra-sthá- 'plain or level country' (as a final member of a compound) [the initial syllable of the first member 1] excluding [nominal stems 4.1.1 of] the vṛddhá-type (1.1.73-75) and the class of [nominal stems] beginning with karkī-° 'sign of Cancer' [bears the udātta accent 64].

indra-prastha-, *kūṇḍa-pra-stha-* 'names of localities', but 1. *māhaki-pra-sthā-*, 2. *karkī-pra-sthā-* 'names of localities'.

6.2.88 *mālā=ādī-n-ān ca*

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem *°-pra-sthā-* 'level country' as a final member of a compound 87], the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when constituting the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *mālā-°* 'garland'.

Exception to the constraint on vṛddhā-type of 87 above. *mālā-pra-stha-*, *śālā-pra-stha-* 'names of localities'.

6.2.89 *á-¹mahat=²nava-m nágar-e=án-udīc-ām*

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *°-nāgara-* (as a final member of a compound) [the initial syllable 64 of the first members 1] excluding [the nominal stems 4.1.1] *mahāt-* 'great' and *náva-* 'new' [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting cities excluding those of the North (*án-udīc-ām*).

sūhma-nagara-m, *pūṇḍra-nagara-m* 'names of cities', but 1. *mahā-nagarā-m*, *nava-nagarā-m*; 2. *nadī-nagarām*, *kāntī-nagarā-m* 'names of cities in the North'.

6.2.90 *ārm-e ca a-varṇā-m dvy-ác try-ác*

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *°-ārma-* 'ruins' (as a posterior member of a compound) [the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 consisting of a nominal stem 4.1.1] containing two or three syllabics (dvy-ác, try-ác) and [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class /a/ [excluding *mahá(t)* and *náva-* 89 bears the udātta accent 64].

dāt-t-ā-rma-, *gūp-t-ā-rma-*, *kūkkut-ā-rma-* 'names of localities'; but *kapiñjai-ā-rma-* (4 syllabics), *bṛhad-ārma-* (not ending in phoneme /a/), *mah-ā-rma-*, *nav-ā-rma-* 'names of localities'.

6.2.91 *ná ¹bhū-tá=²ádhi-ka-³sañ-jīvā-⁴madrá=⁵ásma(n)=⁶kájjala-m*

[The initial syllable 64 of first members of compounds 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] *bhū-tá-°* 'past', *ádhi-ka-°* 'in excess', *sañ-jīvā-°*

'living together', *mad-rá-* 'n. of a locality', *ásman-* 'rock' and *káj-jala-* 'collyrium' does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64].

Exception to 90 above. *bhāt-ā-rmā-m*, *adhi-k-ā-rmā-m*, *sam-jñ-ā-rmā-m*, *madr-ā-rmā-m*, *asm-ā-rmā-m*, *kaj-jal-ā-rmā-m* 'names of localities'.

6.2.92 *ánta-ḥ*

The final (*ánta-ḥ*) syllable [of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [*adhi-kār-ś-*] heading this section and extending up to and including 110 below. The word [*ánta-ḥ*] will recur in each of them with [*pūrva-padā-m* 1].

6.2.93 *sarvā-ṁ guṇa-kārtan-y-é*

[The final syllable 92 of the first member 1] *sarvā-* 'all' [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting 'fulness of quality' (*guṇa-kārtan-y-é*).

sarvā-śveta-ḥ 'all white' but *parama-śveta-ḥ* 'brightest white'; but when quality is not in question: *sarva-sauvarṇā-* 'all made of gold'; similarly when fulness is not in question: *sarve-ḥ-ām śveta-tara-ḥ* = *sarva-śveta-ḥ* 'whiter than all'.

6.2.94 *saṁjñā-y-ām 'giri'-ni-kāyāy-oh*

In a proper name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [the final syllable 92 of the prior member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *-giri-* 'hill, mountain' and *-ni-kāy-ā-* 'mass, group'.

añjanā-giri- (3.117) 'n.pr. of a mountain'; *śāpiṇḍi-ni-kāy-a-* 'n.pr. of a locality inhabited by Śāpiṇḍi-s'; similarly *mauṇḍi-nikāya-* 'n.pr. of a locality inhabited by Mauṇḍi-s'; but *brāhmaṇa-ni-kāy-ā-* 'a group of brahmins'.

6.2.95 *kumāry-āṁ vāyas-i*

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 4.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *-kumār-ī* 'maiden' for denoting age (*vāyas-i*).

urd-dhā-kumārī 'old maid'; *jardt-kumārī* 'aging maiden'.

6.2.96 udak-é=á-keval-e

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-udaká- 'water' for denoting a mixture (á-keval-e).

guḍá-míśra-m udaká-m = *guḍ-ó-daka-m* (8.2.6)/*guḍ-ó-daka-m* 'water mixed with molasses' but *uṣṇá-m udaká-m* = *uṣṇ-o-daká-m* 'hot water'.

6.2.97 dvig-aú krát-au

[The final syllable 92 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound to designate a sacrifice (krát-au).

gargá-tri-rátr-ā-h 'n.pr. of a Vedic sacrifice lasting three days', but *rátri-m atí-krán-tá-h* = *atí-rátr-ā-h* 'who has passed the night' (5.4.87).

6.2.98 sabhā-y-ām nápuṁsak-e

In a compound in neuter gender (ná-puṁsak-e) [the final syllable 92 of the first member bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-sabhā 'assembly'.

go-pālá-sabha-m 'an assembly of cowherds'; *strī-sabha-m* 'an assembly of women', but *rája-sabhā* 'royal assembly'.

This rule operates only under the situation described in 2.4.23-24 for obligatory neuter gender and not to 25 where it is optional: so *ram-aṇṇya-sabhá-m* 'lovely assembly' has the accent according to 1.223.

6.2.99 púr-e prác-ām

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-púra- 'city' with reference to those situated in the East (prác-ām).

lalāṭá-pura-m, kāñcé-pura-m, śivadattá-pura-m, kārñí-pura-m 'names of cities in the East', but *śiva-purá-m* 'name of a city situated elsewhere'.

6.2.100 ¹á-riṣ-ṭa-²gaudá-pūrv-e ca

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] á-riṣ-ṭa-° and gaudá-° also (ca) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-púra- 'city' 99].

a-riṣ-ṭā-pura-m, *gaudā-pura-m* 'names of cities'; the significance of [°-pūrv-e] in this rule is to extend the operation to prior members headed by [āriṣṭa-, gaudā-] also: *ariṣṭa-śrī-ṭā-pura-m*, *gaudā-bhṛt-ya-pura-m*.

6.2.101 ná ¹hāstiná-²phála-ka-³mārdey-ā-ḥ

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *hāstiná-*°, *phála-ka-*° and *mārdeyá-*° does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-púra- 'city' 99].

This rule blocks the operation of 99 with reference to cities situated in the East: *hāstina-purā-m*, *phala-ka-purā-m*, *mārdeya-purā-m*.

6.2.102 ¹kusūla-²kūpa-³kumbhá-⁴śāla-m bīl-e

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *kusūla-*° 'granary', *kūpa-*° 'well'; *kumbhá-*° 'jar' and *śālā* 'hall' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bila- 'hollow, aperture, hole' [bears the udātta accent 64].

kusūlā-bila-m 'empty space in a granary'; *kūpā-bila-m* 'excavated portion or hollow of a well'; *śālā-bila-m* 'space within a hall'.

6.2.103 dik=śabd-ā-ḥ ¹grāma-²jana-padā=³ā-khyā-na-⁴cānarāṭe-ṣu

[The final syllable 92 of the prior member of a compound 1] consisting of direction words (*dik=śabd-dā-ḥ*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-grāma- 'village', °-janapadā- 'inhabited locality', °-ā-khyā-na- 'narration' and °-cānarāṭa- 'n.pr. of a locality'.

1. *pūrv-ś-śukāma-śamī/apar-ś-śu-kāma-śamī* (8.2.6) 'n.pr. of a village (grām-e)'; 2. *pūrvā-pañcāl-ā-ḥ* 'name of an inhabited region (janapad-é)'; 3. *pūrvā-yāyāta-m* 'first part of a narrative on Yayāti' (ā-khyā-n-e); 4. *pūrvā-cānarāṭa-m* 'eastern half of Cānarāṭa'.

The first three expressions beginning with [grāma-] denote the domain while the fourth refers to itself.

6.2.104 ā-cār-yà=upa-sarj-anas=ca=ante-vāśī

[The final syllable 92 of direction words 103 functioning as first words in compounds 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 nominal stems 4.1.1] indicating names of pupils (ante-vāśī) derived from those of their preceptors (ācāryà=upa-sarj-ana-h).

pārva-pāṇin-ḥy-ā-h 'earlier pupils of Pāṇini', but *pārva-pāṇin-ḥyā-m vyākaraṇa-m* 'pre-Pāṇinian grammar'.

6.2.105 ut-tara-pada-vṛd-dh-aú sarvá-m ca

[The final syllable 92 of direction words 103 and the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sarvá-* 'all' [functioning as first members of compounds 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 nominal stems 4.1.1] as posterior members undergoing a *vṛddhi* (1.1.1) replacement (*uttara-pada-vṛddh-aú*) (of the initial syllable 7.3.10,12,13).

pārva-pāñcāla-ka- 'eastern P. locality', *sarva-pāñcāla-ka-* 'the whole P. country' where the posterior member undergoes *vṛddhi* replacement of its initial syllable; but *sarva-bhās-ā* ('bhās+aC 3.1.134), *sarva-kār-aka-* ('kr+*NvuL* 3.1.133) do not come under (7.3.10).

6.2.106 bahu-vrīh-aú víśva-m sañjñā-yām

In a Bahuvrīhī compound deriving a proper name (*sañjñā-y-ām*) [the final syllable 92 of the first member 1] *víśva-* 'all, universal' [bears the udātta accent 64].

viśvā-deva- n.pr. 'concerning all gods' but *viśve ca te dev-ā-h* = *viśva-dev-ā-h*; and as an adjective *viśve dev-ā-h ya-sya* = *viśva-deva-*; *viśva-m mitra-m ya-sya* = *viśva-mitra-* but *viśvā-mitra-* n.pr. of a Vedic seer'.

6.2.107 ¹udāra=²āsva=³īṣu-ṣu

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound forming a proper name 106 the final syllable 92 of the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.86 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ¹-*udāra-* 'stomach', ²-*āsva-* 'horse' and ³-*īṣu-* 'arrow',

1. *vṛka-sya iva uddra-m a-syā* = *vṛk-ō-dara-* 'n.pr. of Bhīma, second of the Pāṇḍava brothers'; *dāma uddr-e a-syā* = *dām-ō-dara-* 'n.pr. of Kṛṣṇa'. 2. *hāri-r dēva-h a-syā har-y-dēva-h* (8.2.4) 'n.pr. of a person'; 3. *suvarṇā-paṅkh-ā-h īṣav-aḥ a-syā* = *suvarṇa-paṅkh-ē-ṣu-/suvarṇa-paṅkh-ē-su-* (8.2.8).

6.2.108 kṣép-e

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound forming a proper name 106 the final syllable 92 of the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-udāra- 'stomach'; °-āśva- 'horse' and °-īṣu- 'arrow' 107] to denote a pejorative sense (kṣép-e).

1. *kunḍá+uddāra-* = *kunḍ-ó-dara-*, *ghaṭ-ó-dara-* 'n.pr. (pot-bellied)'; 2. *kaṭuk-ā-śva-*, *spand-i-i-ā-śva-* 'n.pr.'; 3. *calācal-é-ṣu-/calācal-é-ṣu-* (8.2.6), *anighāṭ-é-ṣu-/anighāṭ-é-ṣu-* 'n.pr.'

6.2.109 nadf bāndhu-n-i

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106 the final syllable 92 of the prior member 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] defined by the t.t. nadf (1.4.3) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bāndhu- 'kin'.

gārgf-bandhu- 'who has Gārgī as a kinswoman', but *brāhma-bandhu-* 'who has a brahmin as a kinsman'.

6.2.110 niṣṭhā=upa-sarg-ā-pūrva-m anya-tará-syām

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106 the final syllable 92 of a first member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.26) and preceded by preverbs (upa-sarg-ā-pūrva-m) [bears the udātta accent 64] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

prá-dhau-ta-m mukha-m yá-sya = *pra-dhau-tá-mukha-/pra-dhau-ta-mukhá-* (167) alternating with *prá-dhau-ta-mukha-* (169) 'whose face has been washed'.

6.2.111 uttara-pada=ādīḥ

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 138 below) the initial syllable of the final member (uttara-pada=ādī-ḥ of a compound) [bears the udātta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-ā] and the expression [uttara-pada=ādī] will recur in each of the following rules in this section.

6.2.112 *kārṇa-h* ¹*vārṇa*-²*lākṣaṇ-āt*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-*kārṇa*- 'ear' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting a color (*vārṇa*-°) or a mark (°-*lākṣaṇ-āt*).

1. *śukl-aú kārṇ-au yá-sya* = *śukla-kārṇa*- 'white-eared'.
2. *dātṛa-m kārṇ-e yá-sya* = *dātṛa-kārṇa*- (3.115) '(an animal) branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear'; but *śóbhan-au kārṇ-au yá-sya* = *śu-karṇá*- (172).

6.2.113 ¹*saṃjñā*=²*aúpam-yay-os=ca*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106] forming a name (*saṃjñā*-°) or resemblance (*aúpam-y-e*) [the initial syllable of the posterior member 111 °-*kārṇa*- 112 bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *maṇi-h kārṇ-e yá-sya* = *maṇi-kārṇa-h* 'n.pr.'; 2. *gór iva kārṇ-au yá-sya* = *go-kārṇa-h* 'whose ears resemble those of a cow'; similarly *khara-kārṇa*- 'camel-eared'.

6.2.114 ¹*kaṇṭhá*-²*prṣṭhá*-³*grīvā*-⁴*jāṅgha-m ca*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 constituting either a name or a resemblance 113, the initial syllable of the final members consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-*kaṇṭhá*- 'throat', °-*prṣṭhá*- 'back', °-*grīvā* 'neck' and °-*jāṅghā* 'thigh' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *śīti-h kaṇṭhā-e a-syd* = *śīti-kāṇṭha-h* 'n.pr. (white-faced)'; so also *nīla-kāṇṭha*- 'n.pr. of Śiva'. *khāra-sya iva kaṇṭhā-h yá-sya* = *khara-kāṇṭa-h* 'camel-throated'. 2. *kāṇḍa-pṛṣṭha*-, *nāka-pṛṣṭha*- proper names; 3. *śu-grīva*-, *nīla-grīva*-; 4. *nārī-jāṅgha*-, *tāla-jāṅgha*- proper names.

When indicating resemblance (*aúpamya*): 1. *go-pṛṣṭha*-, *aṇḍa-pṛṣṭha*-; 2. *go-grīva*-, *aśva-grīva*-; 3. *enī-jāṅgha*-, *go-jāṅgha*-.

6.2.115 *śṛṅga-m ava-sthā-y-ām ca*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 constituting a name or resemblance 113] as well as (*ca*) 'age' (*ava-sthā-y-ām*) [the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-*śṛṅga*- 'horn' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. age: *ud-ga-la-śṛṅga*- 'whose horns are just jutting out'; *dvy-aṅgula-śṛṅga*- 'whose horns are two digits long'; 2. name: *śṛya-śṛṅga*- 'n.pr. of a sage'; 3. *aúpamya*: *go-śṛṅga*- 'cow-horned'.

6.2.116 náÑ-ah=¹jár-a-²már-a-³mī-trá-⁴mṛ-t-ā-ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the posterior members 111 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-jára- 'aging', °-mára- 'dying', °-mitrá- 'friend' and °-mṛ-tá- 'dead' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the privative particle náÑ.

This is a prior exception to 172 below. *a-jára-/a-mára-/a-mitra-/a-mṛ-ta-* 'not aging or declining/immortal/foe, enemy/not dead (mfn.), ambrosia (n.)' respectively.

6.2.117 só-r ¹man-²as-ī=a-¹lóma(n)=²uśás-ī

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-man- (3.2.74) and °-as- (Uṇ-ādi śuÑ), excluding [the nominal stems] lóman- 'hair' and uśás- 'dawn' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] sú-°.

śóbh-ana-m kárma yá-sya = *su-kár-man-* 'virtuous, performing good deeds';
śóbh-ana-h dhárma-h yá-sya = *su-dhárman-* (5.4.124) 'well maintaining'. 2.
śóbh-ana-m yásáh yá-sya = *su-yás-as-* 'renowned, famous', but
su-lómán-/s-ū-śás- (172) 'possessing beautiful hair/beautiful dawn'.

6.2.118 krátu=āday-ah

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111 belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-krátu- 'intelligence' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117].

su-krátu- 'skillful, intelligent, wise'; *su-dṛś-ī-ka-* 'handsome'; *su-prát-ī-ka-* 'lovely, beautiful'.

6.2.119 ādi=udāttám dvya-śC chándas-ī

In the Chándas [the initial syllable of the final member 111 of a Bahuvrīhi compound 106] which is dissyllabic (dvya-śC) and bears the udātta accent on its first syllable (ādy-udāttá-m) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117].

śóbh-ana-h dśva-h yá-sya = *sú-dśva-h* = *su-dśva-h* 'owner of a good horse'; but
śóbh-an-au bāhú yá-sya = *su-bāhú-* (172) 'having handsome arms'. Prior exception to 172.

6.2.120 ¹vīrá-²vīr-y-aṇ ca

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 108 the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-vīra- 'hero' or vīr-yā- 'strength, power' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117 in the Chāndas 119].

su-vīra- 'rich in heroes'; *su-vīr-ya-* 'powerful, strong'. By 1.213 *vīra+yaT* = **vīr-ya-* should have the accent on its initial syllable, and would thus come under the preceding rule, but its inclusion in this rule implies that contrary to 1.213 it has the svarita accent on its final syllable.

6.2.121 ¹kūla-²tīra-³tūla-⁴mūla-⁵śālā=°ākṣa-⁷samā-m avyayī-bhāv-é

In an Avyayībhāva compound [the initial syllable of the final members 111 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kūla-, °-tīra- 'bank, shore', °-tūla- 'cotton', °-mūla- 'root', °-śālā 'hall, mansion', °-ākṣa- 'axle' and °-samā- 'equal' [bears the udātta accent 64].

kūla-sya/tīra-sya sam-īpā-m = *upa-kūla-m/upa-tīra-m*, 'near the bank'; *pari-mūla-m* 'around the roots'; *pari-śālā-m* 'around the hall'; *su-sāma-m* 'very evenly'; *up-ā-kṣa-m* 'near the axle'; but *kumbhā-sya samīpām* = *upa-kumbhā-m* 'near the pitcher'.

6.2.122 ¹kamsā-²manthā-³śūrpa-⁴pāyyā-⁵kāṇḍa-m dvig-aú

In a Dvigú compound [the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kamsā- 'vase', °-manthā- 'mixed drink', °-śūrpa- 'winnowing basket', °-pāyyā- 'n. of a measure' and °-kāṇḍa- 'section' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *dvā-bhyām kamsā-bhyām krī-tā-h* = *dvi+kamsa+TīthaN-ḥ* (5.1.25,28) = *dvi-kāmsa-h* 'bought with two kamsa-s'. Similarly 2. *dvi+mantha+thaK-ḥ* (5.1.19,28) = *dvi-māntha-* 'purchased with 2 mantha-s'; 3. *dvi+śūrpa+aN-ḥ* (5.1.26,28) = *dvi-śūrpa-* 'bought with 2 śūrpa-s'; 4. *dvi+pāyya+thaN-ḥ* (5.1.18,28) = *dvipāyya-* 'purchased with 2 pāyya-s'; 5. *dv-é kāṇḍ-e pra-mā-na-m a-syd* = *dvi+kāṇḍa+mātrāC-ḥ* (5.2.37+uāt) = *dvi-kāṇḍa-* 'measuring 2 kāṇḍa-s' but *parama-kāṇḍa-*.

6.2.123 tatpuruṣ-é śālā-y-ām ná-puṁs-ak-e

In a Tatpuruṣá compound in the neuter gender (nápuṁsake) [the initial syllable of the final member 111] °śālā- 'hall, mansion' (2.4.25) [bears the udātta accent 64].

brahmaṇa-śāla-m/ṣṣatriya-śāla-m 'the hall or mansion of brahmins/warriors' but
dy-dhā-śāla-m brāhmaṇa-kulā-m 'the brahmin family has a permanent hall of residence' which is a Bahuvrīhi compound; similarly *brāhmaṇa-śālā* f. 'brahmins' hall of residence'.

6.2.124 kanthā ca

[In a neuter Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-kanthā 'city' [bears the udātta accent 64].

sauśami-kāntha-m/āhvara-kāntha-m (20) 'names of cities'.

6.2.125 ādi-s=cihaṇa=ādī-n-ām

[In a neuter Tatpuruṣá compound 123 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-kanthā 'city' 124] the initial syllable (ādi-h) [of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with cihaṇa-° [bears the udātta accent 64].

The repetition of the word [ādi-h] here while it was already recurring from 111 is to indicate that it is the initial syllable of the first members which bears the accent.
cihaṇa-kantha-m/māḍara-kantha-m/vaṭṭula-kantha-m 'names of various cities'.

6.2.126 ¹cela-²kheṭa-³kāṭuka-⁴kāṇḍa-rñ garhā-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final members 111] °cela- 'clothes', °-kheṭa- 'grass', °-kāṭuka- 'sharp, bitter' and °-kāṇḍa- 'arrow' [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting censure (garhā-y-ām).

1. *putra-s cela-m* i.e. = *putra-cēla-h* (2.1.56) 'bad son'; 2. *upānat-kheṭa-m* 'a miserable shoe'; 3. *dadhi-kāṭu-ka-m* 'stale or sharp curds'; 4. *bhūta-kāṇḍa-m* 'harmful being'; but *paraṃa-celā-m*.

6.2.127 cīra-m upa-mā-na-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-cīra- 'rag, tatter', serving as an object of comparison (upa-mā-na-m) [bears the udātta accent 64].

vas-tra-m cīra-m iva = vas-tra-cīra-m 'rag-like cloth, tattered cloth' but
parama-cīra-m.

6.2.128 'palalá-'sūpa-'śāka-m miśr-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123] denoting a mixture (miśr-e) [the initial syllable of the final members 111] °-palalá- 'a kind of sweetmeat', °-sūpa- 'sauce, soup' and °-śāka- 'vegetable' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *guḍa-pālala-m* 'sweetmeat mixed with molasses'; 2. *māla-ka-sūpa-ḥ* 'sauce or soup mixed with radishes'; 3. *mudga-śāka-m* 'vegetables mixed with moong beans'

6.2.129 'kūla-'sūda-'sthalá-'kārṣ-ā-ḥ saṃjñā-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final members 111] °-kūla- 'bank', °-sūda- 'dried post', °-sthalá- 'ground' and °-kārṣa- 'labor' [bear the udātta accent 64] when deriving names (saṃjñā-y-ām).

1. *dākṣi-kūla-m/deva-sūda-m/dāṇḍāyana-sthāl-I/dākṣi-kārṣa-ḥ* 'names of villages'.

6.2.130 á-karmadhāray-e rāj-yà-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123] excluding a Karmadhārayá [the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-rāj-yà- 'kingdom' [bears the udātta accent 64].

brāhmaṇā-n-ān rājyā-m = brāhmaṇa-rājya-m 'a brahmin kingdom'; but
parama-rāj-yā-m.

6.2.131 vārgya=āday-as=ca

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 excluding a Karmadhārayá 130 the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vārg-ya- 'partisan' [bears the udātta accent 64].

The *vārg-ya*-class is a sub-member of the *diś*-class (4.3.54) after which affix [yàT] is introduced in which [varga-] occurs as the next entry. *vāsudeva-vārg-ya-/arjuna-vārg-ya-* 'a partisan of Vāsudeva/Arjuna' but *parama-vārg-yā-* 'best or most prominent partisan'.

6.2.132 put-rá-ḥ puṁ-bhyáḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-putrá- 'son' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] masculine (puṁ-bhyáḥ) [nominal stems 4.1.1].

kaunaṭi-pútra-/dāmaka-pútra- 'son of Kaunaṭi/Dāmaka' but *gārgi-putrá-* 'son of Gārgi (f.)'.

6.2.133 ná=¹ā-cār-yā=²rāja(n)=³ṛtv-ij-⁴sām-yuk-ta- ḥjñā-tí=⁵ā-khyā-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111 °-put-rá 'son' 132] does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ā-cār-yā- 'teacher, preceptor', rājan- 'king', ṛtv-ij- 'n. of an officiating priest', sām-yuk-ta- 'wife's kinsfolk' and jñā-tí- 'kin' as well as their synonyms (°-ākhyā-y-ām).

Exception to 132 above. 1. *ācārya-putrá-/upādhyāya-putrá-* 'preceptor's son'; 2. *rāja-putrá-/īśvara-putrá-* 'prince'; 3. *ṛtv-ik-pūtrá-/yājñika-putrá-* 'son of a priest'; 4. *sām-yuk-ta-putrá-/śyāla-putrá-* 'son of wife's brother'; 5. *jñāti-putrá-/pitṛvya-putrá-/mātula-putrá-* 'paternal/maternal cousin'.

6.2.134 cūrṇā-ādī-n-i=^āprāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of the nominal class 4.1.1] beginning with °-cūr-ṇā- 'flour, meal' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet, excluding words denoting animate objects (ā-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ).

mudga-cūr-ṇa-m 'moong bean flour'; *maśūra-cūr-ṇa-m* 'lentil flour', but *matsya-cūr-ṇa-m*.

6.2.135 śāt ca kāṇḍa-ādi-n-i

[The initial syllable of the final members 111] consisting of any of the six [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-kāṇḍa- 'arrow' [= 126 above, °-cāra- 'rag' 127, °-pālala- 'kind of sweetmeat' 128, °-sūpa- 'sauce, soup' 128, °-śāka- 'vegetable' 128 and °-kūla- 'bank' 129] also [bears the udātta accent 64].

126: when censure is not implied: *darbha-kāṇḍa-m/śara-kāṇḍa-m* 'stalk of dhoop grass/reed'; 127: when not an object of comparison: *kuśa-cāra-m* 'rag made of K. grass'; 128: when not denoting a mixture: *tila-pālala-m* 'sesame cake'; *mudga-sūpa-ḥ* 'moong-bean soup'; *māḷaka-śāka-m* 'radish'; 129. *nadī-kūla-m* 'river-bank'.

The constraints [garhā 126, upamāna 127, miśra 128, samjñā 129] do not apply in this rule so that the operations of 126-29 are extended by this rule to situations not restricted by these constraints.

6.2.136 kuṇḍā-m vāna-m

[In a Tatpuruṣā compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-kuṇḍā- 'bowl' [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting a forest (vāna-m).

darba-kūṇḍa-m 'n.pr. of a forest (literally a forest of dhoop grass)'; but *mṛti-kuṇḍā-m* 'earthen bowl'.

6.2.137 pra-kṛ-ty-ā bhagāla-m

[In a Tatpuruṣā compound 123 the final member 111] °-bhagāla- 'skull' and its synonyms retain their original accent (pra-kṛ-ty-ā).

kumbhī+bhagāla-m/°-kapāla-m/°-naddā-mn 'skull serving as a bowl'. The word [pra-kṛ-ty-ā] will recur in the subsequent rules up to 143 below.

6.2.138 śīti-r nitya=a=bah-v=aC=bahuvrīh-aú=ā-bhasat

In a Bahuvrīhī compound [the final member 111] consisting of an obligatory (nitya-°) non-polysyllabic (°-ā-bahv-aC) [nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding °-bhasād- 'pudendum' [retains its original accent 137 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śīti-° 'white'.

śīti-pāda- 'white-footed'; *śīti-kākṣa-* 'white-shouldered', but *darś-anīya-pāda-* 'possessing handsome legs', *śīti+kakud* (a→Ø 5.4.146) = *śī-ti-kakud-* 'white-humped' and *śī-ti-bhasad-* 'having a white pudendum'.

6.2.139 ¹gá-ti-²kār-aka=³upa-pad-āt kft

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72] a kft (3.1.93ff.) [affix 3.1.1 retains its original accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a gá-ti particle (1.4.60), kār-aka (1.4.23) or an upa-padá (3.1.92).

1. gáti: *pra+ky+LyuT* = *pra-kār-ana-* 'production'; *pra+ky+NvuL* = *pra-kār-aka-* 'producer'.
2. kāraka: *idhma-m prā-vśc-ya-te y-éna* = *idhma+pra+vśc+LyuT* = *idhma-pra-vśc-ana-* 'axe'; *stamb-é rām-a-te* = *stamb-e+ram+aC* (3.2.13) = *stamb-e-ram-d-* 'taking pleasure in a clump of grass'.
3. upapada: *ṣat+ky+KHaL* = *ṣat-kār-a-* (3.3.126) 'doing little'.

6.2.140 ubh-é vānas-pāti-ādi-ṣu yugapát

In the class of compounds beginning with vānas-pāti- both (ubh-é) [=the prior 1 and final 111 members simultaneously retain their original accents 140].

vān-as-pā-ti- 'lord of the forest'; *bṛhāt-ām pā-ti-h* = *bṛh-as-pā-ti-h* 'n.pr. of the preceptor of gods'; *tanū-nā-pāt* 'n.pr.'; *śúna iva śépha-h a-syá* = *śún-aḥ-śépha-h* 'n.pr.' The word [Tatpuruṣá 123] does not recur here as the gana-list consists of Bahuvrīhí-s also.

6.2.141 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

[In a Dvaṁdvá compound composed of] names of divinities (devatā-dvaṁdv-é) also (ca) [both 140 first 1 and final 111 members retain their original accents 137 simultaneously 140].

Indrā-sóm-au 'Indra and Soma'; *Indrā-varuṇ-au* 'Indra and Varuṇa'.

6.2.142 ná=uttara-pad-é=ánudātta=ād-au=á-¹prthiví-²rudrá-³pūṣá(n)=⁴manthí-ṣu

[In a Dvaṁdva compound consisting of names of divinities 141 both first 1 and final 111 members] do not (ná) [bear their original accents 137 simultaneously 140 when the posterior member 111] begins with an ánudātta syllable, excluding °-prthiví 'Earth Goddess', °-rudrá-, °-pūṣán- 'names of divinities' and °-manthín- 'sacred beverage'.

Indra+agni - *indr-a-ḡnī*, *indra-vāyá*, etc., but *dyáuvā-prthi-vy-áú*, *sómā-rudr-áú*, *indrā-pūṣaṇ-áú*, *śukrá-manthín-au*.

6.2.143 ánta-ḥ

[In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this quarter [pādā]] the final syllable (ánta-ḥ) [of the final member of a compound 111 bears the udātta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] and recurs in each of the subsequent rules to the end of the section.

6.2.144 ¹tha=²átha=³GHaÑ=⁴Ktá=⁵áC=⁶aP=⁷itra=⁸Ká-p-ām

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-tha-, °-átha-, °-GHaÑ, °-Ktá-, °-áC-, °-aP-, °-itra- and °-Ká- [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a gāti, kāraka or upapadā- 139].

General exception to 139 above.

1. tha: *su-nī+KthaN* = *su-nī-thá-* 'who guides well'; this is a uṇādi affix. Similarly *ava-bhy-thá-* 'purification of the sacrificer'.
2. átha (uṇādi): *ā-vas-athá-* 'dwelling place, residence'; *upa-vas-athá-* 'day of fasting'.
3. GHaÑ: *pra-bhīd+GHaÑ* = *pra-bhed-á-* 'splitting'; *kāṣṭha-bhed-á-* 'splitting wood'.
4. Ktá: *dūr-ād-ā-ga-tá-* 'arrived from afar' (2.1.39) = (*dūr-āt+ā-ga-ta-* 49); *vi+śuṣ-ka-* (1.206) = *vi-śuṣ-ka-* 'dried variously'; *ā-tapa-śuṣ-ka-* (2.1.32) 'sun-dried'.
5. áC: *prá+ksi+áC* = *pra+kṣáy-a-* (1.201) = *pra-kṣay-á-* 'excellent residence', *pra+ñi+aC* = *pra+jáy-a-* (1.202) = *pra-jay-á-* 'excellent instrument of conquest'.
6. aP: *prá+tā+aP* = *pra-lav-á-* 'chip, fragment'; *pra+sā+aP* = *pra-sav-á-* 'begetting'.
7. itra: *prá+tā+itra* = *pra-lav-itrá-* 'cutting, reaping'; *pra+sā+itra* = *pra-sav-itrá-* 'begetting, generating'.
8. Ká: *gā-m vārs-a-ti* = *gō+vṛṣ+Ká* = *go-vṛṣ-á-* 'bull' while *vṛṣ-a-* by itself has udātta accent on its initial syllable (1.203).

But *sū stu-tá-m* where *sū* is a karma-pra-vac-anīya (1.4.94) and not a gāti.

6.2.145 ¹sú=²upa-mā-n-āt Ktá-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-Ktá [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the particle *sú-*° or a word denoting its object of comparison (*upa-mā-n-āt*) [consisting of either a gāti, kāraka or upapadā 139].

su-kr-tá- 'well-done'; *su-pī-tá-* 'well drunk'. Exception to 49. *vṛkair iva dva-lup-ta-m* = *vṛk-ā-va-lup-tá-m* 'rushed upon (a prey) as by wolves' (2.1.32;

exception to 48). *śaśa-plu-tā-m* 'jumped like a hare'; *śimha-vi-nard-i-tā-m* 'roared like a lion'. Exceptions to 48 above.

6.2.146 *samjñā-y-ām ān-ā-ci-ta=ādī-n-ām*

In proper names (*samjñā-y-ām*) [the final syllable of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā 145], excluding the class of derivatives beginning with *ā-ci-ta* 'collected, heaped up' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a gāti, kāraṇa or upapadā 139].

1. *sam-bhā-tā* 'n.pr. of Rāmāyaṇa'; *upa-hū-tā* 'name of Śākalya'; *pari-jag-dhā* 'name of Kauṇḍinya'. Exception to 49 above.
2. *dhanuḥ-khā-t-ā* 'name of a river'; *kuddala-khā-t-ā-m nāgara-m*; *hasti-mṛd-i-t-ā bhūmi-h* 'name of a locality'; exceptions to 48 above. But *ā-ci-ta* 'heaped, piled'; *ā-sthā-p-i-ta* 'established', etc.

6.2.147 *pra-vṛd-dhā-ādī-n-ām ca*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *°-pra-vṛd-dhā* 'extended, grown, strong' [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā 145 bears the udatta accent 64].

pra-vṛd-dhā-m yāna-m 'extended (of a vehicle)'; *pra-vṛd-dhā-h vṛṣalā-h* 'strong (of a V.)'; *khātva-m ā-rū-dhā-h = khatv-ā-rū-dhā-h* (2.1.26) 'low, vile'; *kavi-śas-tā* 'praised by wise men'. Exceptions to 48-49 above.

6.2.148 *kāraṇ-āt=¹dattā=²śru-tāy-or evā āśīṣ-i*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā 145 consisting of] *°-da-t-tā* 'given' and *°-śru-tā* 'heard' only (*evā*) [bears the udātta accent 64 to denote a name 146] when expressing benediction (*āśīṣ-i*).

dev-ā-h end-m de-yāś-uh = deva-dat-tā-h 'n.pr. of a person (as god-given)'; *viṣṇu-r end-m śru-yā-t = viṣṇu-śru-tā-h* 'n.pr. of a person (as one listened to by V.)'. But *dev-pāl-i-ta* (48) 'protected by gods'; similarly *dev-aiḥ khā-t-ā = devā-khā-t-ā*.

6.2.149 ittham-bhūt-éna kṛ-tá-m iti ca

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Kṛtá 145, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148 bears the udātta accent 64] also (ca) when the compound means 'done by one in that particular condition' (ittham-bhūt-éna).

sup-t-éna prā-lap-i-ta-m = *sup-ta-prā-lap-i-tā-m* 'uttered during sleep';
pra-mat-t-éna gītā-m = *pra-mat-ta-gītā-m* 'sung while intoxicated, drunken song'. Exceptions to 48.

6.2.150 ana-ḥ ¹bhāva-²kārma-vac-ana-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-ana-, denoting a state (bhāva-°) of action or the object (°-kārma-vac-ana-ḥ 3.3.116) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148, bears the udātta accent 64].

odana=bhoj-anā-m 'eating of boiled rice'; *payah=pā-nā-m* 'drinking milk' (gen. Tat. comp.); *rāja-bhoj-anā-ḥ śālay-ah* 'rice eaten by royalty'; *rāj-ā-cchāda-anā-n-i vāsāms-i* 'costumes worn by royalty' (3.3.113). But *danta=dhāv-ana-m* (LyuT 3.3.117) 'tooth-brush'; *nī-dāś-ana-m* 'indication'. Cf. 2.3.65.

6.2.151 ¹man-²KṛtN=³vyā-khyā-na-⁴śāy-ana=⁵ās-ana-⁶sthā-na-⁷yāj-aka=⁸ādi-⁹kṛt-t-ā-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72] °-man-, °KṛtN- and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-vyā-khyā-na- 'explanation, commentary', °-śāy-ana 'lying down'; °-ās-ana- 'sitting down', °-sthā-na- 'place' and the word-class beginning with °-yāj-aka- 'sacrificer' and °-kṛt-tā- 'bought' [bears the udātta accent when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148].

1. man: *rāṭha-sya vartma* = *ratha-vart-mān-* 'chariot road'; 2. KṛtN: *pāṇin-ē-ḥ kṛ-ti-ḥ* = *pāṇini-kṛ-ti-ḥ* 'Pāṇini's work'; 3. *chānda-as-ah vyā-khyāna-m* = *chanda-vyā-khyāna-m* 'a gloss or commentary on Chāndaś'; 4. *rāj-ā-śāy-ana-m* = *rāja-śāy-anā-m* 'royal bedstead'; 5. similarly *rāj-ā-sāda-m* 'royal throne'; 6. *gāv-ām sthā-nā-m* = *go-sthānā-m* 'cow-pen'; exceptions to 150; 7. *brāhmaṇa-yāj-akā-* 'brahmin sacrificer' (2.2.9); 8. *go-kṛt-tā-* 'bought with a cow/bull', exception to 48 above. All are exceptions to 139 above. Cf. 2.3.65.

6.2.152 saptamy-āḥ pūnya-m

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] °-pūnya- 'merit' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamy-āḥ).

ved-é pūnya-m = veda-puṇyá-m 'merit accruing from a study of the Vedá'. Exception to 2 above.

6.2.153 ¹ūná=artha-²kalahá-m tṛ-tīyā-y-āḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] denoting the sense of 'less by' (ūná-artha-) and the word °-kal-ahá- 'strife' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛ-tīyā-y-āḥ).

Exception to 2 above. 1. *māṣ-ēṇa ūná-m = māṣ-o-ná-m* 'less by a māṣa (in weight)'; 2. *vāc-ā kalahá-h vāk-kalahá-h* 'verbal strife', *asi-bhiḥ kalahá-h = asi-kalahá-h* 'fighting with swords'.

According to interpretation [ūná] stands also for its synonyme, while some take [°-artha-] stands for itself: *māṣa-vi-kalá-* 'less by a māṣa (in weight)' and *dhānyā-d-rthá = dhāny-ēna ártha-h* 'wealth through grains'.

6.2.154 miśrá-m ca=án-upa-sarga-m á-saṁ-dh-au

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] °-miśrá- 'mixed with' [bears the udātta accent 64 when] not [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (án-upa-sarga-m), [but co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 153] and not signifying an alliance (á-saṁ-dh-au).

guda-miśrá-/tila-miśrá- 'mixed with molasses/sesamum' (exception to 2 above) but *brāhmaṇa-miśra-h rājā* 'a king who allies himself with brahmins' and *guḍá-sam-miśra-* (2) 'mixed well with molasses'.

6.2.155 náñ-aḥ guṇa-prati-ṣedh-é ¹sam-pāḍ-í(n)=²arhá-³hi-tá=⁴álam-arth-ā-s taddhit-ā-h

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72] taddhitá (4.1.76ff.) [affixes 3.1.1] signifying 'fit for that' (sam-pāḍ-ín-° 5.1.99), 'deserving it' (°-arhá- 5.1.63), 'good for it' (°-hitá-° 5.1.5) or 'capable of effecting it' (°-álam-arth-ā-h 5.1.101)

[bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the privative particle náñ-°, negating their quality (guṇa-prati-ṣedh-é).

1. sam-pād-in: *kārṇa-veṣṭakā-bhyāñ sam-pād-i mukha-m* = *kārṇa-veṣṭaka+thañ* (5.1.99) = *kārṇa-veṣṭak-ika-m*, *nā kārṇa-veṣṭak-ika-m* = *a-kārṇa-veṣṭak-ikā-m* 'unfit for earrings (said of a face)'; 2. arhā: *chēda-m ārh-a-ti* = *chēda+thañ* (5.1.63) = *chaid-ikā-h*; *nā chaid-ikā-h* = *a=chaid-ikā-h* 'not deserving mutilation'; 3. hitā: *vatsē-bhṛyo hi-tā-h* = *vatsē+cha* (5.1.5) = *vatsē-ḥya-h*, *nā vatsē-ḥya-h* = *a-vatsē-ḥyā-h* 'not good or suitable for calves'; 4. ālam-artha: *sam-tāpā-ya prā-bhav-a-ti* = *sam-tāpā+thañ* (5.1.101) = *sām-tāp-ika-h*; *nā sām-tāp-ika-h* = *a-sām-tāp-ikā-h* 'unable to warm up or heat'. All are exceptions to 2 above.

6.2.156 'yá-²yàT-os=ca á-tad-arth-e

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 taddhitā 155 affixes 3.1.1] °-yá-, °-yàT-, not signifying 'serve its purpose' (á-tad-arth-e) also (ca) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náñ to negate these qualities 155].

- pāśā-n-āñ sam-āh-ā-h* = *pāśā+ya+TāP* = *pāś-y-ā*, *nā pāś-y-ā* = *a-pāś-y-ā* 'not a collection of nooses'; *dānte-ṣu bhāu-a-m* = *danta+yāT* = *dānt-ya-m*, *nā dānt-ya-m* = *a-dant-yā-m* 'not dental'. Exceptions to 2 above, but *pād-ā-rthām udakā-m* = *pāda+ydāT* = *pād-ya-m*, *nā pād-ya-m* = *a-pād-ya-m* (2) (5.4.25).

6.2.157 'áC=²K-aú=á-śak-t-e

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-áC- and °-Ká- [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náñ to negate these qualities 155] to denote incapacity (á-śak-t-au).

1. áC: *a-pac-ā-* (3.1.134) 'incapable of cooking'; *a-jay-ā-* (3.3.56) 'incapable of winning'.
2. Ká: *a-vi-kṣip-ā-* (3.1.135) 'incapable of throwing asunder'. But *a-pac-a-* 'not cooking'.

6.2.158 ā-kroś-é ca

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-áC- and °-Ká- 157 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náñ-° 155] also (ca) to denote an intention to abuse (ā-kroś-é).

1. *áC*: *a-path-d-* 'unable to read, illiterate'; 2. *Ká*: *a-vi-likh-d-* (3.1.135) 'incapable of writing, ignorant, illiterate', both indicating abuse. Exception to 2 above.

6.2.159 *saṁ-jñā-y-ām*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] denoting a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when signifying contempt 158 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle *nāñ-* ° 155].

a-deva-dat-id-h 'does not deserve to be called Deva-dat-tá'.

a-yajña-dat-id-h 'unfit to be called Yajña-dat-tá'.

6.2.160 ¹*kṛtya*=²*uka*=³*iṣṇúC*-⁴*cāru*=*āday-aḥ*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. *kṛtya* (3.1.95ff.) and °-*uka*- (3.2.154), °-*iṣṇúC*- (3.2.136ff.) and the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-*cāru*- 'beautiful, charming' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle *nāñ-* ° 155].

1. *kṛtya*: *nāñ+kṛ+itavya-* = *a-kar-tavyá-* 'not to be done'; similarly *a-kar-anīyá-*; 2. *uka*: *nāñ+a+gam+ukañ* (3.2.154) = *an-ā-gām-uká-* 'not accidental'; 3. *iṣṇúC*: *an=alam-kar-iṣṇú-* 'not decorating or adorning'; 4. *nāñ+cāru-* = *a-cārú-* 'unpleasant'; *nāñ+ādhú-h* = *a-sādhú-h* 'improper, unfit'. Exceptions to 2 above.

6.2.161 *vibhāṣā* ¹*tṛN*=²*ánna*-³*tīkṣ-ṇá*-⁴*śúci-ṣu*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-*tṛN*- and the expressions °-*ánna*- 'food', °-*tīkṣ-ṇá*- 'sharp' and °-*śúci*- 'pure' optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle *nāñ-* ° 155].

1. *tṛN*: *nāñ+kṛ+tṛN* = *a-kar-īf/d-kar-tṛ-* (2) 'non-agent'.
2. *an-anná-/án-anna-* 'rice or food not deserving of its name, inedible'; 3. *a-tīks-ná-/á-tīks-ṇa-* 'not sharp, bland'; 4. *a-śuci-/á-śuci-* 'impure'.

6.2.162 *bahuvrīh-aú*=¹*idám*=²*etád*=³*tád-bhyaḥ* ¹*prathamá*-²*pūr-aṇay-oḥ* *kriyā-gaṇ-an-é*

In a Bahuvrīhī compound [the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-*prathamá*- 'first' and an ordinal (°-*pūr-aṇay-oḥ*) [bears the udātta ac-

cent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the pronominal stems 4.1.1] *idám-* 'this', *etád-* 'this' and *tád-* 'that' to indicate the number of times the action takes place (*kriyā-gaṇ-an-é*).

idam-prathamá- '(some action) of which this is the first'; *etad-dvi-tīyá-* '(an action) of which this is the second occurrence'; *tat-tṛ-tīyá-* '(an action) of which that is the third occurrence'.

6.2.163 *saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ stána-ḥ*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] *°-stána-* 'breast, udder' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (*saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ*).

dv-au stán-au yá-sy-ā-ḥ = *dvi-stan-ā* 'possessing two breasts or udders'; *catuh-stan-ā* 'having four udders'. Exception to 1 above.

6.2.164 *vibhāṣā chāndas-i*

In the domain of Chāndas [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 of a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 *°-stána-* 'breast, udder'] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a number-word 163].

dvi-stan-ā/dv-stan-ā; catuh-stan-ā/catúh-stan-ā.

6.2.165 *saṁjñā-y-ām 'mitrá'=²ajīnay-oh*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] *°-mitrá-* 'friend' and *°-ajīna-* 'hairy skin of an antelope' [bears the udātta accent 64] to derive proper names (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

devā-ḥ mitrá-m yá-sya = *deva-mitrā-ḥ; vṛka-m ajīna-m a-syā* = *vṛk-ā-jīnā-* 'both proper names'; when not deriving names: *prīyā-mitra-* 'to whom friends are dear' and *mah-ā-jīna-* 'who has a large hairy skin of an antelope'.

6.2.166 *vy-av-ā-y-in-aḥ=ántaram*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] *°-ántara-* 'intervening' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting the object of intervention (*vy-av-ā-y-in-aḥ*).

vdstra-m dntara-m á-sya = *vastṛ-ā-ntarā-m* 'separated by a covering cloth', but
ātmā = *sva-bhāṣ-ā-h dntara-h a-sya* = *ātm-ā-nlara-h* 'of a different nature'.

6.2.167 *múkha-m sva=aṅgá-m*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-*múkha-* 'face' denoting a limb of one's body (*sv-a-ṅgá-m*) [bears the udātta accent 64].

gaurā-m múkha-m a-sya = *gaura-mukhā-h* 'white-faced'; *bhadrā+múkha-* = *bhadra-mukhā-* 'auspicious-faced', but *dīrghā+múkha-* = *dīrghā-mukh-ā śālā* 'a hall (of residence) with a tall entrance'.

6.2.168 *ná=¹á-vy-aya=²dik=³śabdá-⁴gó-⁵mahát-⁶sthū-lá-⁷muṣṭi-⁸pṛthú-⁹vatsé-bhyaḥ*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-*múkha-* 'face' denoting a limb of one's body 167] does not (*ná*) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] 1. indeclinables (*á-vy-aya-*), 2. direction-words (°-*dik=śabdá-*), 3. *gó-* 'cow, bull', 4. *mahát-* 'big', 5. *sthū-lá-* 'gross, heavy', 6. *muṣṭi-* 'fist', 7. *pṛthú-* 'wide' and 8. *vatsa-* 'calf'.

1. *ucc-añh múkha-m a-sya* = *ucca-añh-mukha-h* 'having the face turned upwards'; 2. *prāñ-mukha-* 'having the face turned eastwards'; 3. *gó-mukha-* 'cow-faced'; 4. *mahā-mukha-* 'big-faced'; 5. *sthū-lā-mukha-* 'heavy-faced'; 6. *muṣṭi-mukha-* 'possessing a fist-like face'; 7. *pṛthú-mukha-* 'wide-faced'; 8. *vatsā-mukha-* (1) 'calf-faced'.

6.2.169 *¹niṣṭhā=²upa-mā-n-āt=³anya-tará-syām*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-*múkha-* 'face 167 does not 168] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26) or an expression denoting an object of comparison (°-*upa-mā-n-āt*).

pra-kṣāl-i-ta-mukhā- (167)/*pra-kṣāl-i-tā-mukha-* (110)/*prā-kṣāl-i-ta-mukha-* (49)
 'whose face has been washed'.

simhā-sya múkham iva múkham a-sya = *simha-mukhā-h/simhā-mukha-h* 'lion-faced'.

6.2.170 ¹jā-ti-²kālā-³sukhá=ādi-bhyaḥ=án-ā-cchād-an-āt
Ktā-ḥ=á-¹kṛ-ta-²mi-ta-³prati-pan-n-ā-ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °Ktā-, excluding °-kṛ-tā- 'done, made', °-mi-tā- 'measured' and °-prati-pan-nā- 'promised' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67, nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting genus (jā-ti-°) excluding one denoting a cover (án-ā-cchād-an-āt), time-words (°-kālā-°) and the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sukhá-° 'happiness, pleasure'.

1. jā-ti: *sāraṅga-jag-dhā-* 'who has eaten an antelope'; *palāṇḍu-bhaks-i-tā-* 'who has eaten onions'.
2. kālā: *māsa-jā-tā-* 'born a month ago'; *sam-vat-sara-jā-tā-* 'born a year ago'.
3. *sukha-jā-tā-* 'whose birth has been pleasant'; *duḥkha-jā-tā-* 'whose birth has been unpleasant'.

Exceptions: *putrā-jā-ta-* 'to whom a son has been born' since *putrā-* is not a genus-word. *vas-ana-chaṇ-na-* 'cloth-covered'; *kūṇḍa-m kṛ-tā-m y-ēna* = *kūṇḍa-kṛ-ta-* 'by whom a kūṇḍa has been made'; similarly *kūṇḍa-mi-ta-* 'by whom a kūṇḍa has been measured' and *kūṇḍa-prati-pan-na-ḥ* by whom a kūṇḍa has been promised'.

6.2.171 vā jā-t-é

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-jā-tā- 'born' optionally (vā) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 denoting genus-names, time-words or the word-class beginning with sukhá-° 170].

1. *danta-jātā-/dānta-jā-ta-* 'whose teeth have emerged'; 2. *māsa-jā-tā-/māsa-jā-ta-* 'born a month ago'; 3. *su-kha-jā-tā-/su-khā-jā-ta-* 'whose birth has been pleasant'.

6.2.172 ¹nāN-²sūbhyām

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles] nāN-° and sū-°.

1. *a-vid-ya-m-ān-ā-ḥ yāv-a-ḥ a-eyā* = *a-yavā-ḥ* 'destitute of barley'; 2. *su-yavā-* 'abounding in barley'.

6.2.173 kaP-i pūrva-m

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the last member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the samāsāntā 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1] kaP [and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náñ and sú 172 bears the udātta accent 64] on the syllable [preceding 1.1.66] kaP (kaP-i pūrva-m).

a-kumār-f-ka- 'denuded of maidens'; *su-kumār-f-ka-* 'abounding in maidens'.

6.2.174 hrasvá=ant-e ánt-y-āt pūrva-m

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72 samāsāntā 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 173] preceded by a short vowel (hrasv-ā-nt-e) [before 1.1.66 kaP], the syllable before 1.1.66 that short vowel (ánt-y-āt pūrva-m) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náñ- " and sú- " 172].

a-vrīhi-ka- 'destitute of rice'; *su-māsa-ka-* 'rich in māsa beans'.

6.2.175 bahó-r náñ-vát=ut-tara-pada-bhūmn-i

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final member 111, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bahú-° 'many' [has the same udātta accent 64 as when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] náñ (172-74, 116) when expressing the abundance of the posterior member (ut-tara-pada-bhūmn-i).

116. *bahu-jár-a-* 'very old'; *bahu-már-a-* 'frequently dying'; *bahu-māra-* 'teeming with friends'; *bahu-mā-ta-* 'where many have died'.

172. *bahu-yavā-* 'abounding in large quantities of barley'.

173. *bahu-kumār-f-ka-* 'teeming with maidens'.

174. *bahu-vrīhi-ka-* 'extremely rich in rice'.

But *bahú-su mānaḥ a-syā = bahú-manas-* 'mindful of many'; since it does not qualify the posterior member.

6.2.176 ná guṇá=āday-aḥ=ava-yav-āḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final member 111, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1 bahú-° 'many' 175 and comprising the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-guṇá-, and denoting an integral part (of something else: *ava-yav-ā-h*) does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 on the final syllable 143].

bahū-guṇ-ā rājju-h 'rope consisting of many strands'; *bahū-dṛṣṭara-m padd-m* (8.2.4) 'a polysyllabic expression'; but *bahū-guṇā-* 'possessing many qualities' (172).

6.2.177 *upa-sarg-āt sva=aṅgām dhruvā-m ā-parśu*

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting an unchanging (*dhruvā-m* = constant) limb of one's body (*sv-ā-ṅgā-m*), excluding [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*pārśu-* 'side' [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb particle (*upa-sarg-āt*) [bears the udātta accent 64].

sa-ta-tā-m yā-sya pra-ga-tām pṛsthā-m sū-h = *pra-pṛsthā-h* 'having a protuberant back'; similarly *pra+udard-* = *pr-o-dard-* 'big-bellied'. Exceptions: *dars-anhya-lālaṭa-* 'possessing a fine forehead' (not preceded by a preverb); *prā-śākha-h vykṣa-h* 'a tree with high branches', since a branch is not covered by *sv-ā-ṅgā*; *ud-bāhu-* 'whose hand is raised' since this is not a natural stable position.

6.2.178 *vāna-m sam-ās-é*

In a compound (*sam-ās-é*) [the final syllable 143 of the posterior member 111] °-*vāna-* 'forest, wood' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb particle 177].

By using the expression [*sam-ās-é*] the governing role of Bahuvrīhi comes to an end, and we are now concerned with compounds in general. *pra-vaṇḍ-* = *prā-kṛṣ-ta-m/pra-ga-tā-m vā vāna-m a-syā/prā-kṛṣ-ta-m/pra-ga-tā-m vā vāna-m* realized either as a Bahuvrīhi or a Tatpuruṣa compound: 'possessing an excellent forest/an excellent forest'. Similarly *nir-vaṇḍ-* (retroflexion by 8.4.5).

6.2.179 *antāḥ*

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-*vāna-* 'forest, wood' 178 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] *antār-* ° 'within'.

antar-vaṇḍ- (8.4.5) 'a region situated within a forest'.

6.2.180 *ānta-s=ca*

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-*ānta-* 'end, edge' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb particle 177].

prá+ánta- = *pr-ā-ntā-* 'edge, extremity'; *pary-antā-* 'circumference'.

6.2.181 ná ¹ní-²ví-bhyām

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-ánta- 'end, edge' 180] does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 177] ní-° or ví-°.

ní+ánta- = *ny-ánta-* (8.2.4) 'proximity'; *vy-ánta-* 'separated, remote'. Exception to 180 above.

6.2.182 páre-r ¹abhi-to-bhāv-í-²maṇḍalá-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting something possessing two opposite sides (*abhi-to-bhāv-í-°*) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-maṇḍalá- 'circle' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] *pari-°*.

pári+kūla- = *pári-kūla-* 'lying on both sides of the banks', so also *pári-tīrā-*; *pári-maṇḍalá-* = *pári-tas=maṇḍalá-m* 'circumference'.

6.2.183 pr-ā-t=ā-sva=aṅga-m saṁjñá-y-ām

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting an object excluding the limbs of one's body (*ā-sv-ā-ṅga-m*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] *prá-°* to derive a name (*saṁjñá-y-ām*).

prá+kōṣṭha- = *pra-kōṣṭhā-m* 'courtyard, quadrangle'; *pra-gṛhā-m* 'front part of the house'; *pra-dvārā-m* 'place before the door', but *prá-hastā-m* 'open hand', *prá-padā-m* 'division of a verse into four quarters without reference to the sense'. Exceptions to 2 above.

6.2.184 nir-udaká=ādī-n-ī ca

[In the class of compounds 178] beginning with *nir-udaká-* 'arid or dry land, desert' [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64].

nir-ulapá-/nir-upalá- 'grassland, free from stones or rocks'; *niṣ-kāla-kā-h-* = *niṣ-krān-ta-h- kāla-k-ā-* 'one who has shaved his hair, an ascetic'. In the case of *Bahuvrīhi* and *Prādi-Tatpuruṣas* this rule is an exception to 1 and 2 above, but where an *Avyayi-bhāva* is involved it is already covered by 1.223.

6.2.185 abhē-r mūkha-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-mūkha- 'face' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] = abhi- °.

abhi+mūkha-m = *abhi-mukhā-m* 'facing, confronting'; exception to 177.

6.2.186 āp-āt=ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-mūkha- 'face' 185 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] āpa- ° also (ca).

apa-mukhā-m 'having the face averted'. The composition in 185-86 is either a Bahuvrīhī or a Prādi-Tatpuruṣā type and is an exception to both 1 and 2 above; when regarded as Avya-yī-bhāṣā, 1.223 applies yielding the same result.

6.2.187 ¹sphīga-²pū-ta-³vīṇā-⁴āñjas=⁵ādhva(n)=⁶kuṣī-⁷sīra-nāma-⁸nāma ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-sphīga- 'hip, buttock', °-pū-ta- 'ibid', °-vīṇā- 'Indian lute', °-āñjas- 'unguent', °-ādhvan- 'road', °-kuṣī- 'stomach', a word signifying 'plough' (sīra-nāma) and °-nām-an- 'name' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] āpa- ° 186].

apa-sphigā- 'with malformed buttocks'; *apa-pūtā-* 'having badly formed hips'; *apa-vīṇā-* 'without a Vīṇā'; *ap-āñjā-* 'without unguent'; *ap-ā-dhvan-* 'bad or wrong road'; *apa-kuṣī-* 'malformed belly'; *apa-sīrā-/apa-halā-* 'possessing a poor plough'; *apa-nāmān-* 'bad name'. In the case of [°-ādhvan-] when 5.4.85 does not apply the present rule operates, while in the former case we have *dpa+ādhvan+dC* = *ap-ādhu-d-*.

6.2.188 ādhe-r upari-sthā-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting something above (upari-sthā-m) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ādhi- ° [bears the udātta accent 64].

ādhi+dānta- = *adhi-dantā-* = *adhy-ā-rū-dhā-h dānta-h* 'redundant tooth'.

6.2.189 'áno-r á-pra-dhā-na-²kán-īyas-ī

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] which is subordinate (á-pra-dhā-na) and [nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kán-īyas- 'younger' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ánu-°.

ánu-gata-h jyēṣṭha-m = *anu-jyēṣṭhā-h* 'following the seniormost'; but *anu-ga-tā-h kánīyān* = *anu-kánīyas-* 'younger following the senior', since the posterior member is not subordinate.

6.2.190 pūruṣas=ca anv=ā-diṣ-ṭa-h

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-pūruṣa- 'person' who has been mentioned previously (anv-ā-diṣ-ṭa-h) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177 ánu-° 189].

anv-ā-diṣ-ṭa-h pūruṣa-h = *anu-puruṣā-h* 'afore-mentioned person'. But *anu-ga-ta-h pūruṣa-h* = *anu-puruṣa-h* 'follower'.

6.2.191 áte-r á-¹kṛt-²pad-é

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] not [ending in 1.1.72] a kṛt [affix 3.1.1] (3.1.93ff.) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-padā- 'foot' [co-occurring after 1.1.68 the pre-verb 177] áti-° [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *aty-ankuśā-h(nāga-h)* 'an elephant, beyond or past the elephant hook, uncontrollable'; *ati-kaśā-h(aśva-h)* 'beyond the whip, unmanageable (of a horse); 2. *ati-padā-śak-var-ī)* '(of a meter) too long by a foot'. But *diti-kār-aka-* (NvuL) 'good k.'

6.2.192 né-r á-ni-dhā-n-e

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ní-° to denote 'not hiding' (á-ni-dh-ā-n-e).

ni-mūlā-m (3.4.34) 'down to the roots'; *ni-tṛṇā-m* 'down to the grass', but *nī-hi-tā vāc* = *nī-vāc-* 'whisper' f.; 'one who whispers' mfn.

6.2.193 *práte-r aṁśú=āday-as tatpuruṣ-é*

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [the final syllable 143 of the last members 11 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-aṁśú- 'ray' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] *prāti-*°.

prati-ga-tá-ḥ aṁśú-ḥ = *praty-aṁśú-ḥ* (2.2.18) 'refracted ray'; *prati-jand-* 'foe, adversary'. But *prati-ga-t-á-ḥ aṁśav-aḥ a-syá* = *praty-aṁśu-ḥ* 'whose rays are refracted'.

6.2.194 *úpa-āt °dvy-áC=°ajína-m á-gaura-āday-aḥ*

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] consisting of two syllables (*dvy-áC-°*) and the [nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ajína- 'hairy skin of an antelope', excluding the word-class beginning with °-guará- [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] *úpa-*°.

upa-ga-tá-ḥ devá-m = *upa-devá-ḥ* 'who has taken refuge in God' but *úpa-gaura-* = *úpa-ga-ta-ḥ gaurá-m* and *upa-ga-tá-ḥ soma-ḥ a-syá* = *úpa-soma-ḥ*.

6.2.195 *só-r ava-kṣép-aṇ-e*

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] *sú-*° to denote censure (*ava-kṣép-aṇ-e*).

su-sthaṇḍilá-m 'beautiful place' (said with envy and censure) in the phrase: *iḥá kḥálu idānīm su-sthaṇḍil-é su-sphṛ-tá-bhyám su-praty-ava-si-t-á-ḥ áś-svā* 'here, in this beautiful place, returning from abroad, sit down with your fattened limbs now'.

6.2.196 *vibhāṣā=ut-pucch-é*

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193] *ut-pucchá-* [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [bears the udātta accent 64].

ut-krān-tá-ḥ púccḥ-āi = *ut-pucchá-ḥ/út-pucchā-ḥ* 'gone beyond the tail', but *úd-asta-m pucchā-m a-syá* = *út-pucchā-ḥ* 'who has raised the tail'.

6.2.197 ¹dvi-²trī-bhyām ¹pād-²dāt=³mūrdhā-su bahuvrīh-aú

In a Bahuvrīhi compound [the final syllable 143 of the posterior members 111] °pād- 'foot', °-dāt- 'tooth' and °-mūrdhān- 'head' [optionally 196 bears the udātta accent 64].

dv-aú pād-aú a-syá = *dvi-pād/dvi-pād* (5.4.140) 'biped'; similarly *tri-pād/trī-pād* 'three-footed, tripod'.

dvi-dāt-/dvi-dat- (5.4.141) 'having two teeth or tusks'; *tri-dāt-/trī-dat-* 'possessing three teeth'.

dvi-mūrdhān-/dvi-mūrdhan- 'two-headed'; *tri-mūrdhān-/trī-mūrdhan-* 'three-headed', but *dvi+mūrdhan+ṢáC* = *dvi-murdh-ā-* (5.4.115, 6.4.144). This shows that samāsānta affixes are not obligatory in all cases.

6.2.198 sakthā-m ca=á-kra=ant-āt

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 197 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-sakthā- (5.4.113 = °-sakthi+ṢáC) [optionally 196 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.87 a nominal stem 4.1.1] not [ending in 1.1.72 the syllable] °kra- (á-kra=ant-āt).

gaura-sakthā-/gaurá-saktha- 'having white thighs', but *cákra-saktha-* 'bow-legged'.

6.2.199 pára=ādi-s=chándas-i bahulá-m

In the domain of Chándas the initial syllable of the final member (pár-ā-di-h) [bears the udātta accent 64] variously (bahulá-m).

añji-sakthā-m ā=labh-e-ta 'one should sacrifice an animal whose thighs are anointed'; *ṣṣu-bāhu-* 'straight-armed'; *vāk-pāti-* 'master of speech'; on the other hand: *tri-cakrá-* 'three-wheeled'; *marúd-vṛd-dha-* 'rejoicing in the Maruts'; *dīvo-dāsa-* 'n.pr. of sage Bharadvāja'.

6.3.1 á-luK=udttara-pad-é

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 24 below) luK (\emptyset^1) replacement [of sUP triplets 2.4.71 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member of a compound] does not (á-luK) take place (before 1.1.66) the final member (uttara-pad-é).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kārā]; the first word recurs in subsequent rules up to 24 below, while the second word [uttara-pad-é] recurs throughout this pādā.

6.3.2 pañcamy-āḥ stokaś=ādi-bhyaḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound, luK (\emptyset^1) does not replace 1] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 the first members denoted by the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with stoka-° 'a little'.

stok-āt + muk-tā-ḥ = stokān-muk-tā-ḥ (2.1.39) 'hardly liberated';
antik-ād-ā-ga-tā-ḥ 'arrived from near'.

6.3.3 ¹ójas=²sāhas=³āmbhas=⁴tāmas-as tr-tīya-y-āḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound, luK (\emptyset^1) does not replace 1] the third sUP triplet [introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] ój-as-° 'strength', sáh-as-° 'power', āmbh-as-° 'water' and tām-as-° 'darkness'.

ój-as-ā+kr-tā = ój-as-ā-kr-ta- (2.1.32) 'done with strength'; *sáh-as-ā-kr-ta-* 'done forcibly'; *āmbh-as-ā-kr-ta-* 'made or produced with water'; *tām-as-ā-kr-ta-* 'done with or by darkness'. (accent by 2.2).

6.3.4 mán-as-as=samjñā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound \emptyset^1 does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] mán-as-° 'mind, thought' when deriving a proper name (samjñā-y-ām).

mán-as-ā-datt-ā/mán-as-ā-gup-t-ā 'n.pr. of persons', but *māno-dat-ta-* 'mentally given'.

6.3.5 ā-jñā-y-in-i ca

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound Ø¹ does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member *mán-as-* 'mind, thought' 4] when that final member is *ā-jñā-y-in-* 'able to know, capable of knowing'.

mán-as-ā-jñā-y-in- = *mán-as-ā-jñā-y-in-* 'who is able to know through the mind, mentally perceptive'.

6.3.6 āt-mán-as=ca pūr-aṇ-e

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1 consisting of] an ordinal (*pūr-aṇ-e*) [luK (Ø¹) does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] *āt-mán-* 'self, soul'.

āt-mán-ā-pañca-ma-h 'fifth with oneself'.

6.3.7 vai-y-ā-kar-aṇa=ā-khyā-y-ām caturthy-āḥ

[Before a final member of a compound Ø¹ does not replace 1] the fourth sUP triplet (*caturthy-āḥ*) [introduced after 3.1.2 the first member *āt-mán-* 'self' 6] to denote a technical term in grammar (*vai-y-ā-kar-aṇa=ā-khyā-y-ām*).

āt-man-e-padd-m/āt-man-e-bhāṣā 'the middle voice'.

6.3.8 pára-sya ca

[Before a final member of a compound Ø¹ does not replace 1 the fourth sUP triplet 7 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] *pára-* 'another' also (*ca*) [to denote a technical term in grammar 7].

para-smai-padd-m/para-smai-bhāṣā 'active voice'.

6.3.9 'haL=²aT=ant-āt saptamy-āḥ saṁjñā-y-ām

[Before a final member of a compound Ø¹ does not replace 1] the seventh sUP triplet (*saptamy-āḥ*) [introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (*haL-*) or in short a(T) to derive a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

1. *haL-anta:* *yudh-f-ṣṭhira-/gav-f-ṣṭhira-* 'names or persons'; *tvac-f-sāra-* 'bamboo'.

2. aT=anta; *ḍraṇy-e-filaka-* 'wild sesamum'.

6.3.10 *kāra-nāmn-i ca prāc-ām hāL=ād-au*

[Before a final member of a compound 1] beginning with a consonant (*hāL=ād-au*) [luK (0¹) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 8 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member denoting] a tax (*kāra-nāmn-i*) in the eastern region (*prāc-ām*).

kāp-e-sāṇa-h 'tax raised on wells'; *ḍṛ-ḍḍ-i-māṣa-k-ā-h* 'tax raised on millstones';
hal-ē-dvi-pad-ik-ā 'tax raised on ploughshares' etc.

6.3.11 *mādhya-ād gur-au*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] "-gurú- 'heavy' [luK (0¹) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] *mādhya-* 'center, middle'.

mādhye-guru- 'heavy in the middle or center'.

6.3.12 *á-'mūrdha(n)=²mastak-āt sva=aṅg-āt á-kām-e*

[Before 1.1.66 a member of a compound 1] excluding "-*kāmá-* 'love', [luK (0¹) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or short a(T) 9] denoting a limb of one's body (*sv-ā-ṅg-āt*) other than *mūrdhān-* 'head' and *mástaka-* 'head, skull'.

kaṇṭh-ē-kālā-h a-syá = *kaṇṭh-ē-kāla-h* 'black-throated, n.pr. of Śivá; *úr-as-i lómān-i a-syá* = *úr-as-i-loman-* 'hairy-chested'; but *mūkh-e-kāma-h a-syá* = *mūkha-kāma-h* 'face-loving'; *aṅgūl-au trā-ṇā-h* = *aṅgūli-trā-ṇa-h* 'thimble'; *jāṅgha-y-ām vālī-h* = *jāṅgha-valī-h* 'a fold in the thigh'; *mūrdhān-i śikha a-syá* = *murdhā-śikha-h/mástaka-śikha-* 'having a tuft on the head'.

6.3.13 *bandh-é ca vibhāṣā*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] "-*bandhā-* 'arrangement, formation' [0¹ does not 1] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or short vowel a(T) 9].

hast-e-bandha-/hastā-bandha- 'formation in the shape of a hand';
cakr-ē-bandha-/cakrā-bandha- 'bow-legged'; but *gūp-t-au bandhā-h* =
gūp-ti-bandha-h 'imprisonment, incarceration'.

6.3.14 tatpuruṣ-é kṛt-i bahulá-m

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛt (3.1.93ff.) [luK (∅¹) does not 1] variously (bahulá-m) [replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member].

stamb-é rām-a-iḥ = *stamb-é+ram+dC* (3.2.13) = *stamb-e-ram-d-h* 'delighting in a clump of tall grass'; similarly *karn-e jāp-a-ti* = *kárn-e-jap+dC* = *karn-e-jap-d-h* 'informer, tale-bearer', but *kúru-ṣu cár-a-ti* = *kuru-car+Ta-* (3.2.16) = *kuru-car-d* 'moving/grazing in the Kúru region'.

6.3.15 ¹prā-vṛṣ-²śarád-³kālá-⁴dīv-ān j-é

[Before the 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-já- 'born' [luK (∅¹) does not 1 replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] *prā-vṛṣ-*° 'rainy season', *śarád-*° 'autumn', *kālá-*° 'time' and *dīv-*° 'day, heaven'.

prā-vṛṣ-i jā-tá-h = *prā-vṛṣ-i+jan+Dd* (3.2.97) = *prā-vṛṣ-i-já-h* 'born in the rainy season'; similarly: *śarad-i-já-/kāl-e-já-/dīv-i-já-* 'born in autumn/time or season/heaven'.

6.3.16 vibhāṣá ¹varṣá-²kṣará-³śará-⁴vár-āt

[Before 1.1.67 the final member of a compound 1 °-já- 'born' 15, luK (∅¹) 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] *varṣá-*° 'rainy season', *kṣará-*° 'cloud', *śará-*° 'reed' and *vára-*° 'enclosure'.

varṣ-e-já/varṣa-já- 'born in the rainy season'; *kṣar-e-já-/kṣara-já-* 'cloud-born'; *śar-e-já-/śara-já-* 'born in a bed of reeds'; *vare-já-/vara-já-* 'born in an enclosure'. All these are generated with affix *Ḍa* (3.2.97).

6.3.17 ¹GHA-²kālá-³tane-ṣu kāla-nāmn-aḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (1.1.22: °-taraP, °-tamaP), and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kālá- 'time' and [nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-tana- [luK (∅¹) 1 optionally 18 does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or the short vowel a(T) 9] denoting a time-word (*kāla-nāmn-aḥ*).

1. *pāru-ā-hñ-é-tare/pāru-ā-hñā-tare* 'a little later in the morning' (4.3.23);
apar-ā-hñé-tam-e/apar-ā-hñā-tam-e 'extremely late in the evening'.
2. *pāru-ā-hñé-kāl-e/pāru-ā-hñā-kāl-e* 'in the forenoon period'.
3. *pāru-ā-hñ-é-tan-e/pāru-ā-hñā-tan-e* 'matutinal, belonging to the morning'.
But *rātri-tarā-y-ām* 'later in the night'.

6.3.18 ¹śay-ś-²vās-ś-³vāśi-ṣu=ś-kāl-āt

[Before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °-śay-ś- 'lying down', °-vās-ś- and °vās-īn- 'inhabitant' [luK (θ¹) 1 optionally 16 does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] when not denoting a time-word (ś-kāl-āt).

kh-e śe-te = *kh-e/kha+ēt+āC* (3.2.15) = *kh-e-śay-ś-/kha-śay-ś-* 'reclining or floating in the air'; *grām-e-vāsa-/grāma-vāsa-* 'residence in the village'; *grām-e ūś-i-tum śīta-m a-syā* = *grām-e/grāma+vas+Nīnī* (3.2.78) *vrata-m a-sya* (3.2.80) *grām-e-vās-īn-/grāma-vās-īn-* 'habitually residing in the village/or as an act of vow'. But *pāru-ā-hñā-śay-ś-* 'sleeping in the morning or forenoon'; the constraint on the prior member ending in a consonant or short vowel /aT/ (9) holds here: *bhūmi-śay-ś-* 'lying on the bare ground'.

6.3.19 nā=¹īn=²sid-dhā-³badh-nā-ti-ṣu

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-īn- and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sid-dhā- and (derivatives of the verbal stem) bandh- 'bind, tie, fix, fasten' (IX 37) [non-replacement by luK (= ś-luK) 1 of the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] does not (nā) take place.

sthāṇḍile śay-ana-śīta-h = *sthāṇḍila+θ¹+ēt+Nīnī* (3.2.78,80) = *sthāṇḍila-śay-īn-* 'who sleeps on the bare ground habitually or in observance of a vow'.
śāmkāśy-e sid-dhā-h = *śāmkāś-ya-sid-dha-h* 'made or prepared in S.'; *cakr-ś bad-dhā-h* = *cakrā-bad-dha-h* 'built in the form of a wheel (said of a stanza)'.

6.3.20 sth-é ca bhāṣā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-sthā- 'situated in' [non-replacement by luK 1 of the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member does not 19] also (ca) [take place 19] in the spoken language (bhāṣā-y-ām 'current speech').

sama-e tiṣṭh-a-ti = *sama+θ¹+sthā+Kd* (3.2.77) = *sama-sth-ā-h* 'being level';
vi-ṣam-e tiṣṭh-a-ti = *viṣama-sth-ā-* 'standing uneven'; *parvata-sthā-* 'standing

on the hill'. Exception to 14 above, but which explains *hṛd-i-sthā-* 'situated in the heart' by the expression [bahulā-m] there. In Chāndas *ā-kha-r-e-ṣṭh-ā-* 'abiding in a hole'.

6.3.21 ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ=ā-kroś-é

[Before 1.1.86 a final member of a compound luK (Ø¹) does not replace 1] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] when denoting an insult (ā-kroś-é).

caurā-sya+kula-m = *caurasya-kulā-m* 'family of a thief', but *brahmaṇa-kulā-m* 'the family of a brahmin'.

6.3.22 putr-é anya-tará-syām

[Before 1.1.86 the final member of a compound 1] -put-rá- 'son' [luK does not replace 1 the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [to denote an insult 21].

dāsy-āḥ-putrā-/dāse-putrā- 'son of a slave girl' but *brāhmaṇi-put-rā-* 'son of a brahmin lady'.

6.3.23 ṛT-o ¹vid-y-ā-²yoní-sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ

[Before 1.1.86 the final member of a compound luK (Ø¹) does not replace 1 the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel ṛ(T) and expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity (vid-y-ā-²yoní-sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ).

hot-u-ḥ-putrā-/hot-u-r-ante-vās-m 'son/pupil of the Hotṛ-priest' but *guru-putrā-* 'preceptor's son'.

6.3.24 vibhāṣā ¹svásṛ=²páty-oḥ

[Before 1.1.86 the posterior members of a compound 1] '-svásṛ- 'sister' and '-pá-ti- 'husband, spouse' [non-replacement by luK (Ø¹) takes place] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 a prior member ending in 1.1.72 short vowel ṛ(T) and expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity 23].

māt-ú-ḥ svásā = *māt-u-ḥ-svasā/māt-u-ḥ-svasā* (8.3.85)/*mātr-svasā* 'maternal aunt'; *duhit-ú-ḥ páti-ḥ* = *duhit-u-ḥ-pāti-/duhitṛ-patf-* 'daughter's husband, son-in-law'.

6.3.25 āṇāÑ ṛT-ah=dvaṁdv-é

In a Dvaṁdvá compound constituted by [nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel ṛ(T) [expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity 23] the element āṇāÑ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the prior member before 1.1.66 the posterior member 1].

hó-tā ca pó-tā ca = hotṛ+potṛ+au = ho-t-ān-pot-ār-au = ho-t-āḥ-po-tār-au (8.2.7; 8.4.11); *pitā-putr-au* (22) since [puḍtrā-] recurs here from above. But *pitā ca pitā-mahā-é=ca = piṭṛ-pitā-mahā* 'father and grand-father'.

Since the substitute element is [ān] and not a member of the siglum [aÑ of 1.1.51] that rule does not operate here.

6.3.26 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

In a Dvaṁdvá compound consisting of names of divinities (deva-tā-dvaṁdv-e) [the substitute element āṇāÑ 25 replaces the stem-final 1.1.53 of the prior member before 1.1.66 the posterior member 1] also (ca).

Indra +vāruṇa+au = Indr-ān+vāruṇa+au = Indr-āḥ-vāruṇ-au (8.2.7) 'Indra and Varuṇa'; similarly *Indrasóm-au*, *Indr-ā-bḥ-as-pá-t-I*.

6.3.27 iT=agné-ḥ ¹sóma-²vāruṇay-oh

[The substitute element long vowel] i(T) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member] agní-° 'n. of a divinity' [before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-sóma- and °-vāruṇa-° 'names of divinities' [in a deva-tā-dvaṁdvá compound 26].

agní+sóma+au = agn-f-sóm-au; agn-I-vāruṇ-au.

6.3.28 iT=vḥd-dh-au

[The substitute element short vowel] i(T) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the first member agní-° 27 before 1.1.66 a final member 1 of a deva-tā-dvaṁdvá compound 26] undergoing a vḥd-dhi (1.1.1) replacement.

agn-f-vāruṇ-au devā-t-e a-syáh = agni-vāruṇ-f 'consecrated to the divinities Agni and Varuṇa' (4.2.24 āN+ÑP 4.1.15). Similarly *agni-mārut-ā-*

6.3.29 dív-ah=dyāvā

The substitute morpheme dyāvā [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the first member of a devatā-dvāṁdvā compound 26] dív-° 'heaven' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

dīu+kaśm-ā = dyāvā-kaśmā/dyāvā-bhūm-i 'Heaven and Earth'.

6.3.30 divāsa-s=ca pṛthivy-ām

[In a devatā-dvāṁdvā compound 26, before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-pṛthivī the substitute morpheme divas-, in addition to (ca) [dyāvā 29 replaces the first member div-° 29].

dyāvā=ca pṛthivī ca = divāsa-pṛthivī/dyāvā-pṛthivī 'Heaven and Earth'.

6.3.31 uṣāsā=uṣās-ah

[In a Dvāṁdvā compound constituted by names of divinities 26] the substitute morpheme uṣāsā [replaces the first member] uṣās-° 'dawn' [before 1.1.66 the final member 1].

uṣās+nakta+Dā (7.1.39) = uṣāsā-nakti-ā 'dawn and night'. Similarly *uṣāsā-sūrya-m* 'dawn and sun'.

6.3.32 mātāra-pitār-au udīc-ām

The expression mātāra-pitār-au 'mother and father' is introduced [as a Dvāṁdvā compound 25] according to Northern Grammarians.

The element [arāṆ] replaces the stem-final of the first member according to Northern Grammarians' cf. RV *mātāra-pitārā* (5.6.7). According to other grammarians: *mātā-pitār-au*.

6.3.33 pitārā-mātārā ca=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas the expression pitārā-mātārā is introduced [as a Dvāṁdvā compound 25].

The substitute element [arāṆ] replaces the stem-final of the prior member before the final member, while the sUP triplet introduced at the end of the compound is replaced by ā (7.3.39). Elsewhere *mātā-pitār-au*.

6.3.34 striy-āḥ puṁ-vát=bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁsk-āt an-ūṆ
sa-mā-ná=adhi-kar-aṇ-e striy-ām ā-¹pūr-aṇ-²priyā=ādi-ṣu

A feminine-denoting [nominal stem 4.1.1] which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense (bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁsk-āt) is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát), provided it does not [end in 1.1.72 the feminine affix 4.1.66] °-ūṆ and co-occurs [before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a feminine affix (striy-ām 4.1.3ff.) having the same frame of reference (sa-mā-ná=adhi-kar-aṇ-e), excluding ordinals (°-pūr-aṇ-ṭ-°) and the class of words beginning with °-priy-ā 'dear'.

darś-anfya-ā bhār-yā a-syā = darś-anfya-bhār-ya- 'whose wife is beautiful', but *khāṭvā-bhār-ya-* since the word *khāṭvā* has no masculine counterpart. Similarly *droṇf-bhār-ya-* (*droṇf* having no masculine counterpart in the sense of cattle fodder or a wooden trough or tub in which cattle are fed). But *brahma-bandh-ā-bhār-ya-* where the prior member ends in °-āṆ, and similarly *kalyāṇf pañca-mf yā-adm i-ā-h = kalyāṇf-pañcam-ā-h rātray-aḥ* 'group of five nights (of which the fifth is auspicious)'; *kalyāṇf priy-ā yā-sya = kalyāṇf-priy-a-h*; when the frame of reference is not the same: *kalyāṇy-āḥ mātā = kalyāṇf-mā-tā*.

6.3.35 tasiL=ādi-ṣu ā kṛtvāṣuC-aḥ

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense is treated like a masculine, provided it does not end in 1.1.72 the feminine affix °-ūṆ 34 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with °-tasiL (5.3.7) and ending with °-kṛtvāṣuC (5.4.17).

The affixes referred to are: *tasiL* (5.3.7-9), *traL* (10), *dā* (15), *dānm* (18-19), *rhil* (20), *thāL* (23), *thāmu* (24), *thā* (26), *dstati* (27), *atdsuC* (28), *āti* (34), *enaP* (35), *āC* (36), *āhi* (37), *dsi* (39), *tiL*, *tatiL* (41), *dhā* (42), *dhyamuN* (44), *dhamuN* (45), *pāśaP* (47), *aN* (48), *Nā* (50), *KaN* (51), *akīniC* (52), *cāraT* (53), *rūpya* (54), *tamaP*, *iṣṭhaN* (55), *taraP*, *ṛyaṣuN* (57), *rūpaP* (66), *kalpaP*, *deśya*, *deśfyaR* (67), *jātfyaR* (69), *kā* (70-96), *akāC* (71), *kaN* (75), *thāC* (78), *ghaN*, *ilāC* (79), *adāC*, *vuC* (80), *rā* (88), *DupāC* (89), *ṢṭardC* (90), *DatarāC* (92), *DatamāC* (93), *dhaN* (101), *dha* (102), *yāT* (103), *cha* (105), *dN* (107), *thāK* (108), *ṇāK* (110), *Nya* (112), *NyaT* (114), *TēnyaN* (115), *dN*, *aN* (117), *yaN* (118), *vuN* (5.4.1), *kha* (7), *dmu* (11), *dmu* (12), *kṛtvāṣuC* (17). Of these affixes the following are principally involved: *traL*, *tasiL*, *taraP*, *tamaP*, *cāraT*, *jātfyaR*, *kalpaP*, *deśya*-, *deśfyaR*, *rūpaP*, *pāśaP*, *thāK*, *thāL*, *dā*, *rhil*, *tiL*, *tatiL*.

tā-syāḥ = tā-tas; *tā-syām = tā-tra* respectively denoting 'thence' and 'in that there' etc.

6.3.36 ¹KyáÑ=²mān-fn-os=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense is treated like a masculine, provided it is not ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affix ūÑ 34 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-KyáÑ [and final member 1] °-mān-fn- 'believing, being of opinion'.

1. *etI+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *etā+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *etā-yā-te* 'acts like a hind' (3.1.11); similarly *ēyenf iya ā-car-a-ti* = *ēyend+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ēyendā-yā-te* 'behaves like a she-hawk'.
2. *darś-anīya-ā-m imām mān-ya-te ayām* = *darśanīya+man+Nñi* (3.2.82) = *darś-anīya-mān-fn-* 'who deems her as beautiful or worth seeing'.

6.3.37 ná ká=upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] containing the phoneme /k/ as penultimate is not (ná) [treated like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1].

- pāc-ik-ā bhār-yā a-syā* = *pāc-ik-ā-bhār-ya-* 'whose wife is a cook'; *pāc-ik-ā-kalp-ā* 'not quite a cook'; *pāc-ik-ā+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *pācika-yā+a+te* = *pāc-ik-ā-yā-te* (1.97) 'acts like a cook', *pāc-ik-ā-mān-fn-i* (36).

6.3.38 ¹sañjñā-²pūraṇy-os=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] signifying either a name (sañjñā-°) or an ordinal (°-pūr-ṇy-oḥ) is also (ca) [not treated 37 like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

1. *dat-tā bhār-yā a-syā* = *dat-tā-bhār-ya-ḥ* 'whose wife is Dattā'.
2. *pañca-m-f bhār-yā a-syā* = *pañcamf-bhār-ya-* 'having a fifth wife'.

6.3.39 vṛd-dhi-ni-mit-tā-sya ca taddhitā-sya ā-rak-ta-vi-kār-e

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34 ending in 1.1.72] a taddhitā (4.1.76ff.) [affix 3.1.1] which operates a vṛddhi replacement (of the initial syllable of that stem 7.2.117-18), excluding those signifying color (°-rak-tā-° 4.2.1) or transformation (°-vi-kār-é 4.3.134) [is not 37 treated like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 the final member 1].

- mathurā-y-ām bhāv-ā* = *mathurā+āN* (4.3.53)+*NiP* (4.1.5) = *māthur-f bhār-yā*

a-syá = *māthurf-bhār-ya-h* 'whose wife is a resident of Mathurā'; but *kaṣāy-ṇa rak-t-ā* = *kaṣāy-f bhāt-ik-ā a-syá* = *kaṣāy-d-bhāt-ik-ā* 'whose mantle is colored or dyed red'; so also *lohā-sya vi-kār-d-h* = *lohā+āN* (4.2.134)+*NiP* (4.1.15) = *lauh-f* *īṣā a-syá* = *lauh-d+Isa-* *lauh-ē-ṣa-* '(a cart) having a metal pole'.

6.3.40 *sva=āṅ-āt=ca* *IT-aḥ=ā-mān-in-i*

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] signifying a part of one's body (*sv-ā-ṅ-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel *ī*(*T*) [having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34 is not 37 treated like a masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] excluding °-*mān-in-* 'being of opinion, believing'.

dīrghā-keśī bhār-yā a-syá = *dīrghā-keśī-bhār-ya-h* 'whose wife has long hair', but *paṭv-f bhār-yā a-syá* = *paṭv-bhār-ya-h* 'whose wife is clever'; so also *dīrghā-keśī-m iydā ayām mān-ya-te* = *dīrgha-keśā-mān-in-* 'who deems her as having long hair'.

6.3.41 *jāte-s=ca*

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34 having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34] signifying genus (*jāte-h*) also (*ca*) [is not 37 treated as a masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1, excluding °-*mān-in-* 'being of opinion, believing' 40].

kaṭh-f bhār-yā a-syá = *kaṭh-f-bhār-ya-h* 'whose wife belongs to the K. recension of YV', but *kaṭh-f-m ātmān-am mān-ya-te* = *kaṭha-mān-in-* 'who considers herself as a student of K. recension'.

6.3.42 *puṁ-vát* ¹*karma-dhārayá* ²*jāṭīya* ³*deśīya* ⁴*śu*

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34] is treated like a masculine (*puṁ-vát*) in a Karmadhārayá compound or [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-*jāṭīya*(*R*) and °-*deśīya*(*R*).

This is an exception to the preceding five rules 37-41.

1. exception to 37: *pāc-ik-ā vṇdār-ik-ā* = *pāc-aka-vṇdār-ik-ā* 'an excellent cook'; similarly *pāc-aka-jāṭīya-/°-deśīya-*.
2. exception to 38: *dat-tā vṇdār-ik-ā* = *dat-ta-vṇdār-ik-ā* 'excellent Dattā'; so also *dat-ta-jāṭīya-/°-deśīya-*. *pañcama-vṇdār-ikā/°jāṭīya/°-deśīya*.
3. exception to 39: *eraughna-jāṭīya/deśīya*.
4. exception to 40: *dīrgha-keśā-vṇdār-ikā/°jāṭīya/°-deśīya*.
5. exception to 41: *kaṭha-vṇdār-ikā/°jāṭīya/°-deśīya*.

6.3.43 ¹GHA-²rūpa-³kalpa-⁴célaṭ-⁵brúva-⁶gotrá-⁷matá-⁸haté-ṣu Ņyaḥ=án-eka=aC-aḥ hrasvá-ḥ

A short (hrasva-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the feminine 4.1.3 affix 3.1.1] Ņī occurring at the [end of 1.1.52] of a polysyllabic (án-eka-aC-aḥ) stem [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (1.1.22: taraP, tamaP), and rūpaP (5.3.66), kalpaP (5.3.67), and [the final members 1] °-célaṭ (2.126), °-brúva- 'calling one's self by a name without a title to it', °-gotrá- 'lineage', °-ma-tá- 'considered' and °-ha-tá- 'destroyed, struck down'.

*brāhmanī-tarā/°tamā=brāhmanī+taraP/tamaP, on the same basis:
brāhmanī-rūpā/°kalpā; brāhmanī-cel-ī/°bruvā-ā/°go-trā, °ma-tā/°ha-tā.*

6.3.44 nady-āḥ śéṣa-sya=anya-tará-syām

[A short vowel 43] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [replaces the stemfinal 1.1.52 of] a feminine stem (nady-āḥ) not ending in Ņī or a monosyllabic feminine ending in °-ī (śéṣa-sya: 1.4.3-4) [before 1.1.66 the affixes denoted by 1. the t.t. GHA, rūpaP, kalpaP, and final members 1 °-célaṭ, °-brúva-, °-gotrá-, °-ma-tá- and °-ha-tá- 43].

*brahma-bandhū+taraP/tamaP = brahmabandhū+tarap/tamaP etc. Similarly:
brahma-bandhū/°bandhu- + cel-ī/°bruvā/°gotrá/°ma-tā, °ha-tā. Likewise:
strī/strī+taraP/tamaP/rūpaP/kalpaP+ṭāP;
strī/strī+celī/bruvā/gotrā/ma-tā/ha-tā.*

6.3.45 uK=IT-as=ca

[A short vowel 43 optionally 44 replaces the stem-final of a feminine stem derived with an affix 3.1.1 with a marker containing vowels] denoted by the siglum uK (=u, ḡ, ḷ) as IT [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. GHA and rūpaP, kalpaP and final members 1 °-célaṭ, °-brúva-, °-gotrá-, °-ma-tá- and °-hatá 43].

*śra+nyasUN+ŅīP+taraP+ṭāP = śre-yas-ī/śré-yas-i+tarā/tamā/°rūpā/°kalpā;
śre-yas-ī/śre-yas-i+celī/°bruvā/°gotrá/°ma-tā/°ha-tā-°.*

6.3.46 āT=mahāt-aḥ 'sa-mā-nā=adhi-kar-aṇa-'jatīyay-oḥ

The substitute long vowel āT replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] mahāt-° 'great' [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1] having the same frame of reference (sa-mā-na=adhi-kar-aṇa-°) and [the affix 3.1.1] °-jatīyaR (5.3.69).

mahān devā-h = *mahāt*+θ¹+*devā*+sU = *mahā-ā-devā-h* = *mahā-devā-h* 'the Great God Śiva'; so also *mahā-brāhmaṇā*- 'great brahmin'; *mahā-bala*- 'possessed of great strength'; *mahā-jatīya*- 'moderately large'; *mahā-bhārata*- 'the great epic dealing with the deeds of Bharata's descendants'. But *mahāt-aḥ pu-trā-h* = *mahat-putrā-h* 'son of a great person' (absence of same frame of reference).

6.3.47 dvy-aṣṭan-aḥ saṁkhyā-y-ām ā-'bahuvrīhi=°aṣṭī-oḥ

[The substitute long vowel ā(T) 48 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52] of dvī-° 'two' and aṣṭān-° 'eight' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] consisting of a numeral (saṁ-khyā-y-ām), excluding a Bahuvrīhi compound or [before 1.1.66] °-aṣṭī- 'eighty'.

dv-aú ca dáśa ca = *dvī*+*dáśa* = *dvā-dāśa* '12' (accent by 2.35). Similarly *aṣṭā-dāśa* 'eighteen'.

Exceptions: (a) bahuvrīhi compound: *dv-aú va trāy-aḥ vā a-smīn* = *dvī-tr-ā-h* (5.4.73) 'consisting of two or three'; (b) °aṣṭī-: *dvī*+*aṣṭī* = *dvy-aṣṭī*- '82'.

6.3.48 tré-s trāyaḥ

The substitute morpheme trāyas- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the numeral 47] trī-° 'three' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1 consisting of number words excluding a Bahuvrīhi compound or °aṣṭī- 'eighty' 47].

trī+*dáśan* = *trāyas*+*dáśan*+sU = *trāyo-dāśaḥ* (1.68; 8.2.7) 'thirteen'; *trāyo-vimśat* '33', but *trāyo vā dáśa vā a-smīn* = *trī-dāś-ā-h* (5.4.73) 'consisting of three or ten'; *trī-dśī*- '83'.

6.3.49 vibhāṣā catvāriṁśat-pra-bhṛ-t-au sarvé-ṣām

[Before 1.1.66 numerals 47] beginning with °-catvāriṁśat- '40' [other than in a Bahuvrīhi compound or °-aṣṭī- '80' 47] operations introduced for all (sarvé-ṣām dvī-°, aṣṭān- 47 and trī-° 48) take place optionally (vibhāṣā).

dvī-°/*dvā*+*catvāriṁśat*- '42'; *trī*-°/*trāyas*-°+*catvāriṁśat*- '43'; *aṣṭā*-°/*aṣṭā*-°+*pañcāśat*- '85'.

6.3.50 h̥daya-sya h̥d=¹lekhá-²yàT=³áN-⁴lāsé-ṣu

The substitute morpheme h̥d- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] h̥daya- 'heart' [before 1.1.86 a final member 1] consisting of °-lekhá- 'line, scratch, furrow', and [affixes 3.1.1] °-yàT- and °-áN- and the expression °-lās-á- 'jumping, palpitating'.

h̥dayam likh-á-ti = *h̥d+likh+áN* (3.2.1) = *h̥l-lekh-á-h* (8.4.80) 'anxiety';
h̥daya-sya priy-á-h = *h̥d-ya-h* (4.4.95) 'dear to the heart'; *h̥d+áN* = *h̥rd-á-*
 (4.3.120) 'relating to the heart'; *h̥daya-sya lās-á-h* = *h̥l-lāś-* 'palpitation'.

6.3.51 vā ¹soká-²ṢyaÑ-³róge-ṣu

[The substitute morpheme h̥d- 50] optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 h̥daya- 'heart' 50 before 1.1.86 the final members 1] °-soká- 'sorrow', [the affix 3.1.1] ṢyaÑ (5.1.123) and °-róga- 'disease'.

h̥daya-sya soká-h = *h̥ft+soká-h* = *h̥c-choká-h* (8.4.40,83) *h̥daya-soká-h* 'heart-ache'; *sū-h̥daya+ṢyaÑ* = *sasū-h̥dayā-ya-/sasū-h̥rd-ya-* (7.3.19) 'amity, friendship'; *h̥daya-sya róga-h* = *h̥daya-rogá-h/h̥d-rogá-h* 'heart disease'.

6.3.52 pādā-sya padā=¹ājī=²ātī=³gá-⁴úpa-ha-te-ṣu

The substitute morpheme padā- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] pādā- 'foot' [before 1.1.86 final members 1] °-ājī- 'who goes', °-ātī 'who goes', °-gá- 'ibid.' and °-úpa-ha-ta- 'struck by'.

pādā-bhyām āj-a-ti/āt-a-ti/gācch-a-ti = *padā+aj/at+áN* (uN-ādi)
pad-āj-l-/pad-āt-l-, padā+gam+Da (3.2.48 vārt.) = *pada-gá-* 'foot-soldier, infantryman'. Similarly *pad-éna úpa-ha-ta-h* = *pad-ó-pa-ha-ta-h* 'kicked by the foot' (accent by 2.2 and 1.161).

6.3.53 pād yàT-i=á-tad-arth-e

The substitute morpheme pād- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] pādā- 'foot' 52 [before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1] yàT (4.4.83) except when denoting the sense of 'suitable for it' (á-tad-arth-e).

pād-asū vādh-ya-ti = *pādā+yàT* = *pād+yàT* = *pād-ya-* 'piercing the foot', but
pād-arthā-m udakā-m = *pādā+yàT* = *pādā-ya-m* (5.4.25) 'meant for the foot'.

6.3.54 ¹himá-²kāṣi-³há-ti-ṣu ca

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādā- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-himá- 'snow', °-kāṣ-in- 'rubbing' and °-há-ti- 'stroke' also (ca).

pādā-sya himá-m = *pād+himá-m* = *pad-dhimá-m* (8.4.68) 'chill or coldness in the foot'; *pād-av kās-i-tum śīta-m a-syd* = *pād+kaṣ+Nñi* (3.2.78) = *pat-kāṣ-in-* 'pedestrian'; *pādā-bhyām han-yá-te* = *pādā-bhyām+han+KtiN* : *há-ti-h* = *pād+há-ti* = *pād-dha-ti-h* (2.2) 'foot-path, trail'

6.3.55 ꣳc-aḥ ś-é

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādā- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-śās- (5.4.43) to denote a quarter of an ꣳc- (RV verse).

pādā+śas = *pād+śās* = *pac-cháh* (8.4.40,55,63) *gāyatrī-m śāms-a-ti* 'praises the Gāyatrī verse quarter by quarter' but *pāda-śáh kārṣāpaṇa-m dā-dā-ti* 'donates a kārṣāpaṇa quarter by quarter'.

6.3.56 vā ¹ghóṣa-²miśrá-³śábd-e-ṣu

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53] optionally (vā) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādā- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-ghós-a- 'sound, noise', °-miśr-á- 'mixed' and °-śábd-a- 'sound'.

pādā-sya ghóṣ-a-h/śábd-a-h = *pāda-ghoṣ-áh/°-śabd-á-h* or *pad-ghoṣ-d-h/pac-chabd-á-h* (8.4.40,55,63) 'sound of foot-steps'; *pād-éna miśr-á-h* = *pādā-miśr-a-h/pán-miśr-a-h* (2.1.31; 8.4.45) 'mixed with quarter(s)'.

6.3.57 udaká-sya udá-h samjñá-y-ām

The substitute morpheme udá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] udaká- 'water' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] when deriving a name (samjñá-y-ām).

udaká-sya meghá-h = *uda-meghd-h* (*tá-sya ápatya-m* = *avda-megh-i-*) (4.1.95) 'father of Áudameghi'; *udaká-m vāh-a-ti* = *udá+vāh+dñ* (3.2.1) = *uda-vāh-d-h* (*tá-sya ápatya-m* = *avda-vāh-i-h*) 'father of Áudavāhi'. In both cases the basic form is inferred from the names of sons. When not signifying names: *udaka-meghd-* 'rain-cloud' and *udaka-vāh-d-* 'water-carrier'.

6.3.58 ¹péṣam-²vās-á-³vāh-ana-⁴dhí-ṣu

[The substitute phoneme udá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- 'water' 57 before 1.1.66 final members 1] °-péṣam 'grinding in', °-vās-á- 'living in', °-vāh-ana- 'carrier' and °-dhí- 'receptacle'.

udak-éna pi-ná-s-ti = *udá+piṣ+NamūL* (3.4.38) = *uda-péṣ-am pi-ná-s-ti* 'grinds with water'; *udaká-sya vās-d-h* = *uda-vās-d-h* 'living in water, aquatic'; similarly *uda-vāh-and-* 'water-carrier'; *udaká-m dhīd-te a-smān* = *uda+dhā+Kī* = *uda-dh-f-h* (3.3.93) 'sea, ocean'.

6.3.59 eka-hāL=ād-au pūr-ay-i-távy-e=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute morpheme udá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- 'water' 37] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] beginning with a single consonant (*eka-hāL-ād-au*) denoting (something) to be filled up (*pūr-ay-i-távy-e*).

udaká-sya kumbhá-d-h = *uda-kumbhá-d-h* 'water-jug or jar'; but *udaka-athald-m* 'water cauldron' (beginning with a conjunct consonant) and *udaka-parvatá-d-h* (which is not something to be filled up). Option provides for alternate forms such as *udaka-kumbhá-d-h* without the substitute phoneme replacing the prior member.

6.3.60 ¹manthá=²odaná=³sáktu-⁴bindú-⁵vájra-⁶bhār-á-⁷hār-á-⁸vīvadhá-⁹gāh-é-ṣu ca

[The substitute morpheme udá 57 optionally 59 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- 'water' 57] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-manthá- 'mixed beverage', °-odaná- 'rice', °-sáktu- 'barley meal', °-bindú- 'drop', °-vájra- 'water-jar', °-bhār-á-, °-hār-á- 'carrier', °-vīvadhá- 'carrying pole or yoke' and °-gāh-á- 'plunger'.

udak-éna manthá-d-h = *udá-manthá-d-h* 'beverage mixed with water'; similarly *ud-av-dana-* 'rice boiled with water'; both alternating with *udaká-manthá-d-h* and *udak-av-dana-d-h*. Likewise *udaká-sya bindú-d-h* = *udaka-bindú-d-h/uda-bindú-d-h* 'drop of water'; similarly *udaka-vajrá-/uda-vajrá-* 'water jet'; *udaka-bhārd-/°-hār-á*, *uda-bhār-d-/°-hār-d* 'water carrier'; *udaka-vīvadhá/uda-vīvadhá-* 'yoke or pole for transporting water'; *udakām gāh-a-te* = *udaká-/udá+gāh+dN* (3.2.1) = *udaka-gāh-d-h/uda-gāh-d-h* 'plunger, diver'.

6.3.61 iK-aḥ=hrasvá-ḥ=á-Ŋy-aḥ gālava-sya

A short (hrasvá-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.72] vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ) (of a first member) not [terminating in 1.1.72] the feminine affix Ŋy (= ŊyP, ŊyṢ, ŊyN) [before 1.1.86 a final member 1] according to the grammarian Gālava.

grāma-m nāy-a-ti = *grāma+0¹+nI+KviP* = *grāma-ṇf-ḥ*, *tā-sya put-rā-ḥ* = *grāma-ṇI/grāma-ṇi-* 'putrā-ḥ' 'son of a village headman'; *brahma-bandhū-putrā/brahma-bandhu-putrā-* 'son of a nominal brahmin' but *gārg-ya+ŊyP* = *gārg-00+I* (4.148,150) = *gārg-I*, *tā-syāḥ putrā-ḥ* = *gārgī-putrā-ḥ* 'son of Gārgī'.

6.3.62 éka taddhit-é ca

[Before 1.1.86 a final member 1] or (ca) a taddhitā [affix 3.1.1] (4.1.76ff.) [a short vowel replaces the stem-final 1.1.72 vowel 61] of éka-° 'one' (in the feminine with TāP 4.1.4).

eka-syāḥ ā-ga-tā-m *ekā+trūpya-m* = *eka-rūpya-m* (4.3.81) 'descended from the same woman'; *eka-māya-m* (4.3.82) 'consisting of one (f.)'; *eka-tvā-m/ekā-tā* (5.1.19) 'one-ness'; *eka-keṭrā-m* = *eka-syāḥ keṭrā-m* 'milk of one and the same cow' = *eka-dug-dhā-m*.

6.3.63 ¹Ŋī=²āP-oḥ ¹saṃjñā-²chāndas-oḥ=bahulā-m

[A short vowel 61] variously (bahulā-m) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the feminine affixes 4.1.3] Ŋī and āP [before 1.1.86 a posterior member 1] in the domain of names or of Chāndas.

1. domain of names: *revāty-āḥ putrā-ḥ* = *revati-putrā-ḥ* n.pr. (son of Revātī), but *nāndī-m kār-o-ti* = *nāndī+ky+Tā* (3.2.21) = *nāndī-kār-ā-ḥ* 'speaker of the prologue (in a stage play)'; *śilāy-āḥ vāḥ-a-ḥ* = *śilā-vah-ā-ḥ* n.pr., but *lōmakāy-āḥ gṛh-ā-m* = *lomaka-gṛh-ā-m* (2.2.8) n.pr.
2. domain of Chāndas: *kumārī-m dā-dā-ti* = *kumārī-dā-* 'bestower of a daughter'; *urvi-dā* 'bestower of the earth' but *phālgunī-paurṇamāsī* = *phālgunī ca asaū paurṇamāsī ca* 'full-moon night in the month of Phālguna'. *ajā-y-āḥ keṭrā-m* = *ajā-keṭrā-m* 'goat's milk' but *ārṇā-y-āḥ sūtra-m* = *ārṇā-sūtrā-m* 'woolen fiber'.

6.3.64 tv-é ca

[A short vowel 61 variously 63 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 feminine affixes Ŋī and āP 63 before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1] tvā (5.1.119) also (ca) [in the Chāndas 63].

ajā-y-āḥ bhāu-d-ḥ = *aja-tvā-m/ajā-tvā-m* 'condition of being a she-goat', but *rohini-tvām* 'the state of being Rōhini'. Since there is no possibility of deriving a name with this affix, examples occur only in the domain of Chandas.

6.3.65 ¹ṣṭa-kā=²ṣṭ-kā=³mālā-n-ām ¹citā=²tūla=³bhār-i-ṣu

[A short vowel 61 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 feminine affix 3P 63 of the first members] *ṣṭa-kā-* 'brick', *ṣṭ-kā-* 'a kind of reed' and *mālā-* 'garland' [respectively 1.3.10, before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] *-ci-tā-* 'piled', *-tūla-* 'clump', and *-bhār-in-* 'bearer'.

ṣṭa-kā-bhis=ci-tā-ḥ = *ṣṭa-ka-ci-ta-ḥ* (2.1.32) 'piled with bricks'. *ṣṭ-kā-y-āḥ tūla-m* = *ṣṭ-ka-tūlā-m* 'clump of reeds'; *mālā-m bhār-tum śīla-m a-syāḥ māla+bhṛ+Nṛi* (3.2.76)+*NṛiP* (4.1.5) = *māla-bhār-ṣṭ-i* (*kan-yā*) 'maiden habitually wearing a garland'.

6.3.66 KH-IT-i=ān-a-vy-aya-sya

[A short vowel 61 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of a first member] excluding indeclinables (*ān-a-vy-aya-sya*) [before 1.1.66 posterior members 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] with marker KH as IT.

The affixes with KH as IT are: KHāC (3.2.38), KHaṃN̄ (3.4.25), KHāL (3.3.126), KHāŚ (3.2.28), KHṣṇāC (3.2.57), KHukaN̄ (3.2.57) and KHyaN̄ (3.2.56).

kālī-m ātmāna-am mān-ya-te = *kālī+θ¹+man+KHāŚ* (3.2.83) = *kālī+myM+man+āŚ* (67) = *kālī-m+man+ŚyaN+d* (3.1.69)+*TāP* = *kālī-m-man-y-ā* 'who considers herself as dark'; the intervention of [myM] does not block this operation according to Kāśikā, while Bhaṭṭoji suggests that replacement precedes the augmentation. In the case of indeclinables: *doṣā-man-yā-m dhaḥ* 'day passing for night'; *divā-man-y-ā rātri-ḥ* 'night passing for day'.

6.3.67 ¹ārus=²dvīṣāt=³āC=anta=sya myM

[The infixed increment] myM is inserted [after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *ārus-* 'wound', *dvīṣāt-* 'hostile, foe, enemy' and those [ending in 1.1.72] in a vowel (*āC=anta-sya*) [excluding indeclinables 66, before 1.1.66 an affix with marker KH as IT 66].

āruḥ tud-ā-ti = *arus+tud+KHāŚ* (3.2.35) = *aru-m-s+tud+Śā+d* = *arumθ-tud-ā-ḥ* (3.2.23) 'painful, hurting the wound'; *dvīṣ-ānt-am tāp-dy-a-ti* = *dvīṣ-āt+tāp-i+KHāC* (3.2.39) = *dvīṣ-a-myM-t+tāp-d* = *dvīṣ-a-n-θ-tāp-d* (4.94; 8.4.65) 'chastising the enemy'; *kālī-m-man-y-ā* (66).

6.3.68 iC-aḥ=éka=aC-aḥ=am-pratyaya-vát=ca

[Before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 with marker KH as IT 66] the increment [am] is inserted [after 1.1.67] a monosyllabic prior member (éka=aC-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme denoted by the siglum iC (= all vowels excluding phoneme class a), and this increment functions like the [affix 3.1.1] [am] (of sUP).

gā-m ātmān-am mān-ya-ti = *go+θ¹+man+KHdŚ* (3.2.83) = *go+am+man+ŚyaN+aŚ* = *gā-m+man-y-ā-ḥ* 'thinking oneself a cow'; similarly *striy-am-man-y-ā-* 'thinking oneself a woman' (4.8), but with a polysyllabic stem: *lākhā iva bhṛā-r a-syāh* = *lākhā-bhṛā-ḥ* 'whose eyebrow is like a line' yields: *lākhā-bhṛu-m-man-y-ā-* (66).

6.3.69 ¹vāca-m-yam-ā-²pura-m-dar-ā-

The expressions *vāca-m-yam-ā-* and *pura-m-dar-ā-* are introduced [with increment /am/ which functions like the affix /am/ 68].

vāc-am yāceh-a-ti = *vāc+θ¹+yam+KHdC* (3.2.40) = *vāc-am+yam-d-* 'who restrains his speech as an act of religious observance'; *pūr-am dār-dy-a-ti* = *pur+am+dṛ+ṆC+KHdC* (3.2.41) = *pur-am-dṛ+θ+d* (4.51) = *pur-am-dar-ā-* 'destroyer of city forts, n.p. of Indra'.

6.3.70 kār-é ¹sat-yá=²agadāsya

[Before the final member 1] °-kār-ā- 'agent, doer' [the infixed increment myM 67 is inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first members] *sat-yá-* ° 'truth' and *agadā-* ° 'drug, medicine'.

The expression [kār-ā-] is derivable either by itself with affix GHaÑ or as a posterior member of a kṛt compound (3.2.1): *satyām kar-ō-ti* = *satya+myM+kr+dṆ* (3.2.1) = *satya-m-kār-ā-ḥ/satyāśya kār-ā-ḥ* 'ratification'; similarly *a-gadā-m-kār-ā-ḥ* 'physician'.

6.3.71 ¹śyenā-²tilā-sya pāt-é Ñ-e

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhita 4.1.76ff. affix 3.1.1] °Ña- (4.2.58) [introduced after 3.1.2 the final member 1] °-pāt-ā- [the infixed increment myM 67 is inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first members] *śyenā-* ° 'falcon' and *tilā-* ° 'sesamum'.

śyenā-sya pāt-āḥ a-syām kṛdā-y-am = *śyena-pāt-a+Ña+ṬaP* (4.1.4) *śyāśna+myM+pātṭh-a+ṬaP* = *śyāśna-m-pāt-ā myga-y-ā* 'hunting with a falcon, falconry'. Similarly *tilā-m-pāt-ā* 'a game in which sesamum seeds are thrown'.

6.3.72 *rātre-h kṛt-i vibhāṣā*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72] a kṛt (3.1.93) [affix 3.1.1, the infixed increment *muM* 87] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first member] *rātri-*° 'night'.

rātr-au cār-a-ti = *rātri+cār+Tā* (3.2.16) = *rātri+muM+cār-d-* = *rātri-m-cār-d-/rātri-car-d-* 'nocturnal wanderer', but *rātri-m-many-d-* (KHaŚ 3.2.53) [86].

6.3.73 *na-lop-āḥ nāN-aḥ*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1] *lopa* (Ø) replaces the phoneme /n/ of the privative particle *nāN*.

nāN+brāhmaṇd-h = *d-brāhmaṇa-h* (2) 'non-brahmin'.

6.3.74 *tā-smāt=nyT=aCi*

After that (*tā-smāt*) [= Ø replacement of phoneme /n/ of *nāN* 73 before 1.1.66 a final member 1 beginning with 1.1.51] a vowel (aC-i), [the initial increment 1.1.48] *nyT* is inserted at the beginning [of the final member 1].

nāN+āśva- = *Øā+āśva-* (73) = *d+n-āśva-* 'not a horse'; so also *d-n-ā-tur-a-* 'not eager'; *d-n-īśa-* 'not a king' etc. If the increment were for [*nāN*] instead of the posterior member 8.3.32 would have operated, yielding unacceptable forms like **an-n+āśva-*.

6.3.75 ¹*nā-bhrāj*=²*nā-pāt*=³*nā-vedas*=⁴*nā-satyā*-⁵*nā-muc-i-* ⁶*nā-kula*-⁷*nā-kha*-⁸*nā-puṁs-aka*-⁹*nā-kṣatra*-¹⁰*nā-kra*- ¹¹*nā-ke-ṣu pra-kṛ-ty-ā*

[The privative particle *nāN* 73] retains its original form (*pra-iṣ-ty-ā*) in the expressions *nā-bhrāj*- 'cloud', *nā-pāt*- 'nephew', *nā-vedas*- 'ignorant', *nā-satyā* (nom.du.) 'the Aśvin twins', *nā-muc-i-* 'n.pr. of a demon', *nā-kula*- 'mongoose' and as n.pr. 'the fourth Pāṇḍava brother', *nā-kha*- 'nail', *nā-puṁs-aka*- 'neuter', *nā-kṣatra*- 'asterism', *nā-kra*- 'alligator, crocodile' and *n-ā-ka*- 'heaven'.

These expressions are variously derived: 1. *nā bhrāj-a-te* = *nā-bhrāj+KviP* = *nā-bhrāj-* (3.2.177); 2. *nā pā-ti* = *nā+pā+ŚatP* = *pā+θ¹+at* = *nā-pāt*; 3. *nā vēt-ti* = *nā+vid+asvN* = *nā-ved-as-*; 4. *nā-saty-āu* = *d-saty-au*, *nā d-saty-au* =

the section on *kālā* (a chapter in an astronomical work); similarly *sa-muhūrta-m*'.

2. *drōṇ-ena sahā khārf* = *sā-drōṇā khārf* (2.2.28) 'a *khārf* measure in excess by a *drōṇa*'.

6.3.80 *dvi-tīy-e ca=ān-upa=aty-ay-e*

[The substitute element *sā-* replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *sahā-* 78 when the final member 1] also (*ca*) refers to a second item (*dvi-tīy-e*) which is not directly perceived (*ān-up-ā-ty-ay-e*).

agni-nā sahā kapōta-h = *sā+agni-h kapōta-h* = *s-āgni-h kapōta-h* 'a pigeon whose presence is indicative of a fire (which is not perceived)'; so also *piśāc-ēna sahā vātyā* = *sā-piśācā vātyā* (2.2.28) 'a hurricane (indicative of the presence of) a *piśācā* (which is inferred but not directly perceived)'.

6.3.81 *avyayī-bhāv-é ca=ā-kāl-e*

In an *Avyayībhāvā* compound [the substitute element *sā* replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *sahā-* ° 78 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] not designating time-words (*ā-kāl-e*).

sahā cakr-ēna dhe-hi = *sa-cakrā-m dhe-hi* (2.1.6: *yauga-pad-ya-*) 'place with a wheel'; *sahā dhūray-ā pr-ā-ja* = *sa-dhūrā-m pr-ā-ja* 'drive with a plough', but *sahā-pārv-ā-hṇā-m* 'with the morning'.

6.3.82 *vā=upa-sārj-ana-sya*

[The substitute element *sā-* 76] optionally (*vā*) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *sahā-* before 1.1.66 a final member 1] in a *Bahuvrīhī* compound (*upa-sārj-ana-sya*).

putr-ēna sahā = *sā-putra-h/sahā-putra-h* (2.2.28) 'accompanied by the son'; but *sahā-yūdh-van-* 'brother-in-arms'.

6.3.83 *pra-kf-ty-ā āśīṣ-i=a¹gó²vatsā³halé-ṣu*

[*sahā* 78] retains its original form (*pra-kf-ty-ā*) [before 1.1.66 the final members 1] excluding °-*gó-* 'cow/bull', °-*vatsā-* 'calf' and °-*hal-ā-* 'plough', when expressing blessing (*āśīṣ-i*).

sv-astī devadattā-ya sahā-putrāya 'may welfare attend upon Devadatta, accompanied by his son(s)'; but *sv-astī bhāvat-e sā-gav-e/sahā-gav-e* (82) 'welfare to

your honor, accompanied by cattle' and similarly *svastī bhā-vat-e*
sāha-vatsā-ya/sā-vatsā-ya/sāha-halā-ya/sā-halā-ya.

6.3.84 *samānā-sya chāndas-i a-¹mūrdhā(n)=²prā-bhṛ-ti=³udarké-ṣu*

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute element *sā-* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 of the nominal stem] *samānā-* 'common, equal, similar' [before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] excluding °-*mūrdhān-* 'head', °-*prā-bhṛ-ti-* 'commencement' and °-*udarkā-* 'consequence'.

anu-bhrātī sā-garbhya-ḥ (= *samān-ē garbh-e bhāva-ḥ* = *sā-garbh-ya-ḥ* 4.4.114)
 'consanguinous younger brother', but *sa-mānā-mārdhan-* 'equal-headed',
samānā-pra-bhṛ-ti- 'beginning equally' and *samān-ā-darka-* 'consequence'.

6.3.85 *¹jyōtis-²janapadā-³rātri-⁴nābhi-⁵nāma(n)=⁶gotrā-⁷rūpā-⁸sthāna-⁹vārṇa-¹⁰vāyas-¹¹vac-anā-¹²bāndhu-ṣu*

[The substitute element *sā* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *samānā-* 'common, similar, equal' before 1.1.66 final members of compounds 1]
 °-*jyōtis-* 'light', °-*janapadā-* 'inhabited locality', °-*rātri-* 'night',
 °-*nābhi-* 'navel', °-*nā-man-* 'name', °-*gotrā-* 'family, lineage', °-*rūpā-*
 'form, shape', °-*sthāna-* 'place', °-*vārṇa-* 'color', °-*vāy-as-* 'age',
 °-*vac-anā-* 'word' and °-*bāndhu-* 'kin'.

samānā-m jyōtir a-syā = *sā-jyōtis-* 'having the same or similar luster'; similarly:
sā-janapada-/sā-rātri/sā-nābhi/sā-nāman/sā-gotra-/sā-rūpa-/sā-sthāna-/
sā-varṇa-/sā-vayas-/sā-vac-ana-/sā-bandhu- 'fellow countryman/having a
 similar night/having the same nave or centre/having the same name/belonging
 to the same family or lineage/similar in form/sharing the same place/of same or
 similar color or homogeneous/of the same or identical age/having similar
 speech/sharing the same kin'.

6.3.86 *cār-aṇ-e brahma-cār-īṇ-i*

[The substitute element *sā-* replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *samānā-* 'similar, equal' 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1]
 °-*brahma-cār-īṇ-* 'student of the Veda' to denote a school or branch of
 the Veda (*cār-aṇ-e*).

samāna-ḥ brahma-cārī = *sā-brahma-cār-i* 'fellow student of the same branch of the
 Veda'.

6.3.87 tīrth-é y-è

[The substitute element *sá* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *saṁānā-* 'similar' 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-tīrthā- 'preceptor, teacher, adviser' co-occurring with [affix 3.1.1] °yā- (= yāT 4.4.107).

saṁānā-tīrth-é vāś-f (4.4.107) = *sa-tīrth-yā-h* 'sharing a common teacher or preceptor, co-student'.

6.3.88 vibhāṣā=udār-e

[The substitute element *sá* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *saṁānā-* 'similar' 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-udāra- 'womb' [co-occurring with the affix 3.1.1 °-yā- 87] optionally (*vibhāṣā*).

saṁān-o-dar-é śay-i-tā-h = *sa+udara+yā* (4.4.109) = *o-o-dar-yā-/saṁān-o-dar-ya-* (yāT 4.4.108) 'co-uterine'.

6.3.89 ¹dṛś=²dṛśa=³vatU-ṣu

[The substitute element *sá* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *saṁānā-* 84 before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °dṛś-, °-dṛśa- 'perceiver' and [the affix 3.1.1] °-vatU(P).

saṁānā-m (*ātman-am*) *pāśy-a-ti* = *saṁānā+dṛś+KviN* = *sa-dṛś-/sa+dṛś+KaN* = *sa-dṛś-a-* (3.2.60+vārt.) 'like, similar, resembling'. The expression [°vatU-ṣu] is with reference to the following sūtra-s.

6.3.90 ¹idām-²kīm-or ¹īś-²kt

The substitute elements *īś-* and *kt* [respectively 3.1.10] replace [the whole of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] *idām-* 'this' and *kīm-* 'who, what, which?' [before 1.1.66 final members of compounds 1 °-dṛś-, °-dṛś-a- 'perceiver' and affix 3.1.1 *vatU(P)* 89].

iddm+dṛś/dṛś-a- = *I-dṛś/dṛś-a-* 'like this'; *iddm+vatUP* = *I+gh-atUP* (5.2.4) = *I+iy-at* (7.1.2) *ṭ-sy-at-* (4.148) 'this much'; similarly *kt-dṛś-/dṛś-a-* 'like who, what or which?' and *k-sy-at* 'how much?'.

6.3.91 ā sarva-nāmn-ah

The substitute element /ā/ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52] of pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-ah) [before 1.1.66 final members in a compound °-dṛś-, °dṛś-a- and affix °-vatUP 89].

tāḍ+ḍṛś-/ḍṛśa-/vatU = tā-ā+ḍṛś/ḍṛś-a-/vatU = tā-ḍṛś-/ḍṛś-a- 'like that' and *tā-vat-* 'that much'. Similarly *yā-dṛś-/ḍṛś-a-* 'like what (relative)' and *yā-vat-* 'as much'.

6.3.92 ¹vīṣva(ñ)c-²devāy-os=ca TE-r adri=añc-a-tau va-praty-ay-é

The substitute element adri- replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel (TE-r) of (the first members) vīṣv-añc- 'going in all directions' and devā-° 'divinity' and (ca) [pronominal stems 91 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-añc- co-occurring with the affix -v (= KvīN 3.2.59).

vīṣv-ag añc-a-ti = vīṣv-añc+añc+KvīN = vīṣv-adri+añc+θ (6.1.87) = *vīṣv-adry-añc-* 'all-pervading'; similarly *tad+añc+KvīN = t-adri+añc+θ = t-adry-añc-* 'turned towards that'.

6.3.93 sām-ah sami

The substitute element sami- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] sām-° [before 1.1.66 the final member in a compound 1 °-añc- co-occurring with affix v (KvīN) 92].

sām+añc+KvīN = sami+dñc+θ = samy-dñc- 'turned together in one direction'.

6.3.94 tirās-as tiri=a-lop-é

The substitute element tiri- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] tirās- 'across, beyond' [before 1.1.66 the final member in a compound 1 °-añc co-occurring with the affix v (KvīN) 92] when θ-replacement (lopa) of the phoneme /a/ (4.138) does not take place.

tirās+añc+KvīN = tiri+dñc+θ = tiry-dñc-au/tiry-añc-ah, tiry-añc-am, but before weak affixes beginning with vowels: *tirās+añc+KvīN+Śas/Tā/Ñc/Nas = tirds-c-as/ā/e/as* etc. (4.138).

6.3.95 *sahá-sya sadhrí-h*

The substitute element *sadhrí-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] *sahá-* [before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-*añc-* co-occurring with the affix *v* (*Kv*[N] 92).

sahá-añc+KvN = *sadhri+áñc+Ø* = *sadhry-áñc-* 'turned in the same direction'. Before weak affixes beginning with a vowel: *sadhrí-c+Śas/Tā/Ne* etc.

6.3.96 *sadhá 'máda-²stháy-os=chándas-1*

In the *Chándas* the substitute element *sadhá-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 *sahá-* 95 before 1.1.66 final members in composition 1] °-*mád-a-* 'intoxicating' and °-*sthá-* 'remaining, standing'.

sahá mád-ena várt-a-te = *sadha+mád-a-* 'drinking together, carousel' and similarly *sahá tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *sadha+sthā+Ka* (3.2.4) = *sadhá-stha-* 'standing together, present'. The accent in the first shows that it is a regular *kṛt=anta samāsa* while in the second it is *sadhá+stha-* (2.2.28). In addition RV has *sadhá-vṛa-* 'joined with heroes', *sadhá-stu-ti-* 'joint praise', *sadhá-stu-t-ya-* 'ibid', and *Ganapātha* records *sadhá-mitra-* as a n.pr.

6.3.97 *'dví=²antár=³upa-sarg-é-bhyaḥ áp-aḥ ṛT*

The substitute phoneme long *ṛ(T)* replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*áp-* 'water' [after 1.1.67 first members in a compound] *dví-* ° 'two', *antár-* ° 'within', and preverbs.

duṣr ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín = *dvi+ap+d* (5.4.74) = *dvi-ṛp-d-* = *du-r-pá-h* 'island, peninsula'; similarly *antar-ṛp-d-h* = *antar-ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín* 'island'; *sam-ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín* = *sam-ṛp-d-* 'contiguous, proximate'.

6.3.98 *ūT=án-or dés-e*

The substitute element long *ū(T)* replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*áp-* 'water', co-occurring after 1.1.67 the first member in a compound] *ánu-* ° when indicating the name of a locality (*dés-e*).

anu-ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín = *anu+ap+d-* = *anu+ap+d-* = *an-áp-d-* 'n.pr. of a locality', but *anu-ṛp-d-* 'watery'.

6.3.99 ¹á-ṣaṣṭhī=²á-tṛ-tīya-sthasya=anyá-sya duK ¹āśís=²āśā=³ā-sthā=⁴ā-sthi-tá=⁵ut-su-ká=⁶ūtí-⁷kār-aka-⁸rāgá=⁹che-ṣu

The final increment duK is inserted [after the nominal stem] anyá-° 'another, other, else' not [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth or third sUP triplets [before 1.1.86 final members of a compound 1] °-āśís- 'benediction', °-āśā- 'hope', ā-sthā 'regard', °-ā-sthi-tá- 'occupied', °-ut-su-ká- 'eager', °-ū-tí- 'assistance, aid, help', °-kār-aka- 'agent, doer', °-rāgá- 'passion' and [the affix 3.1.1] cha (4.2.138).

anyā āśh = *anya-d-āśís* 'a different benediction or blessing'; similarly: *anya-d-āśā* 'a different wish'; *anya-d-āsthā* another or different wish'; *anya-d-ā-sthi-tá* 'occupied differently'; *anya-d-ut-su-ká* 'eager for something else'; *anya-d-ūtí* 'a different aid'; *anya-t-kar-aká* 'a different agent'; *anya-d-rāgá* 'a different passion'; *anyā+cha* (4.2.138) = *anya-d-īya* 'belonging to another'. But *anyā-sya āśh* = *anyāśh*, *any-éna ā-sthita-h* = *any-ā-sth-i-ta-h*.

6.3.100 áarth-e vibhāṣā

[The final increment duK 99] optionally (vibhāṣā) [is inserted after the nominal stem 4.1.1 anyá- 'another, other, else' 99 before 1.1.86 the final member in compound 1] °-ártha- 'purpose, object, use'.

anyā-emaí idám = *anya+arthā-m* = *any-ā-rthám/anya-d-arthám* (2.1.36) 'for another purpose, object or use'.

6.3.101 kó-ḥ kat tatpuruṣ-é=aC-i

The substitute element kát- (or kád-) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] kú- 'bad' in a Tatpuruṣá compound [before 1.1.86 a final member 1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i 1.1.54).

kú+áśva = *kád-aśva-* (2.2) 'a bad horse'; similarly *kád-aja-* 'worthless goat'; *kád-anna-m* 'stale or spoiled food' but *ká-brāhmaṇa-h* 'vile brahmin'.

6.3.102 ¹rātha-²vadáy-os=ca

[The substitute element kát- or kád] also (ca) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 ku-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.86 the posterior members 1] °-rátha- 'chariot' and °-vad-á 'speaker'.

ká+ratha- = *kád-ratha-* 'bad or inferior chariot'; *kád-vad-a-* 'bad speaker, speaking

ill or indistinctly'. Extension of 101 to posterior members beginning with a consonant.

6.3.103 *tṛṇ-e ca jñā-t-au*

[The substitute element *kāt-* or *kād-*] also (*ca*) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *kū-*° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-*tṛṇa-* 'grass' to denote a genus (*jñā-t-au*).

kū+tṛṇa- = *kāt-tṛṇa-* 'water-house leek or Pistia Stratiotis' but *kuts-i-tām tṛṇa-m*
= *kū-tṛṇa-m* 'rotten grass'.

6.3.104 *kā ¹páthi(n)=²ákṣay-oḥ*

The substitute element *kā* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 *kū-*° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-*páthi-* 'path' and °-*ákṣi-* 'eye'.

kū+páthi- = *kā-path-ā-* (5.4.74) 'bad road'; similarly *kū+ákṣi-* = *kā+akṣ-ā-*
k-ā-kṣ-ā- 'evil eye'.

6.3.105 *īṣad-arṭh-é*

[The substitute element *kā* replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *kū-*° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] when it means 'a little' (*īṣad-arṭh-é*).

īṣāt madhurā-m = *kā-madhura-m* 'sweetish'; similarly *kā-lavaṇa-* 'slightly saltish'.

6.3.106 *vibhāṣā pūruṣ-e*

[The substitute element *kā-*° 104] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *kū-*° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-*pūruṣa-* 'person'.

kā-puruṣa-/kū-puruṣa- 'a contemptible person', but *īṣādi-puruṣa-ḥ* = *kū-puruṣa-ḥ*
'somewhat less than a man'.

6.3.107 kava-m ca=uṣ-ṇ-é

The substitute element kava-° as well as (ca) [ká-° 104 replace the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-uṣ-ṇa- 'hot' [to denote the sense of 'a little, slightly' 105].

The word [vibhāṣa] recurs here from the preceding sūtra and brings into operation [kád-] also from 101 above.

kavá-/ká/kád+uṣ-ṇa- = kav-á-ṣ-ṇa-/k-á-ṣ-ṇa-/kád-uṣ-ṇa- 'tepid, slightly warm'.

6.3.108 path-f ca=chāndas-i

[The substitute element kavá-° 107 optionally 106 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-páthin- 'path' in addition to (ca) [ká-° 104 and kú-° 101] in the domain of Chāndas.

kú+pathin+á [5.4.74] = kava-path-á-/ká-path-á-/ku-path-á- 'wrong or bad road'.

6.3.109 pṛṣ-o-dara=ādī-n-i yath-o-pa-diṣ-tá-m

The class of compounds beginning with (°-ādī-n-i) pṛṣ-o-dara- 'having a spotted belly' is introduced as currently taught (by the learned speakers: yath-o-pa-diṣ-tá-m).

These involve a number of irregularities which have not been subjected to specific rules. Thus *pṛṣad udāram a-syá = pṛṣaṭ+udara- = pṛṣ-o-dara-*.

6.3.110 ¹saṁ-khyá-²ví-³sāy-á=pūrva-sya ahaṇá-sya áhan anyata-rá-syāṁ N̄-au

The substitute morpheme áhan- optionally (anya-tará-syāṁ) replaces [the final member of a compound 1] °-ahná- [before 1.1.66 the seventh sUP triplet 4.1.2] N̄i, [when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (saṁ-khyá-°), ví-° and sāyá-° 'evening'.

dváy-or áhn-or bháu-a-h = dvi+ahan+thaN̄ (2.1.51; 4.3.11) dvi+ahan+ṭ¹ (4.1.88) = dvā+ahan+TáC (5.4.91) = dvi+ahna+TáC (5.4.88) = dvya-ahnṭ-á (4.1.48); dvya-ahn-á+N̄i = dvya-ahan+N̄i = dvya-ahan-i/dvya-ahn-i (4.1.36); similarly vy-apa-ga-tá-m áh-aḥ = vy-ahn-á-h, tá-smin = vy-ahan-i/vy-ahn-i; sāy-á-m áhn-aḥ = sāy-á-hná-h, tá-smin sāy-á-hán-i/sāy-á-hn-i. In addition to these the regular forms: dvya-ahn-é/vy-ahn-é/sāy-á-hn-é.

6.3.111 $\text{ḍh-rā-lop-e pūrva-sya ḍirghā-h=aṆ-ah}$

A substitute long (vowel: ḍirghā-h 1.2.28) replaces a vowel denoted by the siglum aṆ (= a, i, u) [before 1.1.66] a lópa (Ø) replacement of phonemes /ḍh, r/ when immediately preceding it (pūrva-sya).

$lih+Ktá = liḍh+Ktá$ (8.2.31) = $liḍh+dhd$ (8.2.40) = $liḍh+ḍhd$ (8.4.41) = $liḥ+ḍha$ (8.3.13) = $li-dhd$ 'licked'.

$agní+sU+rátha+sU = agní+rU+rátha+rU$ (8.2.66) = $agníṣ rātha-h$ (8.3.15) = $agní-ḥ rātha-h$ (8.3.14) = $agní rātha-h$ 'fire chariot'; but $ḍṛh+Ktá = ḍṛḍh+dhd$ = $ḍṛḥ+ḍhd$ 'fixed, firm'. The metarule 8.2.1 is not operative here since [ḍh-rā-lop-e] is specifically mentioned in this rule.

6.3.112 $^1sáh\text{-}^2vah\text{-or } oT=a\text{-varṇá-sya}$

The substitute phoneme /o/ replaces the phoneme-class /a/ of the verbal stems $sáh$ - 'endure, bear' (I 905) and vah - 'carry' (I 1053) [before 1.1.66 Ø replacement of the phoneme /ḍh/ 111].

$sáh+tumyN = sādḥ-tum = sādḥ+dhum = sādḥ+dhum = sáḥ+ḍhum = *sā-dhum$ (222) = $só-dhum$ 'to endure'; similarly $sáh+tyN/távyā = só-dhyr-/so-dhavya-$ etc. Likewise $váh+tyN = vādḥ+dhyrN = vādḥ+ḍhyr = vāḥ+dhryr = vó-dhyr$ 'carrier, bearer', but $vah+Ktá = uh+Ktá$ (1.15) = $uḍh+dhd$ $uḍh+dhd = uḥ+ḍha = ā-dhd$ 'borne, carried'.

6.3.113 $sā-dhyai sā-dhvā sá-dha=iti ni-gam-é$

In the Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) the expressions $sā-dhyai$, $sā-dhvā$ and $sá-dhyr-$ are introduced [without the replacement of the stem vowel /a/ 112].

$sáh+dhyaiN/Ktvá - sādḥ+dhyaiN/Ktvá = sādḥ+dhyaiN/dhvá = sáḥ-dhyai/sā-dhvá$ 'having prevailed or conquered'; similarly $sáh+tyN = sādḥ+ḍhyr = sá-dhyr$ 'conqueror'. The implication of [iti] in this rule is to extend the scope of this rule: $sáh+Ktá = sādḥ+ḍhd = sáḥ+ḍhd$ 'overcome, prevailed', cf. $á-sā-dha-$ 'invincible' In current speech: $so-dhvá$, $só-dhyr$, $so-dhd$.

6.3.114 $sām\text{-}hi\text{-}t\text{-}ā\text{-}y\text{-}ām$

In continuous utterance.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] extending up to the end of this Pāda and it recurs in all the subsequent rules of this section.

6.3.115 *kārṇ-e lākṣaṇa-sya a-¹viṣ-ṭā-²aṣṭā(n)-³pāñca(n)=
⁴maṇi-⁵bhin-nā-⁶chin-nā-⁷chid-rā-⁸sruvā-⁹svasti-kā-sya*

[Before 1.1.66 the final members in a compound 1] °-*kārṇa-* 'ear' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior members] denoting the brand mark (*lākṣaṇa-sya*), excluding *viṣ-ṭā-* 'pierced', *aṣṭān-* 'eight', *pāñcan-* 'five', *maṇi-* 'jewel', *bhin-nā-* 'cleft', *chin-nā-* 'split', *chid-rā-* 'bored', *sruvā-* 'ladle' and *svastikā-* 'the swastika mark' [in continuous utterance 114].

dātra-m kārṇ-e yā-sya = *dātrā-kārṇa-* 'branded with the mark of a sickle on the ear' (accent according to 2.112); but *viṣ-ṭa-kārṇa-*, *aṣṭa-kārṇa-*, *pāñca-kārṇa-*, *maṇi-kārṇa-*, *bhinna-kārṇa-*, *chin-na-kārṇa-*, *chidra-kārṇa-*, *sruva-kārṇa-*, *svastika-kārṇa-*. For *maṇi-kārṇa-* see n.pr. cf. 2.113.

6.3.116 *¹nāh-²vṛt-³vṛṣ-⁴vyadh-⁵rūc-⁶sāh-⁷tān-⁸su Kv-au*

[A long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel 1.1.52 of a prior member of a compound before 1.1.66 posterior members 1 consisting of verbal stems] *nāh-* 'bind' (IV 57), *vṛt-* 'turn' (I 795), *vṛṣ-* 'rain' (I 738), *vyadh-* 'pierce' (IV 72), *rūc-* 'please' (I 781), *sāh-* 'endure, bear, tolerate' (I 905) and *tān-* (VIII 1) 'extend' co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] *Kv* (= *KvN*, *KvP*) [in continuous utterance 114].

ūpa-nah-ya-te = *ūpa-nah+KvP* = *upā-nāh-* 'sandal'; similarly *pari-nāh-* 'enclosure'; *upā-vṛt-* 'return'; *prā-vṛṣ-* 'rainy season, monsoon'; *hṛdaya-m vādh-ya-ti* = *hṛdaya-vādh-* 'piercing the heart'; *nī-rūc-* 'tasteless, insipid'; *ṛti-m sādha-te* = *ṛti-sādh-* 'conquering enemies' and *pāri-tan-o-ti* = *pāri+ta+KvP* (4.40) = *pāri-ta+tuK+Ø* = *pāri-tāt* (1.71) 'encircling'.

6.3.117 *¹vāna-²giry-óḥ samjñā-y-ām ¹koṭarā-²kimśulaka=
 ādī-n-ām*

[Before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °-*vāna-* 'forest' and °-*giri-* 'hill, mountain' [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel of the classes of first members] beginning with *koṭarā-* 'name of a plant' and *kimśulaka-* 'name of a plant' [respectively 1.3.10 in continuous utterance 111] to derive a name (*samjñā-y-ām*).

koṭarā-ṇ-ām vāna-m = *koṭarā-vāṇā-m* 'n.pr. of a forest containing Ipomoea Turpenthum or Alangium decapetalum'.

kimśulakā-giri- 'n.pr. of a mountain'.

6.3.118 val-é

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] °-valá- (= valáC 5.2.112ff.) [a long substitute vowel replaces 111 the stem-final vowel 1.1.52 of the first member in composition 1 in continuous utterance 114].

kṛṣī+valáC = *kṛṣī-valá* (5.1.112) 'farmer'. *dānta+valáC* = *dānta-valá-* (5.2.113) 'elephant'; *ā-su-tī+valá-* = *ā-su-tī-valá-* 'distiller, brewer'.

6.3.119 mat-AU bahv-áC-aḥ=án-ajira=ādi-n-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of a polysyllabic nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding those beginning with *ajirá-* 'rapid' [in continuous utterance 114 to derive names 117].

udumbāra+matUP+ÑiP (4.1.4) = *udumbarā-vat-f* (4.2.85; 6.1.220; 8.2.9) 'n.pr. of a river', but *vr̥thi-māi-I* (1.176) 'n.pr. of a river' (disyllabic) and in non-proper names: *vāla-ya-vat-I* 'wearing bracelets'; similarly *ajira-vat-f*, *khadira-vat-f* etc. (1.220).

6.3.120 śará=ādi-n-ām ca

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 matUP 119 a long substitute vowel 111] also (ca) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *śará-* 'reed' [to derive proper names 117 in continuous utterance 114].

Exception to the constraint of polysyllabic stems in 119 above. *śarā+matUP+ÑiP* = *śarā-vat-f* (1.220) 'n.pr. of a river'; so also *aḥī-vat-f*, *munī-vat-f*, *hánū-mat-I* etc.

6.3.121 iK-aḥ=váh-e=á-pīl-óḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-váh-a- 'bearer, carrier' [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52] vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [of the first members 1] excluding *pīlú-* 'n.pr. of a tree' [in continuous utterance 114].

ṛṣī-ṇ-ām váh-a-ḥ = *ṛṣī-vah-d-ḥ* 'carrying sages'; *kapī-vah-d-* 'carrying monkeys' but *piṇḍa-vah-d-*, *pīlu-vah-d-*.

6.3.122 upa-sarg-á-sya GHaÑ-i=á-manusy-e bahulá-m

[A substitute long vowel 111] variously (bahulá-m) [replaces the final vowels 1.1.52 of] preverb particles (upa-sarg-á-sya) [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ, except when denoting a human being (á-manusy-e) [in continuous utterance 114].

vi+kiid+GHaÑ (3.3.19) = *vi-kled-d-* 'getting wet'; *vi+mṛj+GHaÑ* = *vi-mārg-d-* 'a broom'; *apā-mārg-d-* 'the plant *Achyranthus Aspera*'. But: *prá+siv+GHaÑ* = *pra-sev-d-* 'sack or leather bottle', and *ni+śad+GHaÑ* = *ni-śād-d-* 'hunter'.

6.3.123 iK-aḥ kās-é

[Before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-kās-á- 'appearance' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final vowel 1.1.52 of a preverb 122 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [in continuous utterance 114].

ni+kās-d- = *ni-kās-d-* 'appearance, look'; similarly *anā-kās-d-* 'reflection (of light)' but *pra-kās-d-* 'light'.

6.3.124 d-as t-i

[Before 1.1.66 the t-replacement] (of the verbal stem) *dā-* 'give' (III 9) [7.4.47, a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final vowel 1.1.52 of a preverb 122 denoted by the siglum iK 123 in continuous utterance 114].

ni+dā+Kīd = *ni+t+Kīd* (7.4.47) = *ni-t-t-d-* 'passed down as a gift'. So also *par-t-t-d-* 'given away', but *pra-t-t-d-*.

6.3.125 aṣṭán-aḥ saṁjñā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 a final member in composition 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member] *aṣṭán-* 'eight' to derive a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

aṣṭ-aṣṭ vakrā-n-i a-syá = *aṣṭā-vakra-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a person' but *aṣṭā-putra-* 'person having eight sons'.

6.3.126 chándas-i ca

In the Chándas also (ca) [before 1.1.66 a final member in composition 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of prior member *aṣṭān-* 'eight' 125 in continuous utterance 114].

aṣṭā-su kapāle-ṣu sām-s-ky-ta-m = *aṣṭāḥ-kapāla+dN* (4.4.3; 8.2.7) = *aṣṭa+kapāla+ḥ* (4.1.88) = *aṣṭā-kapāla-* 'offered in eight pans'; similarly *aṣṭā-hiranya-* 'consisting of eight pieces of gold', *aṣṭā-pad-I* 'verse consisting of eight lines'.

6.3.127 cīte-ḥ kaP-i

[Before 1.1.66 the samāsāntá 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1] *°-kaP* (5.4.151) [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *cī-ti-* *°* 'layer' [in continuous utterance 114].

eka cī-ti-r a-ṣyá = *eka+cī-ti+kaP* = *eka-ci-tī-ka-ḥ* 'having one layer of bricks'; similarly *tri-cī-tī-ka-* 'three-layered'.

6.3.128 víśva-sya ¹vásu-²rāj-oh

[Before 1.1.66 final members in composition 1] *°-vásu-* 'riches' and *°-rāj-* 'king' [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *víśva-* *°* 'all, universal' [in continuous utterance 114].

víśva-m vāsu = *viśvā-vasu-* 'n.pr. of Viṣṇu' (accent by 2.106). In the case of *°-rāj-* the rule applies only when the stem *rāj-* 'king' has that form at the end of a padá: *viśvā-rāj-*, *viśvā-rāj-bhāṁ/bhā/bhāṣ/au* but *viśva-rāj-am/au/aḥ/ā/e/i/oa*.

6.3.129 nár-e saṁjñā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] *°-nára-* 'man' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member *víśva-* 'all, universal' 128] to derive a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [in continuous utterance 114].

viśv-e nár-ā-ḥ a-smān = *viśvā-nara-* 'n.pr. of the father of Agni'; cf. *vaśvā-nar-i* 'Agni, son of Viśvā-nara'.

6.3.130 mitr-é ca=ṛṣ-au

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-mitrá- 'friend' [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member víśva- 'all' 128 to derive a name 129] denoting a Vedic seer (ṛṣ-au) [in continuous utterance 114].

viśvá-mitra- 'n.pr. of a Vedic seer', but *viśva-m mitrá-m a-syd* = *viśva-mitra-* 'having all as friends'.

6.3.131 mántr-e ¹sóma=²ásva=³indriyá=⁴viśvá-devya-sya mat-AU

In the Mántra (section of the Veda) [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme of first members 1] sóma- ° 'n.pr. of a sacred plant', áśva- ° 'horse', indriyá- ° 'sense organ', and viśvá-dev-ya- 'relating to all divinities' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [in continuous utterance 114].

sóma+matUP+NiP (4.1.4) = *somā-vat-ṛ* 'containing soma' (8.2.9; 8.1.220); similarly *ásvā-vat-ṛ* 'possessing horses'; cf. RV 10.97.7. *indriyā-vat-ṛ* 'powerful, mighty'; *viśva-devyā-vat-ṛ* 'dear to all gods'.

6.3.132 óṣadhe-s=ca ví-bhak-t-au=á-prathamā-y-ām

[In the Mántra section of the Veda 131 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] óṣadhí- ° 'herb, plant' [before 1.1.66] ví-bhak-ti (1.4.104) [affixes 3.1.1] excluding the first sUP triplets (á-prathamā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

óṣadhi+bbhis/bhyas but *óṣadhi+sU/am* = *óṣadhis/óṣadh-i-m, óṣadhi-patí-* 'lord of herbs'.

6.3.133 ṛc-l ¹tú-²nú-³gha-⁴makṣú-⁵taŃ-⁶kú-⁷tra=⁸uruyá-ṇ-ām

In the Ṛgveda [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the particles] tú, nú, gha, makṣú, the l-substitute taŃ, the particle kú, [the affix 3.1.1] traL and the finite verbal form uruyá 'do thou protect' [in continuous utterance 114].

1. á tú na indra v̥tra-han; 2. nú máṛta-h; 3. utá vā ghā syāi-āt (RV 1.109.2); 4. makṣú gó-mant-am i-mahe (RV 8.33.3); 5. bhár-a-tā jā-tā-ved-as-am (RV 10.176.2); 6. ká-mandas- 'wicked-minded'; 7. á-ira te bhad-rá; 8. uruṣyá ṇaḥ (RV 1.91.15).

6.3.134 iK-aḥ suÑ-I

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel 1.1.52] denoted by the siglum iK (= i,u,ɪ,ɪ) [before 1.1.66 the particle] *súÑ [in continuous utterance 114].

abhiś sá ṇaḥ sákhI-n-am (RV 4.36.38) (8.3.107; 4.27).

6.3.135 dvy-áC-aḥ=aT-as tiÑ-aḥ

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52] aT of a dissyllabic (dvy-áC-aḥ) verbal form (tiÑ-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 l-substitute] tiÑ (= a finite verbal form) [in continuous utterance 114].

vid-má hí tvā gó-pati-m śūra gó-n-am (RV 10.47.1) 'we recognize you, O hero, as the lord of all cattle'. But dévā bhav-a-ta vāj-ín-aḥ (VS 9.6); á dev-ā-n vak-si yák-si ca (RV 5.26.1).

6.3.136 ni-pāt-á-sya ca

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a long substitute vowel 111] also replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 aT 135] of a particle (ni-pāt-á-sya) [in continuous utterance 114].

evā te (RV 10.20.10); dochā jar-i-tār-aḥ (RV 1.2.2).

6.3.137 anyé-ṣām ápi dṛś-yá-te

[A substitute long vowel 111] is seen (dṛś-yá-te) to replace [the phoneme aT 135] of other (anyé-ṣām) (padá-s) [in continuous utterance 114].

keśā-keśi, dandā-dandī, kacā-kaci (2.2.27); jāla+sah+ñvi = jālá-sāh- (3.2.63). évan+danta-/damṣṭra-/karṇa- = évā-dantá- 'dog's tooth'; évā-damṣṭra-/karṇa- 'having tusks/ears like a dog'.

6.3.138 c-au

[Before 1.1.66] the form '-c' of '-añc-' (resulting from 92 above and 4.24,138 below) [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme of the first member in composition 1].

dadhi+c+Śau = *dadhi-c-dh* and similarly *dadhi-c+ā/ē/ōs/i*.

6.3.139 sam-pra-sār-apa-sya

[Before 1.1.88 a final member of a compound 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme] resulting from vocalization (sam-pra-sār-ṇa-sya) substitution (of a semivowel 1.1.45) [in continuous utterance 114].

kārīṣa-gandhe-r āpatya-m = *kārīṣa-gandhi+āN* (4.1.92) = *kārīṣa-gandhi+SyāN* (4.1.78)+*CāP* (4.1.74) = *kārīṣa-gandhī-yā+putrā-* = *karīsa-gandhiā-putra* (1.13) = *kārīṣa-gandhi-putrā-* (1.108) = *kārīṣa-gandhi-putrā-* 'son of a female descendant of Kārīṣa-gandhi'.

6.4.1 ánga-sya

[The operations stated hereafter, up to the end of the seventh adhyāyá 'chapter' apply generally to the pre-affixal] base or stem (ánga-sya).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-ā] heading the section 6.4.1 to 7.4.97 and the word [ánga-sya] will recur in each subsequent rule.

6.4.2 haL-ah

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the pre-affixal stem-final 1.1.72 samprasāraṇa vowel 3.129 denoted by the siglum aN̄ (of iK) 111 following 1.1.67] a consonant (haL-ah) [of the pre-affixal stem 1].

huc+Kíd = *huc+íd-* (1.15) = *hu+íd-* (1.108) = *hū-íd-* 'called, summoned, challenged'; but *nir+uc+Kíd* = *nir-u-íd-* where the vocalized vowel is not preceded by a pre-affixal consonant 'non-woven', and *tri+tfya-* = *tr-tfya-* (5.2.55) 'third' since /t/ is not a member of the [aN̄] siglum. So also in *vyadh+Kíd* = *vidh+dhá-* (6.2.40; 4.53) the sam-pra-sār-aṇa vowel [i] is not pre-affixal final.

6.4.3 nām-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the ánga-final 1 (1.1.72) vowel before 1.1.66] the sixth sUP (plural) triplet °-n-ām.

devā+n-ām (7.1.54) = *devā-n-ām* 'of gods/divinities'; similarly *agnī-n-ām*/*vāyū-n-ām*/*pitṛ-n-ām* respectively from *agnī-/vāyū-/pi-tṛ-*.

6.4.4 ná ¹tisṛ-²cátasṛ

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] does not (ná) [replace the ánga-final 1 (1.1.72) of the nominal pre-affixal 1 stems] *tisṛ-* 'three' (f.) and *cátasṛ-* 'four' (f.) [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

tisṛ-n-ām/cátasṛ-n-ām. (Accent by 1.179).

6.4.5 chāndas-l ubhayá-thā

In the domain of Chāndas [a substitute long vowel 3.111] both (ubhayá-thā) [does and does not replace the ánga 1 final 1.1.72 vowel of *tisṛ-* 'three' (f.) and *cátasṛ-* 'four' (f.) 4 before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

tisṛ-n-ām/tisṛ-n-ām; *cátasṛ-n-ām/cátasṛ-n-ām*.

6.4.6 nṛ ca

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] also [both does and does not replace the áṅga 1 final 1.1.72 vowel of the nominal stem 4.1.1] nṛ- 'man' [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

nṛ-n-ām/nṛ-n-ām 'of men'.

6.4.7 na=upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the] penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) vowel [of a pre-affixal 1 stem ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] /n/ [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

pāñcan+n-ām (7.1.55) = pāñcañ+n-ām (8.2.7) = pañcā-n-ām 'of five' (1.179 for accent).

6.4.8 sarva-nāma-sthān-é ca=ś-sam-bud-dh-au

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /n/ 7 before 1.1.66] strong (sarva-nāma-sthān-é) sUP triplets, excluding the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au).

rāj-an+sU = rāj-an+θ (1.66) = rāj-āθ (8.2.7); rāj-an+au = rāj-ān-au; rāj-an+Jas = rāj-ān-as = rāj-ān-aḥ (8.3.15) rāj-an+am = rāj-ān-am but in the vocative: rāj-an+θ (8.2.8) and rāj-an+Ñi = rāj-an-i; similarly śāman+Śi = śāmān-i.

6.4.9 vā śá-pūrva-sya ni-gam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) [a substitute long vowel 3.11] optionally (vā) replaces [the penultimate 7 vowel] preceded by (°-pūrva-sya) phoneme /s/ [of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /n/ 7 before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative singular 8].

tákṣan+au/Jas/am = tákṣan-au/am/as/tákṣān+am/au/as, but in the colloquial speech: tákṣān-au/am/as.

6.4.10 śá=anta-²mahát-aḥ sam-yog-ś-sya

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 preceding áṅga 1] final /s/, forming a conjunct (sam-yog-ś-sya) [with phoneme /n/ 7] as well as [the penultimate vowel 7 of the pre-affixal stem 1] mahát- 'great' [before strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative 8].

1. $\acute{a}r\acute{a}+hyasuN = \acute{a}r\acute{e}-yas+eU - \acute{a}r\acute{e}-ya-n-s+eU$ (7.1.70) = $\acute{a}r\acute{e}-y\acute{a}-n-s+\emptyset$ (1.68) = $\acute{a}r\acute{e}-y\acute{a}n\emptyset$ (8.2.23). Similarly $\acute{a}r\acute{e}-y\acute{a}-n-s+am/au/as$ (*Jas*) (8.3.24). So also $y\acute{a}śas+\acute{S}i = y\acute{a}ś\acute{a}-n-s-i$.
2. $mah\acute{a}t+eU = mah\acute{a}-n-t+eU = mah\acute{a}-n-t+\emptyset$ (1.68) = $mah\acute{a}-n\emptyset$ (8.2.23), $mah\acute{a}-n-tau/am/as$.

6.4.11 ${}^1\acute{a}p-{}^2tṛN-{}^3tṛC-{}^4sv\acute{a}ṣṛ-{}^5n\acute{a}p-tṛ-{}^6n\acute{e}ṣ-tṛ-{}^7tv\acute{a}ṣ-tṛ-{}^8kṣat-tṛ=$ ${}^9h\acute{o}-tṛ-{}^{10}p\acute{o}-tṛ-{}^{11}pra-ś\acute{a}s-tṛ-ṇ-\acute{a}m$

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of pre-affixal stems 1] $\acute{a}p-$ 'water', [those ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] $tṛN$ and $tṛC$ and $sv\acute{a}ṣṛ-$ 'sister', $n\acute{a}p-tṛ-$ 'nephew', $n\acute{e}ṣ-tṛ-$ 'n. of an official priest', $tv\acute{a}ṣ-tṛ-$ 'n.pr. of a divinity', $kṣat-tṛ-$ 'charioteer, coachman, attendant', $h\acute{o}tṛ-$, $p\acute{o}tṛ-$ and $pra-ś\acute{a}s-tṛ-$ 'names of officiating priests' [before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative singular 8].

1. $\acute{a}p+Jas = \acute{a}p-as = \acute{a}p-aḥ$ (8.3.15); $bah\acute{u}v-aḥ \acute{a}p-aḥ e-ṣú tad\acute{a}ḡe-ṣu = bah\acute{u}-\acute{a}p+\acute{S}i = bah\acute{u}-\acute{a}-m-p-i$ (7.1.72) $tad\acute{a}ḡ\acute{a}-n-i$ 'pools overflowing with water'.
2. $k\acute{a}r-tṛ/kar-tṛC+au = k\acute{a}r-t\acute{a}r-au/kar-t\acute{a}r-au$. Similarly: $sv\acute{a}ṣ\acute{a}r-au$, $n\acute{a}p\acute{t}\acute{a}r-au$, $n\acute{e}ṣ\acute{t}\acute{a}r-au$, $tv\acute{a}ṣ\acute{t}\acute{a}r-au$, $kṣat-t\acute{a}r-au$, $h\acute{o}-t\acute{a}r-au$, $p\acute{o}-t\acute{a}r-au$, $pra-ś\acute{a}s-t\acute{a}r-au$, etc.

6.4.12 ${}^1\acute{í}n-{}^2h\acute{á}n-{}^3p\acute{u}ṣ\acute{a}(n)={}^4\acute{a}rya-mṇ-\acute{á}m \acute{S}-au$

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an $\acute{a}ṅga$ 1 ending in 1.1.72] ${}^1\acute{í}n-$, ${}^2h\acute{á}n-$, ${}^3p\acute{u}ṣ-\acute{á}n-$ and ${}^4\acute{a}rya-m\acute{á}n-$ 'names of divinities' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] $\acute{S}i$.

1. $bah\acute{u}v-aḥ dan\acute{d}-m-aḥ e-ś\acute{a}m s-\acute{a}nti = bah\acute{u}-dan\acute{d}-m+\acute{S}i = bah\acute{u}-dan\acute{d}-m-i$ 'consisting of numerous staff-bearers'; 2. $vṛtr\acute{a}-m ha-t\acute{á}v\acute{a}n = vṛtr\acute{a}+han+KviP$ (3.2.87) = $vṛtra-h\acute{á}n-$; $bah\acute{u}v-aḥ vṛtra-h\acute{á}n-aḥ y-\acute{e}ṣu t\acute{á}-n-i = bah\acute{u}-vṛtra-h\acute{á}-n-i$; similarly $bah\acute{u}-p\acute{u}ṣ\acute{á}n-i$, $bah\acute{u}-\acute{a}ryam\acute{á}n-i$.

The present rule is meant to restrict the operation of 8 above: $vṛtra-h\acute{á}n-au/Jas/am$.

6.4.13 s-AU ca

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an $\acute{a}ṅga$ 1 ending in 1.1.72] ${}^1\acute{í}n-$, ${}^2h\acute{á}n-$, ${}^3p\acute{u}ṣ-\acute{á}n-$ and ${}^4\acute{a}rya-m\acute{á}n-$ 'names of divinities' 12 before non-vocative 8 sUP triplet] sU also.

- $dan\acute{d}-m+eU = dan\acute{d}-m+\emptyset$ (1.68) = $dan\acute{d}-m\emptyset$ (8.2.7); similarly $vṛtra-h\acute{á}$, $p\acute{u}ṣ\acute{á}$, $\acute{a}rya-m\acute{á}$, but vocative singular: $dán\acute{d}-in$, $vṛtra-han$, $p\acute{u}ṣ-an$, $\acute{a}rya-man$ (8.2.8).

6.4.14 ¹atU=²ās-anta-sya ca=³ā-dhāto-ḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a non-vocative 8 sUP triplet sU 13 a substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of a pre-affixal stem 1] other than a verbal stem (ā-dhāto-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] ¹atU- or ²-as-.

- ¹-atU represents three affixes: (a) in *bhāv-atU* 'your honor, your worship', the second honorific personal stem and (b) *KtāvātU*, (c) *matUP/vatUP/DmatUP*. (a) *bhāvāt+sU* = *bhāva-n-t+sU* (7.1.70) = *bhāv-ānt+θ* (1.68) = *bhāv-ā-n* (8.2.23); (b) *ky-tāvā-n*; (c) *gō-mā-n*; in the generation of this form the replacement takes place prior to augmentation by 7.1.70.
- ²-as- *su-yas-ās+sU* = *su-yas-ās+θ* (1.68) = *su-yas-āḥ* 'having good reputation'; but in *piṇḍa-m grāś-a-ti* = *piṇḍa+grāś+KviP*, ²-grāś-, being a verbal stem, results in *piṇḍa-grāś+θ* (1.68) = *piṇḍa-grāḥ* 'who eats a ball of rice'.

6.4.15 ānu-nās-ika-sya ¹Kvi-²jhaL-oḥ K-Ñ-IT-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an ānga 1 ending in 1.1.72] a nasal phoneme (ānu-nās-ika-sya) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvi or those beginning with non-nasal consonants (²-jhaL-oḥ) with marker K or Ñ as IT.

pra+śām+KviP = *pra-śām+θ* 'unhurt, painless, tranquil'. *pra-śām+sU* = *pra-śān+θ* (8.2.64); *pra+tiām+KviP* = *pra-tām-*, *pra+dām+KviP* = *pra-dām-*. *śām+Ktā* = *śām+tā-* = *śān-tā* 'quiet, calm, pacified'; similarly from *dām+Ktā* = *dān-tā-* (8.4.58), but *gam-yā-te* 'is understood' (*gam+yāK*). *gam+tyN* = *gān-ty-* 'goer', the first though a K-IT is an affix beginning with a semivowel, while the second, though beginning with a non-nasal stop is not a K-IT.

6.4.16 ¹aC=²hanĀ-³gam-āñ saN-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the ānga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the pre-affixal 1 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-²) and han- 'hurt, kill' (II 2), gam- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN [beginning with non-nasal consonant (jhaL) 15].

- ci+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *ci+sa+a+ti* (1.9) = *ci-ci-ṣ-a-ti* (1.97; 8.3.57) 'desires to pile up'; 2. *han+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *haθ-han+sa+a+ti* (2.9; 7.4.60) = *jī-han-s-a-ti* (1.97; 7.4.62, 79) = *jī-ghan-s-a-ti* (7.3.55) = *jī-ghān-s-a-ti* = *jī-ghāñ-s-a-ti* (8.3.24) 'desires to kill'; similarly 3. *ādhi+gam+saN+ŚaP+te* (2.4.48) = *ādhi-jī-gāñ-s-a-te* 'wishes to know', but *ādhi-jī-gam-i-ṣ-a-ti* (7.2.35; 4.62) 'desires to go'.

6.4.17 tan-ô-te-r vibhāṣā

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the vowel of the pre-affixal stem 1] tan- 'extend' (VII 1) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 16 beginning with a jhāL (non-nasal consonant)].

tan+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *ti-tan+sa+a+ti* (1.9; 7.4.79) = *ti-tam-s-a-ti/ti-tān-s-a-ti* (8.3.24) 'desires to extend', but *ti+tan+tiT-saN+ŚaP+tiP* (7.2.49:Kāśikā) = *ti-tan-i-ṣ-a-ti*.

6.4.18 krām-as=ca Ktv-1

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 optionally 17 replaces the vowel of the pre-affixal stem 1] krām- 'stride' (I 502) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā [beginning with jhāL (non-nasal consonant) 15].

kram+Ktvā = *krām+tvā* = *krān-tvā* (8.4.58) 'having stridden', but *kram-i-tvā* (7.2.56).

6.4.19 ¹c-ch-²v-oḥ ¹ś-²ūṬH=ānu-nās-ik-e ca

The substitute elements ś and ūṬH [respectively 1.3.10] replace the phonemes /c-ch/ and /v/ [of pre-affixal stems 1 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a non-nasal consonant with K or Ṇ as IT marker 15] as well as nasal consonants (ānu-nās-ik-e ca).

prach+naṆ (3.3.90) = *pracch+nd* (1.73) = *praś-nd-* 'query, question, interrogation';
prach+Ktd = *prcch+td-* (1.13,16) = *prṣ-td-* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'asked'; *śabda-m*
prcch-ā-ti = *śabda+prach+KviP* = *śabda-prāś-* (Uṇādi 2.58).
div+nd = *di-ū+nd-* *dyā-nd-* (8.2.49) 'playing, sporting' but *dyā-td-* 'desiring victory' (*vi-jī-gī-ṣ-ā*); *akṣ-afr dīv-ya-ti* = *akṣa+div+KviP* = *akṣa-di-ūṬH+θ* = *akṣa-dyū-* 'gambling with dice'.

6.4.20 ¹jvár-²tvāra-³srīv-⁴āv-⁵māv-ām upa-dhā-y-ās=ca

[The substitute element ūṬH replaces phoneme /v/ 19 of the pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] jvár- 'be feverish' (I 813), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812). srīv- 'become dry' (IV 3), āv- 'protect, aid' (I 631) and māv- 'move, go' (I 630) as well as (ca) of the penultimate phoneme (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 Kvi and those beginning with non-nasal consonants with marker K or Ṇ as IT or with nasal consonants 19].

1. *jvár+KviP* = *jū-ar* = *jūr-* 'fever'; *jvár+KtiN* = *jūr-ti-* 'fever'; *jvár+Ktd* = *jūr-nd-* (8.2.42) 'had temperature'.

2. Similarly: *tār*, *tār-ti*- 'haste'; *tār-ṇā*- 'has hastened'.
3. *srū*:- *srīṣ* = *srū*- 'dryness, aridity'; *srū-tā*- 'withered'.
4. *āv*: *ā*- 'protector, savior'; *ā-ti*- 'protection'; *ā-tā*- 'protected'.
5. *māv*:- *mā*- 'mover'; *mā-ti*- 'moving'; *mā-tā*- 'has moved'.

6.4.21 r-āt=lópa-ḥ

Lopa (Ø) replaces [phonemes /c-ch/ and /v/ 19 after 1.1.67] phoneme /r/ [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 Kvī and those beginning with non-nasal consonants with marker K or Ñ as IT 15].

1. *murch+KvīP* = *mūr*Ø+Ø = *mūr*- 'swoon'; *murch+Ktā* = *mār-tā*- (8.2.76) 'formed' and *murch+KtiN* = *mār-ti*- 'material form, embodiment'.
2. *tārv+KvīP* = *tār*Ø+Ø = *tār*- 'running a race'; *tārv+KtiN/Ktā* = *tār-ti*- 'overwhelming', *tār-ṇā*- 'overpowered, overwhelmed' (8.2.42).

6.4.22 ā-sid-ha-vat=ā-tra=ā bh-āt

[In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this chapter, operations introduced by the subsequent rules are considered] in-operative (ā-sid-dha-vat) (with respect to other operations stated in the subsequent rules) up to 129 below (ā bh-āt) beginning with [bha-sya].

as+IoT+siP = *as*+θ¹ (of *ŚaP* 2.4.72)+*hf* (3.4.57) = *a-e+hf* (119) = *e-hf* (1.97); but by 101 *hf* itself is replaced by *dhf* when preceded by a pre-affixal non-nasal consonant ([jhaL]). To arrive at the correct form *e-dhf* the operation by 119 is not supposed to have taken place in applying 101. Normally in the situation *as+hi* both 101 and 119 are competitive and by metarule 1.4.2, 119 would prevail and would make 101 inapplicable. The present governing rule corrects this situation and yields the expected surface form.

This principle also applies to the section governed by the *adhi-kār-ā* sūtra 129 below.

6.4.23 Śn-āt=na-lopā-ḥ

Lópa (Ø) replaces the [ánga 1] phoneme /n/ [after the class-marker 1.1.67] Śnām (3.1.78).

- anj* (VII 2)+*Śnām+Tip* = *a+nā+nj+tiP* (1.1.47) = *a-nā-ḥj+ti* = *a-nā-k-ti* (8.2.30) 'smears, anoints'.

6.4.24 $\acute{a}n\text{-}i\acute{T}=IT\text{-}\acute{a}m$ $h\acute{a}l\text{-}a\check{h}=upa\text{-}dh\acute{a}\text{-}y\text{-}\acute{a}\check{h}$ $K\text{-}\acute{N}\text{-}ITi$

[Lópa (Ø) 23] replaces the penultimate (upa-dh \acute{a} -y- $\acute{a}\check{h}$) [phoneme /n/ 23 of pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] not marked by I as IT ($\acute{a}n\text{-}i\acute{T}=IT\text{-}\acute{a}m$) [ending in 1.1.72] a consonant ($h\acute{a}l\text{-}a\check{h}$) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with marker K or \acute{N} as IT.

ardna- (I 790) 'fall' $K\acute{t}d = sra\check{\theta}e\text{-}t\acute{d} = srae\text{-}t\acute{d}$ 'fallen', but from $\check{T}U\text{-}n\acute{d}d\text{-}\acute{I}$ (I 67)+ $y\acute{d}K+te = na\text{-}n\text{-}d\text{-}y\acute{d}\text{-}te$ 'is filled with delight'.

6.4.25 ${}^1dan\acute{s}\acute{A}\text{-}{}^2sanj\acute{A}\text{-}{}^3savanj\text{-}\acute{a}m$ $\acute{S}aP\text{-}I$

[Lopa (Ø) 23 replaces penultimate phoneme 24 /n/ 23 of pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] $dan\acute{s}\text{-}$ (I 1038) 'bite', $sanj\text{-}$ 'attach' (I 1036) and $savanj\text{-}$ 'embrace' (I 1025) [before 1.1.66 the Present System marker] $\acute{S}aP$ (3.1.68).

1. $dan\acute{s}+\acute{S}aP+tiP = d\acute{d}\check{\theta}\acute{s}\text{-}a\text{-}ti = d\acute{d}\acute{s}\text{-}a\text{-}ti$ 'bites'; similarly: 2. $sanj+\acute{S}aP+tiP = s\acute{a}j\text{-}a\text{-}ti$ 'clings, sticks'; 3. $savanj+\acute{S}aP+tiP = sv\acute{a}j\text{-}a\text{-}ti$ 'embraces, clasps'.

6.4.26 $ranj\text{-}s=ca$

[Lópa (Ø) 23] also (ca) replaces [the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal $\acute{a}nga$ 1 of] $ranj\text{-}$ 'to be dyed or colored' (I 1048) [before 1.1.66 the Present System marker $\acute{S}aP$ 25].

$ranj+\acute{S}aP+tiP = r\acute{a}\check{\theta}j\text{-}a\text{-}ti = r\acute{a}j\text{-}a\text{-}ti$ 'dyes'. A separate rule has been framed for the following application restricted to this verbal stem only.

6.4.27 $GHa\check{N}\text{-}I$ ca ${}^1bh\acute{a}v\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}{}^2k\acute{a}r\text{-}a\check{p}ay\text{-}o\check{h}$

[Lópa (Ø) 23] also (ca) replaces [the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal $\acute{a}nga$ 1 $ranj\text{-}$ 26 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] $GHa\check{N}$ to denote a state ($bh\acute{a}v\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}$) or an instrument ($\text{'-}k\acute{a}r\text{-}a\check{p}ay\text{-}o\check{h}$).

1. $ranj+GHa\check{N} = r\acute{a}\check{\theta}g\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}$ $\acute{a}sc\acute{a}r\text{-}y\text{-}a\check{h}$ $r\acute{a}g\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}\check{h}$ 'wonderful is the state of the color';
2. $r\acute{a}j\text{-}y\acute{d}\text{-}te$ $an\text{-}\acute{e}na = ranj+GHa\check{N} = r\acute{a}g\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}\check{h}$ (7.2.116, 3.52, 6.1.159) 'dye', but $r\acute{a}ng\text{-}a\text{-}$ 'stage' = $r\acute{a}j\text{-}a\text{-}nti$ $t\acute{d}\text{-}emin$.

6.4.28 syáda-ḥ jáv-e

The expression syád-a- is introduced [with the affix GHaÑ 27 and Ø replacement 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga 1] syand- 'flow' (I 798) to denote speed (jáv-e).

syand+GHaÑ = *syádā*-a- 'speed', but *syánd-a-* 'flow, trickle'.

6.4.29 ¹av-o-d-á=²édh-a=³ód-ma(n)-⁴pra-śrath-á- ⁵hima-śrath-āḥ

The expressions av-o-d-á-, édth-a, ód-man-, pra-śrath-á- and hima-śrath-á- are introduced [with affixes 3.1.1 GHaÑ and manjN and Ø replacement of penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga-s und- 'wet' (VII 20), co-occurring after preverb ava-°, indh- 'kindle' (VII 11), with Up-ādi affix °-man- and śranth- 'discharge' (IX 39) co-occurring after prá-° and himá-°].

1. *ava+und+GHaÑ* = *ava+od-ā* = *av-o-d-ā* 'humidity'; 2. *indh+GHaÑ* = *iṭṭdh+GHaÑ* = *édh-a* 'combustible'; 3. *und+man(jN) āṭṭd+man-* = *ód-man-* 'flooding'; 4. *prā+śranth+GHaÑ* = *pra-śrath-ā* 'laxity'; 5. *himā+śranth+GHaÑ* = *hima-śrath-ā* 'loosening or melting of ice'.

6.4.30 ná=ance-ḥ pūjā-y-ām

[Lópa (Ø) replacement 23 of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga 1] anc- (1.203) does not (na) take place [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ñ as IT and beginning with a consonant 24] to denote honor (pūjā-y-ām).

The verbal stem *ānc-Ū gāti-pūj-anay-oḥ* (I 203) has two distinct range of meanings: 'movement' and 'honor' and the present rule applies only when the second meaning is denoted. *anc+Ktā* = *anc+iT+Ktā* (7.2.53) = *añc-i-tā* 'honored', but *ūd+anc+Ktā* = *ud-añc+Ktā* = *ud-ak-tā* (8.2.30) 'lifted up, raised'.

6.4.31 Ktv-i ¹skandī-²syandy-oḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 23 replacement of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga-s 1] skand- 'leap' (I 1028) and syand- 'flow' (I 798) [does not take place 30 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā.

1. *skand+Ktvā* = *skant-tvā* (8.4.55) 'having leapt'.
2. *syand+Ktvā* = *syant-tvā/syand-i-tvā* (7.2.44) 'having flown or trickled'.

6.4.32 ¹jǵ=anta-²naś-ām vibhāṣā

[Lópa (Ø) 23 replacement of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 does not take place 30] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the verbal áṅga 1 stems] ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /j/ or of naś- 'disappear' (IV 85) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ktvā 31].

ranj+Ktvā = *rañk-tvā/raṭk-tvā* = *rak-tvā* 'having dyed'.

naś+Ktvā = *na-nuM-ś+ktvā* (7.1.60) = *na-n-ṣ-ṭvā/naṣ-ṭvā* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'having disappeared'.

6.4.33 bhanjes=ca CiṆ-1

[Lópa (Ø) replacement 23 of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 does not 30 optionally 32 take place of the verbal áṅga 1] bhanj- 'break' (VI 16) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] CiṆ (3.1.66).

dT+bhanj+CiṆ (3.1.66) = *d-bhanj-i/d-bhāj-i* 'was broken'.

6.4.34 śās-aḥ=iT=¹áÑ-²haL-oḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the penultimate 24 vowel of the verbal áṅga 1] śās- 'teach, instruct' (II 66) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áÑ and those beginning with a consonant (" -haL-oḥ) [with K or Ñ as IT marker 24].

śās+IUÑ = *śās+Oñ* (3.1.43) = *dT+śis+aÑ+ti* (3.1.56) = *d-śis-a-t* (8.3.60) 'has instructed'; *śās+Ktā* = *śis-ṭā* (8.3.60; 4.41) 'taught'; but *śās+Ø¹+tiP* = *śās-ti* and *śās+Ø¹+tas* *śis-ṭāḥ* where t-substitute -tas is regarded as Ñ-it by 1.2.4.

6.4.35 śā h-au

The substitute morpheme śā- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal áṅga 1] śās- 'teach' (II 66) 34 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] "-hí (3.4.87).

śās+hf = *śā-dhf* (22, 101) 'please instruct/teach'. All constraints (34, 3.4.87-88: a-P-IT/P-IT) are inoperative here.

6.4.36 hán-te-r ja-ḥ

The substitute morpheme ja- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal áṅga 1] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 hí 35].

han+hf = *ja-hf* 'kill, hurt, strike'. Here -hf is not subject to Ø¹ replacement by 105 below because of the governing rule 22 above.

**6.4.37 án-udātta=¹upa-deś-a-²ván-a-ti-³tan-ó-ti=ādī-n-ām
anu-nās-ika-lopá-ḥ jhaL-i K-Ñ-IT-i**

Lópa (Ø) replaces a nasal stop (anu-nās-ika-lopá-ḥ) [of the áṅga 1 of verbal stems] which are low-pitched (ánudātta-*) when first introduced (upadeśé: in the Dhp.), ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1) [before the affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] non-nasal consonants (jhaL-i) with marker K or Ñ as IT.

1. Verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced and ending in a nasal stop are: yam- 'check, restrain' (I 1033), ram- 'sport' (I 906), nam- 'bend, bow down' (I 1030), gam- 'go' (I 1031), han- 'kill, hurt, strike' (II 2) and man- 'think' (IV 67). Before affix *Ktā*: ya-tā-, ra-tā-, na-tā-, ga-tā-, ha-tā-, ma-tā-.
2. van+*KtiN* = vāṭ-ti- 'liking', but van+*KtiC* = van-ti- (39).
3. tan+*Ktā* = taṭ-tā- = ta-tā- 'extended'; tan+*IUN* = tan+siC+ta (3.1.44) = āT+tan+Ø+ta (2.4.79) = ā-ta-ta since this l-substitute is a Ñ-IT by 1.2 4.

6.4.38 vā LyaP-i

[Lópa (Ø) 37] optionally (vā) replaces [the nasal stop 37 of the áṅga 1 of verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced, ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of verbal stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1) 37 before 1.1.66 the substitute morpheme 7.1.37] LyaP (for Ktvā).

This is a regulated option (vy-ava-sth-ta-vi-bhāṣ-ā): Ø necessarily operates in the case of pre-affixal stems not ending in /n/ and optionally in the case of those ending in /m/.

1. pra+yām+LyaP = pra-yāṭ-tuK+ya = pra-yā-ti-ya/*yām=ya; pra-rā-ti-ya/*rām=ya-, etc.
2. ā-hā-ti-ya; pra-mā-ti-ya, pra-vā-ti-ya, pra-kaśā-ti-ya-.

6.4.39 ná KtiC-i dīrghá-s=ca

[Lópa (Ø) 37] does not (ná) replace [the nasal stop 37 of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced (in the Dhp), ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of verbal stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VII 1) 37 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KtiC nor (ca) the substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 1 vowel 15].

yam+*KtiC* = yan-ti (8.4.58) 'restraint'; similarly van-ti-/tan-ti 'liking/extension'.

6.4.40 gam-aḥ Kv-aṅ

[Lópa (ḥ) replaces the nasal stop 37 of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem] gam- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvṛ(P).

$\acute{a}dhva\acute{n}-am\ gácc\hbar-a-ti = \acute{a}dhva\acute{n}+ḥ^1+gam+KvṛP = \acute{a}dhvaḥ+gáḥ+KvṛP$ (8.2.7) = $\acute{a}dhva-gá-t-$ 'traveller'.

6.4.41 ${}^1v\bar{I}T = {}^2van$ -or ánu-nāṣ-ika-sya=āT

The substitute long vowel /ā(T)/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of an ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72] a nasal stop (ánu-nāṣ-ika-sya) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] $v\bar{I}T$ (3.2.67) and van (3.2.75).

1. $ap-sú\ j\acute{a}-ya-te = \acute{a}p+jan+v\bar{I}T$ (3.2.67) = $ap-j\acute{a}-\acute{a}+ḥ$ (1.67) = $ab-j\acute{a}-$ (8.4.53) 'born in water, aquatic'; similarly $g\acute{a}-m\ san-\acute{o}-ti = go-g\acute{a}-$ 'bestower of cattle'; $\acute{a}d\acute{d}hi\ kr\acute{a}m-a-ti = \acute{a}d\acute{d}hi-kr\acute{a}-$ 'n.pr. of a divinity'; $\acute{a}gr-e\ gácc\hbar-a-ti = \acute{a}gr-e+gam+v\bar{I}T$ = $agr-e-g\acute{a}-$ 'leader'.

2. $v\bar{I}-j\acute{a}-ya-te = vi+jan+van\bar{I}P$ (3.2.75) = $vi-j\acute{a}-\acute{a}+van = vi-j\acute{a}-van-$ 'born, come into existence'.

6.4.42 ${}^1j\acute{a}n\acute{A}-{}^2s\acute{a}n\acute{A}-{}^3kh\acute{a}n-\acute{a}m\ {}^1saN = {}^2j\hbar\acute{a}L-oḥ$

[The substitute long vowel ā(T) 41 replaces the ánga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] $j\acute{a}n-$ 'be born' (III 24, IV 41), $s\acute{a}n-$ 'gain, donate' (I 492, VIII 2) and $kh\acute{a}n-$ 'dig' (I 927) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] saN and those beginning with a non-nasal consonant (° $j\hbar\acute{a}L$) [with marker K or Ṇ as IT 37].

The recurring expression [$j\hbar\acute{a}L-i$] from 37 onwards also qualifies the desiderative marker [saN].

$saN: san+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = s\acute{I}-san+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP$ (1.9; 7.4.80, 79) = $s\acute{I}-sa-\acute{a}+sa+a+ti$ (8.3.59) = $s\acute{I}-s\acute{a}-sa-ti$ (1.97)/ $s\acute{I}-san-i-sa-ti$ (8.3.61 for non-retroflexion of the stem-sibilant), $j\acute{I}-j\acute{a}n-i-sa-ti$, $\acute{a}I-kh\acute{a}n-i-sa-ti$.

The inclusion of [saN] in this rule is restricted only to the verbal stem [$san-$] which is optionally [$sa=i\bar{T}$ 7.2.49] while the other two are necessarily so, whence the constraint [$j\hbar\acute{a}L$] applies only to it.

6.4.43 y-e vibhāṣā

[The substitute long vowel āT 41] optionally ($vi-bh\acute{a}ṣ-\acute{a}$) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] $j\acute{a}n-$ 'be born', $s\acute{a}n-$ 'gain, donate' and $kh\acute{a}n-$ 'dig, excavate' before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme $y-$ ° [with marker K or Ṇ as IT 37].

jan+yaK+te = *ja-ā-yā-te* = *jā-yā-te/jan-yā-te*, but *jan+ŚyaN+te* > *jā-ya-te* (7.3.79). *jan+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *ja-ja-ā-yā-a-te* = *jā-jā-yā-te* (1.97; 7.4.83)/
ja-n-jan-yā-te (7.4.85).

Similarly: *sā-yā-te/san-yā-te*; *sā-sā-yā-te/san-san-yā-te* = *sarh-san-yā-te* (8.3.24);
khā-yā-te/khan-yā-te; *cā-khā-yā-te/can-khan-yā-te*.

6.4.44 tan-ō-te-r yāK-i

[The substitute long vowel āT 41 optionally 43 replaces the ānga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] *tān-* 'extend' (VII 1) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] *yāK*.

tan+yāK+te = *ta-ā-yā-te* = *tā-yā-te/tan-yā-te* 'is stretched'.

6.4.45 sán-aḥ KtiC-i lópa-s=ca asyá=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute long vowel āT 41 optionally 43 replaces the ānga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] *sán-* 'gain, donate' (I 492, VII 2) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] *KtiC* (3.3.174), and optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) *lópa* (Ø) also (*ca*) replaces it.

san+KtiC = *san-ti-/sa-ā+ti-* = *sā-ti-/saṭ+ti* = *sa-ti-* 'gain, donation'.

6.4.46 ārdha-dhātu-k-e

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 69 below the phrase) 'before an ārdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.114-17)' [affix 3.1.1] will recur in each operation.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-a-sūtrā].

6.4.47 bhrasj-aḥ ¹r_g=²upa-dháy-oḥ r_gM anya-tará-syām

The infixed (1.1.47) substitute phoneme *r*(*g*M) optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) replaces both the phoneme /*r*/ and the penultimate (*-upa-dháy-oḥ) [of the ānga 1 of the verbal stem] *bhrasj-* 'roast' (VI 4) [before 1.1.66 an ārdha-dhātu-ka 46 affix 3.1.1].

bhrasj+tumuN = *bhrājj+tumuN* (8.4.40,53) = *bhṭ-ā-r_gM-ṭ-j+tum* =
bhāṛṣ-tum/bhrāḍ-j+tum = *bhrāṛṣ-tum* (8.2.36; 4.41); *bhrasj+trN/tāvya-* =
bhāṛṣ-ṭṛ-/bhrāṛṣ-ṭṛ-, bhāṛṣ-tāvya-/bhrāṛṣ-tāvya-.

6.4.48 aT-aḥ lopa-h

Lopa (Ø) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short a(T) [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātula 46 affix 3.1.1].

$kṛ+saN+tumūN = kṛ+saN+iT-tum = cf-kṛ-ṣa+i-tum = cf-kṛ-ṣ-i-tum = cf-kṛ-ṣ-i-tum$ 'wishing to do'; $dhinu+ū+tiP$ (3.1.80) = $dhina+ū+ti = dhinṭ-ū+ti = dhin-ō-ti, dhin-ū-taḥ$. $kṛ+saN+NvuL = cf-kṛ-ṣa+NvuL = ci-kṛ-ṣṭ-aka-$ 'who wishes to do', blocking out 7.2.115; $kṛ+saN+yāK+te = cf-kṛ-ṣā+yā-te = ci-kṛ-ṣṭ-yā-te = ci-kṛ-ṣ-yā-te$ blocking out 7.4.1. Here the metarule 1.4.2 is contravened. So also in the case of 47 above: $bhrasj+Kīd- = bhṛṣ-ṭā-$ where vocalization (1.16) blocks the operation 47 above.

6.4.49 ya-sya haL-aḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 48 replaces ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] ya- [after 1.1.67] a consonant [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1].

$bhid+yāN+iT-tumūN = bē-bhid-ya+i-tum = bē-bhid-ṭṭ-i-tum = bē-bhid-i-tum$ 'to break frequently'; similarly $be-bhid-i-tāvya-$ 'should be broken repeatedly'.

Since the syllable [ya] is involved in this operation it does not apply to verbal stems like *ṛsy-* 'envy', *mavy-* 'bind' whence *ṛsy-i-tum*, *mavy-i-tum*; the constraint 'after a consonant' blocks this operation in *lā-lā-y-i-tum* 'to cut or reap repeatedly'.

6.4.50 Kyá-sya vibhāṣā

[Lopa (Ø) 48] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the ánga 1 final syllable ya after a consonant 49 of the affix 3.1.1] Kyá (= KyáC 3.1.8, and KyáN 3.1.11) [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1].

$atmán-ah sam-īdh-am icch-ā-ti = sam-īdh+KyáC$ (3.1.8)+ $iT-tumūN = sam-īdh-yā+i-tum = sdm-īdhy-i-tum$ (48)/ $sdmīdhṭ-i-tum = sdm-īdh-i-tum$; similarly $sam-īd iva ā-car-a-ti = sam-īdh+KyáN+iT-tumūN = sdm-īdh-y-i-tum/sdm-īdh-i-tum$.

6.4.51 Né-r an-iT-i

[Lópa (Ø) 48 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52] causative marker Ní(C) [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] not co-occurring with initial increment iT.

Exception to replacement by (iyaN 77 below) or (yaN 82) or *guṇā* (7.3.84) or *vāddhi* (7.2.115) or by a long vowel (7.4.25).

1. $takṣ+NRO+HUN = takṣ+i+CaN$ (3.1.48)+ $t = \mathcal{C}T$ (71)+ $takṣ+i+CaN+t$

d-ta-taks+i+a+t (1.11; 7.4.80) = *d-ta-taks+θ-a-t* = *d-ta-taks-a-t* 'has fashioned'; exception to 77 below.

2. *at+Ní+IUÑ* = *āt* (72)+*a-ti-tf* (1.2)+*CaÑ+t* = *ā-ti-t-θ-a-t* = *ā-ti-t-a-t* 'has wandered'; exception to *yaÑ* 82.
3. *kṛ+NíC+LyuT+TāP* = *kār-f+ana+a* = *kār-θ-an-ā* = *kār-an-ā* 'instigation, urging'; exception to *guṇá* (7.3.84).
4. *kṛ+NíC+NvuL* = *kār-f+aka-* = *kār-θ-aka-* = *kār-aka-* 'urges, instigator, producer'; exception to *vṛddhi* on account of marker *N* of *NvuL* (7.2.115).

6.4.52 *niṣṭhā-y-ām a-e-ṭ-i*

[*Lópa* (θ) 48 replaces the causative marker *Ní* 51 before 1.1.66 the árdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26: *Ktā*, *KtāvātU*) co-occurring with initial increment *iṭ* (*sa=iṭ-i*).

kṛ+NíC+Ktā- = *kār-i+iṭ-Ktā* = *kār-θ-i-tā-* = *kār-itā-* 'caused to be done', but
kṛ+NíC+iṭ+tumyN = *kār-e-i-tum* = *kār-ay-i-tum* 'cause to do'.

6.4.53 *jan-i-tā mántr-e*

The expression *jan-i-tf-* 'progenitor' is introduced in the Mántra section of the Veda [with *lópa* (θ) 46 replacement of the causative marker *Ní* 51 before 1.1.66 the *seṭ* 52 árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 *tfC*].

yó nah pi-tā jan-i-tā (RV 10.82.3) 'who is our father progenitor': =
jan+NíC+iṭ+tfC+eU = *jan-θ-i-tf+eU* = *jan-i-tā* (7.1.94; 8.4.11). Cf. 92 below,
 for exception to 7.2.115.

6.4.54 *sam-i-tā yajñ-e*

The expression *sam-i-tf-* 'carver of the sacrificial meat' is introduced in the domain of sacrifice (*yajñ-e*) [with *lópa* (θ) 46 replacement of the causal marker *Ní* 51 before 1.1.66 the *seṭ* 52 árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 *tfC*].

śṛ-tā-m havish sam-i-tāḥ 'Oh carver of cooked sacrificial oblation!': *sam+NíC+iṭ+tfC+eU* = *sam-i-tā*.

6.4.55 *ay¹ām=²ánta=³ālú=⁴āyya=⁵itnú=⁶iṣṇú-ṣu*

The substitute element *ay* replaces [*Ní* 51 before 1.1.66 árdhadhātuka 46 *kṛt* 3.1.93 affixes 3.1.1] °-ām (3.1.35), °-ánta (*Uṇādi*), °-ālú (*C* 3.2.158),

*-āyā (Uṇādi), *-itnū (Uṇādi) and *-isṇú (C 3.2.136) and *-KHiṣṇú-C (3.2.57).

1. *-ām: *kṛ+NIC+ām+ca-kār-a* (3.1.35,40) = *kār-i+ām ca-kār-a* = *kār-ay-ām ca-kār-a* (or *kār-e+ām* = *kār-ay-ām ca-kār-a*) 'has caused to make' (7.3.84).
2. *-ānta: *maṇḍ+NIC+ānta-* = *maṇḍ-ay-ānta-* 'ornament'.
3. *-ālúC: *spṛh+NIC+ālúC* = *spṛh-ay-ālú-* 'desirous'.
4. *-āyā: *spṛh+NIC+āyā-* = *spṛh-ay-āyā-* ibid.
5. *-itnū: *stana+NIC+itnū* = *stanθ-+itnū-* (48) = *stan-ay-itnū-* 'thunder'.
6. *-isṇú: *pāra+NIC+isṇú* = *pārθ-ay-isṇú-* = *pār-ay-isṇú* 'conveying to the opposite shore'.

6.4.56 LyaP-i laghú-pūrv-āt

[The substitute element ay 55 replaces the causative marker Ní 51] preceded by a metrically light syllable (laghú-pūrv-āt) [before 1.1.66 the substitute ārdhahātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] LyaP.

pra+nam+NIC+LyaP = *pra-ṇam-áy-ya* 'having caused to bow down' (the verbal stem being a M-IT, 7.2.115 is inoperative by 92 below), but *pra+pat+NIC+LyaP* = *pra-pāt-θ-ya* (51) 'having caused to fall down'.

6.4.57 vibhāṣā āp-aḥ

[The substitute element ay 55] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the causative marker NíC 51 introduced after the verbal stem] āp- 'attain, reach' (V 14) [before 1.1.66 the substitute ārdhahātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 LyaP 56].

pra+āp+NIC+LyaP = *pr-ā-p-áy-ya/pr-āp+θ-ya* = *prāp-ya* 'having caused to attain or reach'.

6.4.58 'yu-²pluv-or dīrghá-s=chandas-i

In the domain of Chāndas a substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the āṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] yu- 'mix' (II 23) and plu- 'float, swim' (I 1007) [before 1.1.66 the substitute ārdhahātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 Lyap 56].

dānty anu-pūrv-m vi-yá-ya (RV 10.131.2); *yátrā yó dáksīṇā pari-plú-ya* (KaṭhS. 25.3) but in the spoken language *sam-yú-t-ya*, *ā-plú-t-ya* (1.71).

6.4.59 kṣīy-ah

[A substitute long vowel 58 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] kṣī- 'destroy, waste away' (1.255), 'reside' (VI 114) [before the árdhahātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 Lyap 58].

prā+kṣī+LyāP = *prā-kṣī-ya* 'having wasted away (I)/having resided (VI)'.

6.4.60 niṣṭhā-y-ām ā-NyāT=arth-e

[A substitute long vowel 58 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem kṣī- 'waste away/reside' (I 255/VI 114) before 1.1.66 árdhahātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.26: Ktā-, KtāvatU) when the meaning implied is not that of the affix NyāT.

Affix [NyāT] implies either an impersonal [= bhāv-é] or passive [kār-maṇ-i] construction; consequently the context here refers to the active [kar-tār-i] construction.

ā-kṣī+Ktā = *ā-kṣī-ṇā-* (8.2.46; 4.2), *pari-kṣī-ṇā-* 'vanished'; *prā-kṣī-ṇā-* 'destroyed, perished', but in passive and impersonal constructions *kṣī-tā-*.

6.4.61 vā ¹ā-kroś-ā-²daí-n-yay-oh

[The substitute long vowel 58] optionally (vā) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem kṣī- 'waste away/reside' (I 255/VI 114)] 59 before 1.1.66 the árdhahātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā, when not expressing the sense of the affix NyāT 60] to indicate reproach (*ā-kroś-ā-*) or pity (*°-daí-n-yay-oh*).

1. *ā-kroś-é*: *kṣī-t-ā-yus-/kṣī-ṇ-ā-yus-* 'whose life-span is miserable' in a curse with *é-dhi* 'may your life be miserable'; 2. *daí-n-y-e*: *kṣī-tā-/kṣī-ṇā-* in the expression *kṣī-tā-h/kṣī-ṇā-h ayám tap-as-uf* '(alas!) this ascetic is emaciated'.

6.4.62 ¹syá-²s[C-³sīyüT-⁴tās]-su ¹bhāv-ā-²kār-maṇ-oh upa-deś-é ¹aC=²hanĀ-³grāhA-⁴ḍṛś-ām Ciṇ-vát=iT ca

When the impersonal (bhāv-é) or passive (kār-maṇ-i) construction is denoted by the l-replacements (3.4.69), those operations which apply [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-Ciṇ also [optionally 61 apply before 1.1.66 the l-markers] °-syá-, °-s[C-, °-sīyüT and °-tāsi-, and (ca) if the operations are applied then initial increment iT is inserted before them and is valid after verbal stems [which end in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-°) as well as the verbal stems han- 'kill, strike, hurt' (II 2), grāh- 'seize' (IX 61) and ḍṛś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037).

1. Stems ending in vowels: *ci+aya* (3.1.33)+*te/cāy+iT+aya+te* (7.2.115) = *ce-ṣyā-te/cāy-i-ṣyā-te* as in *dT+ci+CiN+ta* = *d-cāy-iθ* (104); similarly: *d-ci+siC+ātām/d-ci+iT+siC+ātām* = *d-ce-ṣ-ātām/d-cāy-i-ṣ-ātām*; so also *ce-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa/cāy-i-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa*; *ce-tās-mi/cāy-i-tās-mi*. [syā, tāsī] introduced by 3.1.33; [aiC] by 3.1.44; [styūT] by 3.4.102.
2. *han-i-ṣyā-te/ghān-i-ṣyā-te* after *dT+han+CiN* = *a-ghān-i* (7.4.54); *d-haθ-ṣ-ātām/d-ghān-i-ṣ-ātām*; *vadh-i-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa/ghān-i-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa*; *han-tās-mi/ghān-i-tās-mi*.
3. *grah-i-ṣyā-te/grāh-i-ṣyā-te* after *dT+grah+CiN* = *d-grāh-i*; *d-grah-i-ṣ-ātām/d-grāh-i-ṣ-ātām*; *grah-i-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa*; *grāh-i-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa*; *grah-i-tās-mi/grāh-i-tās-mi*. 7.2.37 applies only to [iT] introduced by 7.2.36 but not to that introduced by this rule.
4. *drak-ṣyā-te/darś-i-ṣyā-te* after *dT+dṛś+CiN+ta* = *d-darś-i-θ*. *d-dṛk-ṣ-ātām/d-darś-i-ṣ-ātām*; *dṛk-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa/darś-i-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa*; *draṣ-ṭās-mi/darś-ṭās-mi/darś-i-tās-mi* (1.58).

Since this is an extension of operations within the governing rule 1 of [āṅga], it blocks out the operations of āṅga replacements introduced by 2.4.42-43 for [han-], 2.4.5 for [iN 'go' II 36] and 2.4.48-50 for [iN 'study' II 37].

6.4.63 dīN-aḥ yuT=aC-i K-N-IT-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] *yuT* is inserted at the head [of an ārdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 beginning with 1.1.54] a vowel (aC-i) with marker K or Ñ as IT [introduced after 3.1.2 the āṅga 1 stem] *dīN-* 'perish' (IV 28).

ūpa+dī+IT+eŚ (3.4.81) = *ūpa-di-dī+eŚ* (1.8; 7.4.59) = *ūpa-di-dī+yuTeŚ* = *ūpa-di-dī-y-e* (*eŚ* being a K-IT by 1.2.5). So also *ūpa-di-dī-y-āte/ūpa-di-dī-y-irc*.

6.4.64 āT-aḥ lopa-ḥ iT-i ca

Lopa (θ) replaces [the āṅga 1 final 1.1.52] phoneme *āT* (long *ā*) [before 1.1.66 the initial increment 1.1.46] *iT* and (ca) [ārdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel with marker K or Ñ as IT 63].

1. *-iT*: *pā+IT+thaL* = *pa-pā* (1.8; 7.4.59)+*iT+thaL* = *pa-pθ-i-tha* = *pa-p-f-tha* 'thou hast drunk'; similarly *pa-pā+us* = *pa-pθ-us* = *pa-p-uf* 'they have drunk' (K-IT 1.2.5).
2. *N-IT*: *prā+dā+aÑ+TāP* (3.3.106) = *pra-dθ+dā* = *pra-d-ā* = *prā-dī-ya-te* 'gift'.

6.4.65 ɪT=yàT-i

The substitute phoneme long ɪ(T) replaces [ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme ā(T) 64 before 1.1.66 the ārdhahātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] yàT.

dā+yāT = dī+yāt = dē-ya- (7.3.84) 'to be given or donated'. The relevance of substitute long phoneme /ɪ/ becomes clear in the following sūtra-s; here the same result would have been realized with a substitute short /i/ vowel.

6.4.66 ¹GHU-²mā-³sthā-⁴gā-⁵pā-⁶jā-hā-ti-⁷s-ān haL-i

[The substitute phoneme long ɪ(T) 65 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 long phoneme āT 64 of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20: having the shape of dā or dhā, with the exception of dāP/daiP) and mā- 'measure' (II 53, III 6, IV 34), sthā- 'stop, remain' (I 975), gā- 'go, move' (I 998) 'praise' (III 25), 'sing, sound' (I 965) and substitute morpheme for iN (2.4.45), for iN̄ (2.4.48-50), pā- 'drink' (I 972), hā- 'abandon (III 8) and sā- (= so- IV 39) 'destroy' [before 1.1.66 ārdha-dhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant (haL-i) [with marker K or N̄ as IT 63].

1. GHU: *dā+yāK+te = dī-yā-te* 'is given'; 2. *mā+yāK+te = mī-yā-te* 'is measured'; similarly 3. *sthī-yā-te*, 4. *gī-yā-te*, 5. *pī-yā-te*, 6. *hī-yā-te*, 7. *āva-sī-ya-te*.

dā+yāN̄+ŚaP+te = de-dī-yā-te (1.9; 7.4.82); *me-mī-yā-te*, *te-sthī-yā-te*, *je-gī-yā-te*, *pe-pī-yā-te*, *je-hī-yā-te*, *āva-se-sī-ya-te*.

6.4.67 e-r IIN̄-i

The substitute vowel phoneme /e/ replaces [ánga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme āT 64 of verbal stems denoted by the t.t. GHU as well as mā-, sthā-, gā-, pā-, hā- and sā- 66 before 1.1.66 ārdhahātuka 46] I-substitutes of IIN̄ [with marker K or N̄ as IT 63].

dā+IIN̄+ti = dā+yāsyāT+syāT-t (3.4.103, 107) = *de-yā+θ+θ+ti* (7.2.70) = *de-yā-t* (since increment [yāsyāT] is N̄-IT) 'let him give'; similarly: *me-yā-t*, *sthe-yā-t*, *ge-yā-t*, *pe-yā-t*, *he-yā-t*, *āva-se-yā-t*; but *dā+ānyāT+syāT+ti* (3.4.102, 107) = *dā-sī-ṣ-tā* (1.66; 8.3.59; 4.41).

6.4.68 vā anyā-sya saṁ-yog-ā=āde-h

[The substitute phoneme /e/ 67] optionally [vā] [replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme āT 64 of the verbal stems] other than (anyā-sya) [those listed in 66 above] which begin with a conjunct consonant

(sam-yog-á=āde-h) [before 1.1.66 ārdhahātuka 46 l-substitutes of IIN̄ 67 with K or N̄ as iT marker 63].

$glai+IIN̄+t = glā+yāsūT+suT+t$ (1.45) = $gle-yā+00-t$ (7.2.79) = $gle-yā-t/glā-yā-t$
 'may (he/she/it) become tired', but $glā+sryuT+suT+tā = glā-sI-s-tā$.

6.4.69 ná LyaP-I

[The substitute phoneme e 67] does not (ná) replace the [āṅgá 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme āT 64 of the verbal stems listed in 66 above before 1.1.66 the ārdhahātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1] LyaP (for Ktvā).

$pra+dā+LyaP = pra-dā-ya$ 'having gifted'; similarly: $pra-mā-ya$, $pra-sthā-ya$,
 $pra-gā-ya$, $pra-pā-ya$, $pra-hā-ya$, $ava-sā-ya$.

6.4.70 may-a-te-r iT=anya-tará-syām

The substitute phoneme short i(T) optionally (anya-tarásyām) replaces the [āṅga 1 final 1.1.52 long vowel āT 64 of the verbal stem] meN̄- 'exchange, trade, barter' (I 1010) [before 1.1.66 the ārdhahātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 LyaP 69 (for Ktvā)].

$apa+me+LyaP = apa-mā-ya/apa-mf-i-ya$ (1.71) 'having exchanged or bartered'.

6.4.71 ¹IUN̄-²IIN̄=³IR̄N̄-k-ṣu=āT=udātta-h

The initial increment (1.1.46) āT is inserted, with high pitch (udātta-h) [at the head of a verbal āṅga 1 before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] IUN̄ (Aorist), IAN̄ (Imperfect) and IR̄N̄ (Conditional).

- $kṛ+IUN̄ = kṛ+tiP$ (3.4.77) = $kṛ+t$ (3.4.100) = $kṛ+Oḥ+t$ (3.1.43) $kṛ+oḥC+t$ (3.1.44) = $kār+s+t$ (7.2.1) = $kār+o+IT+t$ (7.3.96) = $dT-kār-ṣ-I-t = d-kār-ṣ-I-t$.
 The insertion of the initial increment may take place at any stage of the various operations. It may, however, be convenient to consider the theme itself to be $dT+kṛ$ before l-substitutes of the three tenses are in place, since it is an āṅga increment.
- $kṛ+IAN̄ = dT+kṛ+u+tiP = d-kar+o+t$ (3.1.79; 7.3.84) 'did'.
- $kṛ+IR̄N̄ + d-kṛ+ṣya+tiP = d-kṛ+iT-ṣya+t$ (3.1.33; 7.2.70; 3.4.100) = $d-kar-i-ṣya-t$ 'if he had done'.

6.4.72 áT áC=ādī-n-ām

The initial increment (1.4.46) áT [with high pitch 71 accent is inserted at the head of a verbal ánga 1] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādī-n-ām) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of IUN, IAN and IRN 71].

1. IUN (Aorist): $Ikṣ+IUN = \acute{a}T+Ikṣ+iT+s_iC+ta$ (7.2.35) = $aIkṣ-i-s-ta$ (1.90; 8.3.59; 4.41) 'has perceived'.
2. IAN (Imperfect): $Ikṣ+IAN = \acute{a}+Ikṣ+\acute{S}aP+ta = aI-kṣ-a-ta$ (1.90) 'saw'.
3. IRN (Conditional): $Ikṣ+IRN = aIkṣ+iT-ya+ta$ (3.1.33; 7.2.35) = $aIkṣ-i-ya-ta$ (8.3.59) 'if he had seen'.

6.4.73 chāndas-i=āpi drś-yá-te

In the Chāndas [the initial increment áT 72 with high pitched accent 71] is seen (drś-yá-te) [inserted at the head of a verbal ánga 1] (āpi) [other than one beginning with a vowel 72].

- $su-rāc-o\ vend\ ā-vāḥ$ (VS 13.3): $\acute{a}-vṛ+IUN+t = \acute{a}-vṛ+θ+t$ (2.4.8) $\acute{a}-var+i$ (7.3.84) = $\acute{a}-var+θ$ (1.68) = $\acute{a}-vāḥ$ (8.3.15).
- $yuj+IAN = \acute{a}+yuj+SnaM+i = \acute{a}-yu-na-j+t = \acute{a}-yu-na-j+θ$ (1.68) = $\acute{a}-yu-na-k$ (8.2.30).

6.4.74 ná māÑ-yog-e

[The initial increments aT 71 and áT 72] are not (ná) [inserted at the head 1.1.46 of a verbal ánga 1 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IUN, IAN and IRN 71] when co-occurring with the prohibitive particle māÑ.

- $mā+d-kār-s-I-h = mā\ kār-s-I-h$ 'do not do it'. $mā+d-kar-o-s = mā\ kar-o-h$ 'do not do'. Similarly $mā\ bhavān\ Ikṣ-i-s-ta/Ikṣ-a-ta$ (72).

6.4.75 bahulá-m chāndas-y á-māÑ-yog-e=āpi

In the Chāndas [the initial increments áT and áT 72 with high-pitched accent 71 are not inserted 74 at the head of 1.1.46 a verbal ánga 1] even (āpi) when the prohibitive particle māÑ is not co-occurring [or co-occurring (with the verbal form)] variously (bahulá-m).

1. $jān-i-s-ṭhāḥ+ugrā-h = jān-i-s-ṭhā\ ugrā-h = ā-jan-i-s-ṭhāḥ$ 'has been born'; 2. $mā\ vah\ kṣētr-e\ para-bījā-n-i\ ā-vāp-s-uh$.

The force of the expression [bahulám] is to indicate non-conformity with the constraints restricting the operation of this rule.

6.4.76 iray-aḥ re

The substitute element re [variously 75 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the 1-substitute] ire (C) (3.4.81 of jha) [in the Chāndas 75].

$dhā+IIT = dhā+jha = da-dhā+irēC$ (1.8; 3.4.81) = $da-dhθ+irēC$ (64) = $da-dh-rē$
'they have borne' for $da-dh-irē$, but $ca-kr-irē$ 'they have made'.

6.4.77 aC-i ¹Śnu-²dhātu-³bhruv-ām ¹y-²v-or ¹yaÑ=²unaÑ-au

The substitute elements $yaÑ$ and $unaÑ$ [respectively 1.3.10 replace 1.1.53] the vowels i and u [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] a vowel (aC-i) [when they are āṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of a theme ending in 1.1.72] the present class marker Śnu (3.1.73), or of a verb (°-dhātu-°) or of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] bhrū 'brow'.

1. $āp+IoT = āp+Śnū+jhi = āp-nū+anti$ (7.1.3) = $āp-nūv-anti$ 'they attain'.
2. $kṣi+IIT = ci-kṣi+ús$ (1.8; 3.4.82) = $ci-kṣiy-ūh$ (1.189) 'have wasted away or emaciated'; similarly $lā+IIT = lu-lā+ús = lu-luv-ūh$ 'they have cut'.
3. $bhrū+au = bhrūv-au$, but $vadhā+au = vadhu-aú$.

Guṇá and Vṛddhi replacements block the operation of this rule: $ci+LyuT/NvuL = cé+ana$ (7.3.84) = $cáy-ana-$ (1.78)/ $caI+NvuL$ (7.2.115) = $cáy-aka-$.

6.4.78 abhy-ās-á-sya=á-sa-varṇ-e

[The substitute elements $yaÑ$ and $unaÑ$ 77 respectively 1.3.10 replace the vowels i, u 77 occurring at the end of 1.1.72] the reduplicative syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) [before 1.1.66] a non-homogeneous vowel (á-sa-varṇ-e).

$iṣ+IIT = i-iṣ+NaL$ (1.8; 3.4.82) = $iy-ṣ-a$ (7.3.84) 'has desired'; so also $uṣ+NaL = u+ṣ+NaL = uv-ṣ-a$ 'has burnt'; but from $iN-$ 'go' (II 36): $i+IIT = i+ús = i-i+us = i-iy+ús$ (77) = $iy-ūh$, $iy-dtuḥ$ and $iy-ḍy-a$ (7.2.115).

6.4.79 striy-āḥ

[The substitute element $yaÑ$ 77 replaces the āṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel I 77 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] strī 'woman, female' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

$strī+au/Jas = strīy-au/strīy-aḥ$; $strī+ām = strī+nuT+ām = strī-ṇ-ām$ (7.1.54; 8.4.2).

6.4.80 $v\bar{a}$ ¹am-²Śas-oh

[The substitute element $iy\bar{a}N$ 77] optionally ($v\bar{a}$) [replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel \bar{i} 77 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 $str\bar{i}$ 'woman' 79 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] am and Śas (4.1.2).

$str\bar{i}+am/\acute{S}as = str\bar{i}-m$ (1.107)/ $str\bar{i}y-am$; $str\bar{i}-h$ (1.102)/ $str\bar{i}y-ah$.

6.4.81 iN -ah $y\bar{a}N$

The semivowel $y(\bar{a}N)$ replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] iN - 'go' (II 36) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

$i+g\bar{h}i = i+d\bar{a}nti$ (7.1.3) = $y-d\bar{a}nti$ 'they go'; similarly $i+HOT = i+\theta^1+antu$ (7.1.3; 3.4.86) = $y-d\bar{a}ntu$ 'let them go/they may go'.

6.4.82 e-h $\acute{a}n-eka=aC$ -ah= \acute{a} -sañ-yog-a-pūrva-sya

[The semivowel $y\bar{a}N$ 81 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme /i/ 77] of a polysyllabic verbal stem ($\acute{a}n-eka=aC$ -ah), not preceded by ($^{\circ}$ -pūrva-sya) a conjunct consonant (\acute{a} -sañ-yoga- $^{\circ}$) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

$ni+IT = ni-n\bar{i}+dtus = ni-ny-d\bar{t}uh$; $n\bar{i}-ny-\acute{u}h$; $gr\bar{d}ma-\eta\bar{i}+au = gr\bar{d}ma-\eta y-au$ (8.4.2) but $yava-k\bar{r}\bar{i}+au = yava-k\bar{r}\bar{i}y-au$ 'two purchasers of barley'.

6.4.83 o-h sUP-i

[The semivowel substitute v of $y\bar{a}N$ 81 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52] vowel phoneme /u/ [of a polysyllabic verbal stem, not preceded by a conjunct consonant 82 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets [beginning with a vowel 77].

$kh\bar{d}la-m pu-n\bar{d}-ti = kh\bar{d}la+\theta^1+p\bar{d}+Kv\bar{i}P = kh\bar{d}la-p\bar{d}$ (3.2.178)+ au $kh\bar{d}la-pv-a\bar{d}$ (1.174) 'two sweepers of a threshing floor'; but $l\bar{a}+Kv\bar{i}P+au = l\bar{u}v-au$ 'two reapers'; $ka\bar{t}a-pr\bar{d}+au = ka\bar{t}a-pr\bar{d}v-au$ 'two gamblers'.

6.4.84 varṣā-bhv-as=ca

[A substitute semivowel v of $y\bar{a}N$ 81 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] varṣā-bhū- 'rain-born' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

varsā-bhū+au = varsā-bhū-āu. This is a prior exception to 85 below.

6.4.85 ná ¹bhū-²su-dhīy-oh

[A substitute semivowel $y_a\dot{N}$ 81] does not replace [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhū 'becoming' and su-dhī 'shrewd' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

prati-bhū+au = prati-bhūv-au 'two sureties'; *su-dhī+au = su-dhīy-au* 'two intelligent persons'.

6.4.86 chāndas-i ubha-yá-thā

In the Chāndas both (ubhyá-thā) [$iy_a\dot{N}$ - $uv_a\dot{N}$ 77 and $y_a\dot{N}$ 81] replace the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1 bhū 'becoming' and su-dhī 'shrewd' 85 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

vāne-su ci-trá-m vi-bhū-ām víśé-víśé (RV 4.7.1) = *vi-bhūv-am víśé* (TS 1.5.5);
su-dhī-ō/su-dhīy-a hūv-yam agne.

6.4.87 ¹hu-²śnuv-oh sārva-dhātu-k-e

[A substitute semivowel $y_a\dot{N}$ 81 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] hu- 'sacrifice' (III 1) and [of a polysyllabic 82 verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the present class-marker] Śnu (3.1.732) [not preceded by a conjunct consonant 82, before 1.1.66] the sārva-dhātuka (3.4.113) [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

hu+IAT = hu+Śtu+jhi (2.4.75) = *ju-hu+ati* (1.10; 7.1.4) = *jū-hv-ati* 'they sacrifice';
jū-hv-atu 'let them sacrifice'.

su+IAT = su+Śnu+jhi = su-nu+anti = su-nv-anti 'they distil'; but *āp-nuv-anti* 'they reach/attain'.

6.4.88 bhūv-ah vṛK ¹IUÑ-²IIT-oh

The final increment (1.1.48) vṛK is inserted after the verbal stem bhū 'become' (I 1) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IUÑ (Aorist) and IIT (Perfect) tenses [beginning with a vowel 77].

1. *bhū+IUÑ = dT* (71)+*bhū+eiO* (3.1.44-θ¹ 2.4.77)+*jhi* = *d-bhū-ant* (3.4.100) -
d-bhū-v-ant = *d-bhū-v-anθ* (8.2.23) = *d-bhū-v-an* 'they have become'.

2. $bh\acute{a}+IT = ba-bh\acute{a}+NaL$ (1.8; 3.4.82) = $b\acute{a}-bh\acute{a}-v+NaL = ba-bh\acute{a}-v-a$ 'has become'.

6.4.89 $\bar{u}T=upa-dh\bar{a}-y-\bar{a}h$ góh-aḥ

The substitute phoneme $\bar{u}T$ replaces the penultimate (upa-dh \bar{a} -y- $\bar{a}h$) phoneme [of the verbal $\acute{a}nga$ 1 of] góh- (= gúh- I 944) 'hide' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

The allomorph [góh-] in the rule is to indicate that wherever the verbal stem [gúh-] undergoes a Guná replacement, it is replaced by long / \bar{u} /, not otherwise.

$n\acute{f}-guh+\acute{S}aP+tiP = n\acute{f}-*goh-a-ti$ (7.3.84) = $n\acute{f}-g\bar{u}h-a-ti$ 'hides'; $n\acute{f}-guh+NvuL = n\acute{f}-*goh-aka- = n\acute{f}-g\bar{u}h-aka-$ 'hiding', but $n\acute{f}-guh+IT = n\acute{f}-guh+atus$ (3.4.82) = $n\acute{f}-ju-guh-atuḥ$ 'they have been hiding' where IT l-substitutes being K-IT (1.2.5) do not operate Guná replacement of the light penultimate vowel.

6.4.90 $doṣ-aḥ$ N-aú

[The substitute phoneme $\bar{u}T$ 89 replaces the penultimate phoneme 89 of the $\acute{a}nga$ 1 of the verbal stem] $doṣ-$ (= $duṣ-$ IV 76) 'sin, perish, injure' [before 1.1.66 the causative marker] $N\acute{f}(C)$.

$duṣ+N\acute{f}C = doṣ-í$ (7.3.86) $\acute{S}aP+tiP$ (3.1.68) = $d\bar{u}ṣ-\acute{a}y-a-ti$ 'spoils, corrupts', but $duṣ+GHa\bar{N} = d\acute{o}ṣ-a-$ 'fault'.

6.4.91 $v\bar{a}$ cit-ta-vi-rāg-é

[The substitute phoneme $\bar{u}T$ 89] optionally ($v\bar{a}$) replaces [the penultimate phoneme 89 of the $\acute{a}nga$ 1 of the verbal stem $doṣ-$ 'spoil, sin, perish' 90 before 1.1.66 the causative marker $N\acute{f}$ 90] when denoting a disturbance of the mind (cit-ta-vi-rāg-é).

$cit-t\acute{a}-m doṣ-\acute{a}y-a-ti/d\bar{u}ṣ-\acute{a}y-a-ti$ 'agitates the mind'.

6.4.92 $M-IT-\bar{a}m$ hrasva-ḥ

A substitute short (vowel 1.2.18 hrasvá-ḥ) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the $\acute{a}nga$ of verbal stems which are designated as marked with] M as IT [before 1.1.66 the causative marker $N\acute{f}(C)$ 90].

In the Dhātupāṭha verbal stems beginning with [ghaṭ- I 800] and ending with [phaṇ- I 873] are so designated.

$ghaṭ+N\acute{f}C+\acute{S}aP+tiP = *ghaṭ-í-a-ti$ (7.2.116) = $ghaṭ-\acute{a}y-a-ti$ (7.3.94; 6.1.78) 'brings about'.

6.4.93 CiN- NamuL-or dīrghá-ḥ=anya-tará-syām

A substitute long (vowel: dīrghá-ḥ 1.2.28) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of verbal stems with M as IT marker 92 before 1.1.66 the causative marker NīC 90] co-occurring with CiN or NamuL.

1. $\acute{s}am+NīC+CiN = dīT+\acute{s}am-i+CiN+ta = \acute{s}-\acute{s}am-ḥ+i+ḥ$ (148; 104) = $\acute{s}-\acute{s}am-i/\acute{s}-\acute{s}am-i$ 'has quietened'.
2. $\acute{s}am+NīC+NamuL = \acute{s}am-i+NamuL = \acute{s}am+ḥ+am = \acute{s}am-am \acute{s}am-am/\acute{s}am-am \acute{s}am-am$.

6.4.94 KHāC-i hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ vowel 1.2.18) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the causative marker and stem-forming affix Nī (90) co-occurring with the affix 3.1.1] KHāC (3.2.38ff.).

$divṣ-ant-am tāp-áy-a-ti = divṣdt+tap+NīC+KHāC$ (3.2.39) = $divṣ-dt+tāp-i+KHāC$ (7.2.116) = $divṣ-a+mṡM-t+tāp-i+KHāC$ (3.67) = $divṣ-am-t+tāp+ḥ+d$ (51) = $divṣ-ant-tap-d-$ (8.4.58) = $divṣ-anḥ-tap-d-$ (8.2.23) = $divṣ-an-tap-d-$ 'chastiser of enemies'; similarly $pūr-am dār-áy-a-ti = pura+dār-i+KHāC = pura+mṡM+dār-i+d = pura-n+dār-ḥ-d = puran-dar-d-$ 'destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra'.

6.4.95 hlād-aḥ niṣṭhā-y-ām

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stem] hlād- 'rejoice' (I 27) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] niṣṭhā (1.1.26: Ktā, KtāvatU).

$pra+hlād+Ktā = pra-hlān-nā-$ (8.2.42) = $pra-hlan-nā-$ 'has rejoiced', but $prā-hlād+Nī+ŚaP+tiP = prā-hlād-ay-a-ti$ 'causes to rejoice'.

6.4.96 chād-é-r GHe á-dvi=upa-sarg-a-sya

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stem] chād-í- (= chad+NīC I 290) 'wrap, envelope, cover', not co-occurring with two pre-verb particles [before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1] GHā (3.3.118).

$ūraś chād-áy-a-ti$ 'covers the chest': $uras+ḥ^1+chād-i=GHā = uras-chād-ḥ+d-$ = $uras-chad-d-$; \emptyset replacement of NīC does not operate the governing rule 22 or 1.1.62 as a result of this specific rule. But $sam-upa-cchād-d-$ 'a good coverlet'.

6.4.97 ¹is-²man-³traN-⁴kvī-ṣu ca

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem *chād-i-* 'cover' 96 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] **-is-*, **-man-*, **-traN-* and *Kvī-*.

The first three affixes belong to the Uṇādi group; 1. *chād-i+is* = *chād-Ø+is* = *chād-se-* 'cover, roof'; 2. *chād-i+man* = *chād-Ø+man-* = *chād-man-* 'roof'; 3. *chād-i+traN* = *chād-tra-* 'parasol, umbrella'; 4. *tanu-m chād-dy-a-ti* = *tanu-cchād-Ø+KvīP* = *tanu-cchād-* 'coat of mail, armour'.

6.4.98 ¹gama-²hanÁ-³jána-⁴khána-⁵ghas-ān lópa-ḥ K-Ñ-IT-i án-aÑ-i

Lópa (Ø) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the ánga 1 of the verbal stems] *gam-* 'go' (I 1031), *han-* 'kill, injure' (II 2), *ján-* 'be born' (III 24) IV 41, *khán-* 'dig, excavate' (I 927), *ghas-* 'eat, consume' (I 747) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with marker K or Ñ as IT, excluding *aÑ* [beginning with a vowel 77].

1. *gam+IT* = *gam+átus* = *ja-gam+átus* = *ja-gñm-átus* = *ja-gm-átuh* (1.8; 7.4.60, 62), *ja-gm-áh* but *a-gam-a-t*.
2. *han+IT* = *han+átus/ús* = *ja-ghan+átus/ús* (7.3.55) = *ja-ghn-átuh/ja-ghn-áh*.
Similarly: *ja-jñ-átuh/jajñ-áh*; *ja-jñ-é*, *jajñ-áte/jajñ-áre*; *ca-khn-átuh*; *ja-kə-átuh* but *a-ghas-a(Ñ)-t* = *a-ghas-a-t*.

6.4.99 ¹táni-²pátý-os=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [lópa (Ø) 98 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the ánga 1 of verbal stems] *tán-* 'extend' (VIII 1) and *pát-* 'fly, fall' (I 898) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

vf+tan+IT = *vf-tan+iréC* (3.4.81) = *vf-ta-tan-iréC* = *vf-ta-tñ-ire* 'have extended';
similarly: *pa-pat+md* (1.8; 7.4.60) = *pa-pat+iT-md* (7.2.35) = *pa-pt-i-md* 'we have fallen'.

6.4.100 ¹ghasī-²bhás-or hāL-i ca

[In the domain of Chándas 99 lópa (Ø) 98 replaces the penultimate 99 vowel of the ánga 1 of the verbal stems] *ghas-* 'eat; devour, consume' (I 747) and *bhás-* 'devour' (III 18) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a consonant (*hāL-i*) as well as (*ca*) [with vowels 77, with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

1. $dd+KtiN = ghás+KtiN$ (2.4.39) = $ghṭs+tf = gh-dhf$ (8.2.40) = $g-dhf$ (8.4.53); *samān?* $g-dhf-h = sá-g-dhi-h$ 'eating together, common meal'.
2. $bhas+IOT = bhas+Ślu+tām$ (2.4.75; 3.4.101) = $ba-bhas+tām$ (1 10; 7.4.60; 8.4.54) = $ba-bhṭs+tām = ba-bhṭ+tām$ (8.2.28) = $ba-bh+dhām$ (8.2.40) = $bab-dhām$ (8.4.53). $bhas+Ślu+jhi = ba-bhas+ati = ba-bhṭs-ati = bā-pe-ati$ (8.4.55).

6.4.101 'hu-²jhaL-bhyaḥ=hé-r dhí-h

The substitute element dhí replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the substitute affix 3.1.1] hí (for siP 3.4.87) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] hu- 'sacrifice' (III 1) and those [ending in 1.1.72] a non-nasal consonant (jhaL-bhyaḥ).

1. $hu+IOT = hu+Ślu+hf$ (3.4.87) = $ju-hu+hf$ (1.10) = $ju-hu-dhf$.
2. $bhid+IOT = bhid+ŚnaM+hf = bhi-na-d+hf$ (3.1.78) = $bhi-nṭ-dh+hf$ (111) = $bhi-ndh+dhf = bhi-nd-dhf$; but *i-hf, vap-i-hf, krī-ṇī-hf*.

6.4.102 'śru-²śṛ-ṇú-³pṛ-⁴kṛ-⁵vṛ-bhyas=chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute element dhí replaces hí 101 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] śru-/śṛ-ṇú- 'listen, hear' (I 989), pṛ- 'fill, fill up' (III 4, IX 19), kṛ- 'do' (VIII 10) and vṛ- 'cover' (V 8).

1. $śru-dhf háva-m$ indra (RV 2.11.3) 'listen to the invocation, O Indra!'; 2. $śṛ-ṇu-dhf gir-aḥ$ 'harken to the speech' (RV 8.13.7); 3. $pūr-dhf$ (RV 8.78.10) 'fulfill'; 4. $urá nas kṛ-dhi$ (RV) 'make us wide'; 5. $ápā-vṛ-dhi$ (RV 1.7.6) 'uncover'.

6.4.103 á-Ñ-IT=as=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 102 the substitute element dhí replaces hí 101] even when it is not marked with Ñ as IT (3.4.87-88).

3.4.87 introduces the IOT substitute of [siP] as [hi] without marker P as IT and thereby makes it a Ñ-IT by 1.2.4 while 3.4.88 makes this optional in the case of Chándas. The present rule indicates that in this case also, [dhí] replaces [hí]: *sóma rāran-dhí* (RV 1.91.13) 'O Soma! be pleased' as derived from: $ram+Ślu+dhí = ra-ram+dhí = rā-ran-dhí$ with a long vowel replacing the reduplicated syllable and without Ø replacement of stem-final nasal (37 above). Similarly $yu+Ślu+hf = yu-yo-dhf$, since [hí] is not a Ñ-IT and permits operation of 7.3.86 for guṇa replacement of penultimate light vowel.

6.4.104 CíÑ-aḥ luK

luK (\emptyset^1) replaces [the affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] the Aorist marker CíÑ (3.1.66).

By 3.1.66 CíÑ is introduced after verbal stems before the taÑ triplet [ta] in passive and impersonal constructions. Thus corresponding to *kri-yá-te* 'is done', the Aorist form is: *dT* (71)+*ky*+CíÑ+*ta* = *d-kār-i-ta* (7.2.115) = *d-kār-i+θ¹* = *d-kār-i*; but in *a-kār-i-tarām*, *tar-ām* is not replaced by \emptyset^1 because of the \emptyset^1 replacement of [ta] being present after CíÑ by 1.1.68.

6.4.105 aT-aḥ hé-ḥ

[luK (\emptyset^1) 104 replaces the substitute affix 3.1.1] *hi* [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel a(T).

pac+ŚaP+hi = *pác-a+hi* = *pác-a+θ¹* = *pác-a* 'cook', but *i+θ¹+hi* = *i-hi* 'go'.
svap-i-hi 'lie down'.

6.4.106 uT-as=ca praty-ay-āt=á-saṃyog-a-pūrv-āt

[luK (\emptyset^1) 104] also (ca) replaces [the substitute affix 3.1.1 *hi* introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 1 terminating 1.1.72 in] an affix [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T), not preceded by a conjunct consonant (á-saṃyog-a-purv-āt).

su+IoT = *su+Śnú+hi* = *su-nú+hi* = *su-nú+θ¹* = *su-nú* 'listen, hear'; similarly
tan+IoT = *tan-ú+hi* = *tan-ú+θ¹* = *tan-ú* 'spread, extend', but *āp-nú+hi* = *āp-nu-hi* 'reach'.

6.4.107 lópa-s=ca=a-syá=anya-tará-syām ¹m-²v-oḥ

Lopa (\emptyset) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the affix 3.1.1 class-marker ending in 1.1.72 short uT, not preceded by a conjunct consonant 106 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] m-^o or v-^o.

su+IAT = *su+Śnú+vds/mds* = *su-nu-vds/°-mds* = *su-nθ=vds/mds* = *su-nu-vdh/su-n-vdh*; *su-nu-mdh/su-n-mdh*; *tan+IAT* = *tan-u+vds/mds* = *tan-u-vdh/tan-vdh*; *tan-u-mdh/tan-mdh*.

6.4.108 n̥tya-m̥ kar-ô-te-h̥

[Lópa (ø) 107] necessarily (n̥tya-m̥) replaces [the class marker affix 3.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme °-uT 106, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 1] kar-ú- (= kṛ- VIII 10+ú) 'do' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with v-° or m-° 107].

$kṛ+IAT = kṛ+ú+vds/más = kur-ú+vds/más$ (110) = $kur+ø+vds/más = kur-vdh/kur-máh$. The operation of 8.2.77 which would have replaced short [u] by the long one is blocked by 8.2.79.

6.4.109 y-e ca

[Lópa (ø) 107] replaces the class-marker °-ú- 106 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 1 kṛ- 'do' (VIII 10) 109 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] y-° also (ca) [necessarily 108].

$kṛ+IIN = kṛ+u+yás-t$ (3.4.100) = $kur-u+yás+suT+t$ (110; 3.4.107) = $kur-ø-yás+ø+t = kur-yás-t$ (7.2.79), $kur-yás-tám/kur-y-áh$.

6.4.110 aT-ah̥ uT s̥arva-dhātu-k-e

The substitute phoneme short uT replaces the phoneme short aT [of the verbal ánga kar-ú- 108 ending in 1.1.72 the class marker °-ú- 106 before 1.1.66] s̥arvadhātuka [affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

$kṛ+ú+tás/ánti$ (Ñ-IT 1.2.4) = $kar-ú+tás/ánti$ (7.3.84) = $kur-u+tás/kur-v-ánti$, but $kar-ô-ti$ (P-IT); similarly $kar-ú+hf = ku-rú+ø$ (106).

6.4.111 ¹Śná=²as-or aT=lopá-h̥

Lópa (ø) replaces the short vowel a(T) of the present class marker Śna(M 3.1.78) and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before 1.1.66 s̥arvadhātuka 110 affixes with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

1. $rudh+IAT = rudh+ŚnáM+tás/ánti = ru-na-dh+tás/ánti = ru-nø-dh+tás/ánti = rundh+dhás$ (8.2.40) = $rund-dháh$ (8.3.15; 4.53)/ $rundh-ánti$.

2. $as+IAT = as+ø^1+tás/ánti = øs-táh/øs-ánti$.

6.4.112 ¹Śnā=²abhy-ās-tay-or āT-ah

[Lópa (Ø) 111 replaces] the phoneme long ā(T) occurring in the present class marker Śnā (3.1.81) or [as ānga 1 final 1.1.52 of] a reduplicated verbal theme [before 1.1.66 sārvaḥātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

1. $kri+IAT = kri+Śnā+āte$ (3.4.79, 7.1.4) = $kri-ṇā+āte$ (8.4.2) = $kri-ṇØ+āte$ 'they buy'; $kri+IOT = kri+Snā+dātam = kri-ṇā+dātam = kri-ṇØ+dātam = kri-ṇ-dātam$ 'let them purchase'.
2. $dā+IAT = dā+Ślu+āte = da-dā+āte$ (1.10; 7.4.59) = $dā-dØ+āte$ 'they give', $dā-d-ātam$ 'let them give'.

6.4.113 ¹haL-i=²ā-GHO-h

The substitute phoneme ¹ replaces [the phoneme long ā occurring in the present class marker Śnā or as ānga 1 final 1.1.52 of a reduplicated verbal theme 112] excluding those denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) [before 1.1.66 sārvaḥātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant [haL-i] [with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

1. $kri+IAT = kri+Śnā+tās/thās/vās/mās = kri-ṇā+tās/thās/vās/mās = kri-ṇi-tāh/thāh/vāh/māh$.
2. $mā+Ślu+té = ma-mā-té$ (1.10; 7.4.59) = $mi-mā-té$ (7.4.76) = $mi-mi-té$, $mi-mā+āte = mi-m-āte$ (112). $dā+Ślu+tās = da-dā+tās = da-dØ+tās$ (112) = $dat-tāh$ (8.4.55).

6.4.114 iT=daridra-sya

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the phoneme long ā(T) 112 occurring as ānga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] daridrā- 'be needy' (II 64) [before 1.1.66 sārvaḥātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

$dari-drā+IAT = dari-drā+Ø+vās/mās = dari-dri-vāh/māh$ but $dari-drā-ti(P)$.

6.4.115 bhīy-ah=anya-tarā-syām

[The substitute phoneme iT 114] optionally (anya-tarā-syām) replaces [the ānga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] bhī- 'fear' (III 2) [before 1.1.66 sārvaḥātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

$bhT+LAT = bhT+\acute{S}lu+t\acute{d}s/th\acute{d}s = bi-bhT+t\acute{d}s/th\acute{d}s$, $bi-bhi-t\acute{d}s/th\acute{d}s$ but $bhT+y\acute{d}K+te = bhT-y\acute{d}-te$ since $[y\acute{a}K]$ is $\acute{a}rdhadh\acute{a}tuka$.

6.4.116 $j\acute{a}-h\bar{a}-te-s=ca$

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 114] also (ca) [optionally 115 replaces the $\acute{a}nga$ 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] $h\bar{a}$ - 'abandon' (III 8) [before 1.1.66 $\acute{s}\bar{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka$ 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or \acute{N} as IT 98].

$h\bar{a}+LAT = h\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+t\acute{d}s/th\acute{d}s = j\acute{a}-h\bar{a}+t\acute{d}s/th\acute{d}s = j\acute{a}-hT-t\acute{d}s/th\acute{d}s$ (113),
 $j\acute{a}-hi-t\acute{d}s/th\acute{d}s$ but $j\acute{a}-h\bar{a}-ti(P)$.

6.4.117 \bar{a} ca h-aú

The substitute phoneme \bar{a} , in addition to (ca) [short i(T) 114 optionally 115 replaces the $\acute{a}nga$ 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem $h\bar{a}$ - 'abandon' (III 8) before 1.1.66 $\acute{s}\bar{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka$ 110 affix 3.1.1] hi .

$h\bar{a}+LOT = h\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+h\acute{f} = j\acute{a}-h\bar{a}-h\acute{f}/j\acute{a}-hi-h\acute{f}$ (116)/ $j\acute{a}-hT-h\acute{f}$ (113) (1.10; 7.4.59,62).

6.4.118 $l\acute{o}pa-\grave{h}=y-i$

Lopa (\emptyset) replaces [the $\acute{a}nga$ 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem $h\bar{a}$ - 'abandon' (III 8) 116 before 1.1.66 a $\acute{s}\bar{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka$ 110 affix 3.1.1 beginning with] $y-$ * [with marker K or \acute{N} as IT].

$h\bar{a}+l\acute{I}\acute{N} = h\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+y\acute{d}suT+suT+t\acute{a}m$ (3.4.103,107) = $j\acute{a}-h\bar{a}+y\acute{d}\emptyset+\emptyset+t\acute{a}m$ (7.2.79) =
 $j\acute{a}-h-y\acute{d}-t\acute{a}m$; $j\acute{a}-h-y-\acute{u}\acute{h}$ (1.98).

6.4.119 ${}^1GHU={}^2as$ -or $eT=h-aú=abhy-\acute{a}s-a-lop\acute{a}-s=ca$

The substitute vowel $e(T)$ replaces [the $\acute{a}nga$ 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) and as - 'be' (II 55) [before 1.1.66 $\acute{s}\bar{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka$ 110 affix 3.1.1] hi and lopa (\emptyset) replaces the reduplicated syllable ($abhy-\acute{a}s-a-lop\acute{a}-h$).

1. $d\bar{a}+LOT = d\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+h\acute{f} = da-d\bar{a}+h\acute{f} = \emptyset\emptyset-de-h\acute{f} = de-h\acute{f}$ 'give'.
2. $as+LOT = as+\emptyset^1+h\acute{f} = ae+h\acute{f} = e+h\acute{f}$ (1.97) = $e+d\bar{h}\acute{f}$ (22, 101).

6.4.120 aT-aḥ eka-haL-madhy-é=án-ādeśa=āde-r Iṭ-i

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119] replaces the short vowel a(T) which occurs between single consonants (eka-haL-madhy-é) [in a verbal āṅga 1] whose initial is not replaced (án-ādeśa-āde-h) (in the reduplicated syllable 1.8) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] Iṭ (Perfect) [with marker K or Ñ as IT 98 and Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

$raṇ+iṭ = ra-raṇ+dtus/ús$ (1.8) = ØØ- $reṇ-dtus/ús$ = $reṇ-dtuḥ/úḥ$ 'have resounded', but $ra-rān-a$ (+NaL). So also $ram+iṭ = ra-ram+éś/āte/iréO$ = ØØ- $rem-é/āte/iré$.

Counter-examples: $rās+iṭ = ra-rās+é/āte/iréO$ = $ra-rās-é/āte/iré$, since by 7.4.59 the short vowel replaces the long one in the reduplicated syllable; similarly $kaṇ+iṭ = ca-kaṇ+dtus/ús$ through the operation of 7.4.62.

The constraint on the initial replacement of the verbal theme before Iṭ is for the purpose of applying this rule to situations where this replacement is conditioned by Iṭ itself: 1.64-65 which are general rules do not come under this operation: $śah+iṭ = sah+iṭ = sa-sah+éś = seh-é$ 'has endured', and similarly $ṇam+iṭ = nam+iṭ = na-nam+dtus/ús = nem-dtus/ús$ since the replacement of retroflex initials by corresponding dentals is not specifically related to Iṭ alone.

6.4.121 thaL-i ca sa=iṭ-i

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119 replaces the short vowel a(T) which occurs between single consonants 120 of a verbal āṅga 1 whose initial is not replaced in a reduplicated syllable before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of Iṭ 120] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the Iṭ substitute] thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṭ [with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

$pac+iṭ-thaL = pa-pāc+i-thaL$ = ØØ- $pāc-i-tha$ 'hast cooked', but when not so co-occurring with [iṭ]: $pa=pāc+tha = pa-pāk-tha$ (8.2.80).

6.4.122 ¹tṛ-²phálÁ-³bhajÁ-⁴tráp-as=ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119 replaces the short vowel a(T) of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stems] tṛ- 'cross, traverse' (I 1018), phál- 'fructify' (I 563), bhaj- 'share, serve' (I 1047) and tráp- 'be ashamed' (I 399) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of Iṭ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98] as well as (ca) [before 1.1.66 thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṭ 121].

1. $tṛ+iṭ = ta-tar+dtus/ús$ (7.4.11) = ØØ- $ter-dtus/ús$ = $ter-dtuḥ/úḥ$ 'have crossed over'; $tér-i-tha$. Similarly: 2. $phel-dtuḥ/úḥ$; $phél-i-tha$ 'have/hast fructified'; 3. $bhej-dtuḥ/úḥ$; $bhéj-i-tha$ 'have/hast shared or served'; 4. $trep-dtuḥ/úḥ$; $trép-i-tha$ 'have/hast become ashamed'.

Exception to 120 with reference to the constraint [án-śdeśa=ādi-].

6.4.123 rādh-aḥ himśā-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 110 replaces the vowel ā(T)112 of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stem] rādh- (IV 84) when designating the sense of 'hurt, injury' (himsā-y-ām) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ 98 and also before thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121 with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

dpa+rādh+IIṬ = dpa-ra+rādh/atus/us/i-thaL = dpa-redh-ātuh/uh/dpa-redh-i-tha
'have/hast injured'.

In the Dhātupāṭha the verbal stem [rādh-] is defined as [rādhĀ ā-kar-ma-k-āt vṛd-dh-au=evā] (intransitive) 'increase' only (IV 71) while [rādhĀ sām-sid-dh-au] occurs as (V 16) and [rādhĀ himśā-sam-rād-dhy-oh IV 84]. The association of [himsā] with (V 16) is justified by the general theory of [an-eka-artha-tva] 'multiple senses of verbal stems' since [rādh-] which has this meaning has an in-fixed nasal increment before l-substitutes of IIṬ (7.1.61).

6.4.124 vā ¹jṛ-²bhrāmŪ-śtrās-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119] optionally (vā) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 120 of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stems] jṛ- 'become old, age' (IV 22; IX 24), bhrām- 'ramble, err' (IV 96), and trās- 'tremble' (IV 10) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98 and Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119 and before thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121, with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

1. *jṛ+IIṬ = ja-jar+ātus/ús (7.4.11) = ØØ-jer-ātus/ús = jer-ātuh/áh/jér-i-tha*
'have/hast grown old or senile'.
2. *bhrem=ātuh/áh/bhrém-i-tha* 'erred, rambled'.
3. *trep-ātuh/áh/trép-i-tha* 'trembled'.

6.4.125 phaṇ-ām ca saptā-n-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119 optionally 124 replaces the short vowel a(T) 120 of the āṅga 1 of the class of verbal stems consisting of] seven (saptā-n-ām) beginning with phaṇ- 'go' (I 873-79) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT and before thaL co-occurring with the initial increment iṬ 121 with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

The seven verbal stems are I 873-79: 873 *phāṇ-* 'go, move', 874 *rāḥ-* 'shine', 875 *bhrāḥ-/876 bhrās-/877 bhīś-* 'shine', 878 *syām-* 'sound' and 879 *svām-* 'sound'.

1. *phēṇ-ātuh/phen-ūh/phēn-i-tha; pa-phāṇ-ātuh/ūh/pa-phāṇ-i-tha.*

2. *rej-ātuh/ra-rāḥ-ātuh; rēj-i-tha/ra-rāḥ-i-tha.*

3. *bhreḥ-ē/ba-bhrāḥ-ē; bhreḥ-irē/ba-bhrāḥ-irē.*

4. *bhres-ē/ba-bhrās-ē; bhres-irē/ba-bhrās-irē.*

5. *bhles-ē/ba-bhlās-ē; bhles-irē/ba-bhlās-irē.*

6. *syem-ātuh/sa-syam-ātuh; syēm-i-tha/sas-syēm-i-tha.*

7. *svem-ātuh/sa-svan-ātuh; svēm-i-tha/sa-svēm-i-tha.*

6.4.126 ná ¹śās-²dādA-³v=ādi-⁴guṇā-ṇ-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119] does not (ná) replace [the ānga 1 vowel a(T) 120 of verbal stems] śās- 'cut' (I 763), dad- 'give' (I 17), those beginning with the phoneme v-^{*} (v-ādi-^{*}) and where a(T) is the result of a Guṇā replacement [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98 and before thaL co-occurring with the initial increment iṬ 121 and Ø] does not [replace the reduplicated syllable 119].

1. *vf-śas+IIṬ = vf-śa-śas-ātuh; vf-śa-śas-i-tha* 'dissected'. Similarly: 2. *da-dad-irē* 'have given'; 3. *va-vam-ātuh, va-vām-i-tha* 'have vomited'; 4. *vf+ēḥ+atus = vf-śa-śar=ātuh; vf-śa-śar-i-tha* 'have/hast injured'.

6.4.127 árvaṇ-as tṚ=ś-sAU=ś-nañ-ah

The substitute element tṚ replaces [the ānga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] árvaṇ- 'courser' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] excluding the sUP triplet sU, provided the stem does not co-occur with the privative particle náñ (ś-nañ-ah).

árvaṇ+au/Jas/am = árvaṭṚ+au/Jas/am = árva-nyM-t+au/Jas/am (7.1.70) = *dárvaṇi-au/ah/am* but *árvaṇ+sU = árvaṇ+sU* (8) = *árvaṇ+Ø* (1.68) = *árva+Ø* (8.2.7) = *árva*; similarly *dn-arvā, dn-arvaṇ-au/ah/am*.

árvaṇ+ÑIP (4.1.5) = *árvaṭṚ+I = árvaṭ-ṛ; árvaṇ+dñ = árvaṭ-d-*.

6.4.128 maghāvā bahulā-m

[The substitute element tṚ 127] variously (bahulā-m) replaces [the ānga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] maghā-van- 'n.pr. of Indra, the liberal' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1].

maghā-van+sU/au/Jas/am = maghā-vatṚ+sU/au/Jas/am = maghāvā/ maghā-vān, maghā-vān-au/ah/am; maghā-vant-au/ah/amm; maghāvān+

$\acute{S}as/\bar{T}\bar{a} = magh\acute{o}n-ah/\bar{a}$; $magh\acute{a}-vat-ah/\bar{a}$. $magh\acute{a}van+\bar{N}IP = magh\acute{o}n-/\bar{a}$
 $magh\acute{a}-vat-/\bar{a}$; $magh\acute{a}-van+\bar{a}N = m\bar{a}gha-van-\bar{a}/m\bar{a}gha-vat-\bar{a}$.

6.4.129 BHA-sya

(The operations introduced hereafter, up to the end of this chapter apply to the pre-affixal stem 1.4.18-19 designated by the technical term) BHA.

This is a governing rule and the expression [BHA-sya] will recur in all subsequent rules in this chapter.

6.4.130 pād-áh pād-

[The substitute morpheme] pād- replaces [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pād- 'foot' [occurring at the end of a compound 5.4.138-40 before 1.1.66 affixes beginning with a vowel or y-° 1.4.18 other than those designated by the t.t. sUT̥ or Śi 1.1.42-43].

The t.t. [BHA] represents a sub-section of [āṅga] before weak affixes [ā-sarva-nāma-āthāna] beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° or those ending in °-t- or °-s- before affixes having the sense of the affix matUP (1.4.18-19) and naturally fall within the governing rule 1 of this major section.

$dv-au\ pād-au\ a-sy\acute{a} = dvi-pād\ (5.4.140) + \acute{S}as/\bar{T}\bar{a}/\bar{N}e = dvi-pād-ah/\bar{a}/e$; $dv-au\ dv-au\ pād-au\ d\acute{a}-d\bar{a}-ti = dvi-pād+vuN\ (5.4.1) + \bar{T}\bar{a}P = dv\bar{t}-pad-ik-\bar{a}m\ (7.3.44)\ d\acute{a}-d\bar{a}-ti$ 'gives two quarters each'; $vy\bar{a}ghr\acute{a}-sya\ pād-au\ iva\ p\bar{a}dau\ a-sy\acute{a} = vy\bar{a}ghr\acute{a}-pād-$, $t\bar{a}sya\ dpatya-m = vy\bar{a}ghr\acute{a}-pād+ya\bar{N}\ (5.4.138; 4.1.105) = va\bar{y}\bar{a}ghra-pad-ya-h\ (7.3.3)$.

6.4.131 vāsO-ḥ sam-pra-sār-ṇa-m

Vocalization of the semivowel (sam-pra-sār-ṇa-m 1.1.45) [of the affix 3.1.1] °-vāsU- (= KvāsU 3.2.107) [occurring as āṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of a BHA stem 129] takes place.

$vid+v\bar{a}sU+\acute{S}as/\bar{T}\bar{a}/\bar{N}e = vid-\acute{v}\bar{s}-\bar{a}\bar{s}/\bar{a}/e$; $vid-v\bar{a}s+\bar{N}IP = vid-\acute{v}\bar{s}-/\bar{a}$; (1.108; 8.3.59).
 $vid-v\bar{a}s+\bar{a}N = vai-\acute{d}\bar{u}\bar{s}-\bar{a}$.

6.4.132 vāh-ah ūTH

[The sam-pra-sār-ṇa 131 substitute element] ūTH replaces [the semivowel 131 of āṅga 1 final 1.1.52] °vāh- [of a BHA 129 stem].

$pra\bar{s}th\bar{a}-m\ vdh-a-ti = pra\bar{s}th\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}^1+vah+\bar{N}v\bar{i}\ (3.2.64) = pra\bar{s}th\bar{a}-v\bar{a}h+\acute{S}as/\bar{T}\bar{a}/\bar{N}e = pra\bar{s}th\bar{a}+\bar{\theta}TH\bar{a}h+ah/\bar{a}/e = pra\bar{s}th\bar{a}-\bar{a}\bar{u}-h-ah/\bar{a}/e\ (1.89, 108)$.

6.4.133 ¹śvā(n)=²yúva(n)=³maghón-ām á-taddhit-e

[Vocalization of the semivowel 131 of the BHA 129 nominal stems 4.1.1] śvān- 'dog', yúvan- 'youth' and maghā-van- 'bountiful, n.pr. of Indra' replaces [the semivowel v 131 before 1.1.66 non-taddhitá affixes 3.1.1].

1. *svān+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *śuan+as/ā/e* = *śún-ah/ā/e* (1.108); similarly 2. *yúvan+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *yu-uan+as/ā/e* = *yún-ah/ā/e* (1.101, 108); 3. *maghón-ah/ā/e*. But *svān+aÑ* (4.3.154) = *śáduvaθ-a-* (7.3.4).

The present rule operates only on these stems ending in /n/: *yuva-tf* (4.1.77)+*Śas* = *yuvat-f-h* (1.102).

6.4.134 aT=lupá-h an-ah

Lópa (Ø) replaces the short vowel a(T) [of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] °-an [of a BHA stem 129].

rāj-an+Śas/Tā/Ñe = *rāj-θñ-ah/ā/e*; *rāj-an+ÑTP* = *rāj-θñ-ī*.

6.4.135 ¹śa-pūrva-²hán-³dhṛ-tá-rājñ-ām áN-i

[Lópa (Ø) replaces the short vowel a(T) 134 of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °-an 134 of nominal stems] when it is preceded by the phoneme /ṣ/ or [of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-hán- 'destroyer, slayer' and dhṛ-tá-rāj-an- 'n.pr.' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áN.

1. *ukṣ-án+áN* (4.1.92) = *aukṣan+á* = *aukṣ-θñ-d-* (8.4.1) = *aukṣ-n-d-* 'descendant of Uksán' but *takṣ-an+Ñyá* (4.1.151) = *tākṣ-an-yá*.
2. *bhrūṇa-hán+áN* = *bhrauṇagh-n-d-* (7.3.54) 'descendant of Bhrūṇa-hán'.
3. *dhṛ-tá-rāj-an+áN* = *dhār-ta-rājñ-d-* 'descendant of Dhṛ-tá-rāj-an'. Exception to 144 and 167 below.

6.4.136 vibhāsā ¹Ñi-²Śy-oh

[Lópa (Ø) 134] optionally (vibhāsā) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 135 of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °-an 135 of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] Ñi (locative singular) and Śī (nominative-accusative neuter dual 7.1.19).

rāj-an+Ñi = *rāj-θñ-i* = *rāj-an-i/rāj-ñ-i*.
śām-an+Śī = *śām-θ-n-i* = *śām-an-ī/śām-n-ī*.

6.4.137 ná saṁ-yog-āt=¹vā=²m=ant-āt

[Lópa (Ø) 134] does not (na) replace [the short vowel a(T) 135 of the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °an 135 of a BHA stem 129] if it is preceded by a conjunct consonant (saṁ-yog-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] °-v or °m [before 1.1.68 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-°, 1.4.18].

d̥thar-van+Śas/Tā/Ñe = *d̥thar-van-ah/ā/e*; *d̥thar-van+d̥N* = *āthar-van-d̥-*
brāh-man+Śas/Tā/Ñe = *brāh-man-ah/ā/e*; *brāh-man+d̥N* = *brāh-man-d̥-*, but
id̥ke-an+Śas/Tā/Ñe = *id̥ke-ṇ-ah/ā/e* (135), similarly *sām-n-d̥-*.

6.4.138 ac-aḥ

[Lópa (Ø) replaces the short vowel a(T) 135 of the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] °ac [of a BHA stem 129 before affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

[°-ac-] here denotes the verbal stem [anc-] with Ø replacement of the nasal phoneme (24 above). *dād̥hi añc-a-ti* = *dād̥hi+añc+Kv̥iP* = *dād̥hi+aṇc+Ø* (24; 1.67)+*Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *dād̥hi+ṇc-as/ā/e* = *dād̥hi-c-aḥ/ā/e*; *dād̥hi+ac+d̥N* = *dād̥hi-c-ā-* (3.138).

6.4.139 úd-aḥ īT

The substitute long vowel ī(T) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 135 of áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 °ac- of a BHA stem 129 after 1.1.67 the preverb particle] úd-° [before 1.1.68 affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

úd+añc-a-ti = *ud+anc+Kv̥iN* (3.2.59) = *úd-anc+Ø+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *úd-aṇc+as/ā/e* (3.138) = *úd-ṇc-ah/ā/e*. *úd-anc+kha* (5.4.8) = *ud-ṇc-ṣṇa-* 'northern'; *úd-anc+yāT* (4.2.101) = *ud-ṇc-yā-* 'being or living in the north'.

6.4.140 āT-aḥ dhātō-ḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 134 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] long vowel ā(T) of a verbal (dhātō-ḥ) [BHA stem 129 before 1.1.68 affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

kīlāla-m p̥ṣ-a-ti = *kīlāla+pā+viC* = *kīlāla-pā-* 'drinking the beverage of gods'
 +*Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *kīlāla-p̥ṣ-as/ā/e*.

6.4.141 mántre-ṣu āN̄-i ādé-r ātmán-aḥ

In the Mántra section of the Veda [lópa (Ø) 135 replaces] the initial (ādé-ḥ) phoneme [of the nominal stem 4.1.1] ātmán- 'self' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] āN̄ (instrumental singular = Ṭā).

ātmán+āN̄ = *ātmán-ā* = *āimán-ā* but elsewhere *ātmán-ā*.

6.4.142 ti vimśaté-r Ḍ-IT-i

[Lópa (Ø) 135 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] '-ti [of the BHA stem 129] vimśa-tí- 'twenty' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ḍ as IT.

vimśa-ty-ā krI-tá-ḥ = *vimśa-tí+ḌvuN* (5.1.24) = *vimśa+ØØ+vuN* = *vimśa+aka-* (7.1.1) = *vimś-Ø-aka-* (148) = *vimś-aka-* 'bought, with twenty pieces'. *vimśa-té-ḥ pūr-ana-ḥ* = *vimśa-tí+ḌāT* (5.2.48) = *vimśa+ØØ+d-* = *vimś-ā-* '20th'.

6.4.143 ṬE-ḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 135 replaces the ánga 1 final syllable 1.1.52 of a BHA 129 stem] (beginning with the last vowel ṬE-ḥ 1.1.64) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ḍ as IT 142].

kú-mud-a+ḌmatUP (4.2.87) = *kú-mud-Ø+matUP* = *kú-mud-vat-* (= **kú-mut+vat* 8.4.56, being a BHA stem by 1.4.19; 8.2.10) 'abounding in lotuses'. Similarly *vetasá-/nadá+ḌmatUP* *vetas-vát-/nad-vát*. *tríṃśát-ā krI-tá-ḥ* = *tríṃśát+ḌvuN* (5.1.24) = *tríṃś-ØØ+aka-* = *tríṃś-aka-* 'purchased for thirty pieces'.

6.4.144 n-as taddhit-é

[Lópa (Ø) 135 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable beginning with the last vowel 143 of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme /n/ [before 1.1.66] a taddhitá (4.1.76) [affix 3.1.1].

agni-sarman+iN̄ (4.1.96) = *āgni-sarmØØ+i* = *āgni-sarm-i* 'descendant of Agni-sarman'.

6.4.145 áhn-as=¹Ṭá-²kh-or evá

[Lópa (Ø) 134 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable beginning with the last vowel 143 of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ahan- 'day' only (evá) [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1] Ṭa(C 5.4.91) and kha (5.1.87).

dv-é dhan-i sam-á-hy-t-e = *dví+dhan+ṬaC* (5.4.91) = *dví+ahṭṭ+d-* = *dvvy-ah-d-* 'a period of two days'. *dv-é dhan-i adh-f-ṣ-ta-h/bhy-t-d-h/bha-t-d-h/bhāv-f* = *dví+dhan+kha* = *dvvy-ahṭṭ-śna-h* = *dvvy-ah-śna-h* 'accomplished in two days', but *ahn-d nīr-vrt-ta-m* = *dhan+ṭhaṆ* (5.1.79) = *ahṭṭn-ikā-m* 'diurnal'.

6.4.146 o-r guṇá-h

Substitute Guṇá (1.1.2: a,e,o) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] /u/ [of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 144 affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y-^a 1.4.18].

babhrú+yaṆ (4.1.106) = *bābhro+ya* = *bābhraṇ-ya-* (1.79) 'descendant of Babhrú'. So also *mādhū+yaṆ* = *mādhav-ya-* 'brahmin descendant of Mādhū'; *śaṅkú+yāT* (5.1.2) = *śaṅko+yāT* = *śaṅkav-yā* 'fit for a peg'.

6.4.147 ḍh-e lópa-h á-kadrṇ-āḥ

Substitute lópa (Ø) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme-class u 146 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 146 affix 3.1.1] ḍha (= éya- 7.1.2) excluding that of °kadrū 'n.pr.'

kamaṇḍalu+ḍhaṆ = *kāmaṇḍalṭ+eya-* = *kāmaṇḍal-eya-* 'descendant of Kamaṇḍalu' but *kadrū+ḍhāK* (4.1.120) = *kādro+eyā-* (146, 7.2.118) = *kādraṇ-eyā-* (1.78) 'descendant of Kadrū'.

6.4.148 y-a-sya ṬT-i ca

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.66 phonemes /i/ or /a/ of BHA stems 129 before 1.1.66] the phoneme long Ṭ(T) as well as (ca) [taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y-^a 1.4.18].

1. °-i:ṭ : *dākṣa-ya āpatya-m strī* = *dākṣa+iṆ* (4.1.95)+*ṆīṢ* (4.1.65) = *dāḱṣṭ-i+f* = *dāḱṣṭ-f* 'female descendant of Dākṣa'. *dulī+ḍhāK* (4.1.122) = *dauṭṭ-eyā-* = *dauṭ-eyā-* 'descendant of Duli'.
2. °-a:ṭ : *dākṣa+iṆ* = *dāḱṣṭ-i-* 'descendant of Dākṣa'. *kumārā+ṆīP* (4.1.20) = *kumārṭ+f* (1.161) 'maiden'.

6.4.149 ¹sūrya-²tiṣyā-³agástya-⁴mátsya-n-ān y-ah upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the ánga 1] penultimate (upa-dhāy-āḥ) phoneme /y/ [of the BHA stems 129] sūrya- 'sun', tiṣyā- 'n.pr. of an asterism or lunar mansion', agástya- 'n.pr. of a seer', and mátsya- 'fish' [before 1.1.66 the phoneme long ɪ(T) 148 as well as taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y- " 1.4.18].

sūry-ena ēka-dik = *sūrya+āN* (4.1.112)+*NiP* (4.1.15) = *saurýθ+ā+I* (148) = *saurý+θ+I* (148) = *saurθ-f* = *saur-f* *balāka* 'a crane moving in the direction of the sun'; similarly *tiṣy-ena yuk-tā-h kālā-h* = *tiṣyā+āN* = *taisýθ+ā* (148) = *tais-ā-h*; *agástya-sya āpatyam strf* = *agástya+āN+NiP* = *āgast-f*; *mátsya+NfS* = *māts-f*.

6.4.150 haL-as taddhitá-sya

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the ánga 1 penultimate phoneme y 149 of a BHA stem 129 occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant (hdaL-ah) belonging to a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1 before 1.1.66 the long phoneme ɪ(T)148].

gargā+yaN (4.1.105) = *gārgθ-ya+NiP* (4.1.16) = *gārg-θθ+f* (148, 150) 'female descendant of Gargá', but *kārikā+dhdK* (4.1.120)+*NiP* (4.1.15) = *kdārikθ+eyā+I* = *kdār-ik-eyθ-f* (6.4.148).

vaid-yā-sya bhāryā = *vaid-ya+NfS* (4.1.48) = *vaid-θ-θ-f* = *vaid-f*.

6.4.151 āpat-ya-sya ca taddhit-é=ān-āT-i

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the penultimate phoneme y 149] of a patronymic (āpat-ya-sya) [affix 3.1.1 occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 150 of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66] a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1] which does not begin with the long vowel ā(T) (ān-āT-i).

gārg-ya (4.1.105)+*vuN* (*sam-āh-ē* 4.2.37) = *gārg+θa+vuN* = *gārg-θ-aka-* = *gārg-aka-* 'a group of Gargá's descendants', but *gārg-ya+phaK* (4.1.101) = *gārg-yθ+āyaṇd-* (148) = *garg-y-āyaṇd-* (8.4.2) 'descendant of Gārgya' and *kārik-eyā+iN* = *kārikeyθ+iN* = *kārik-ey-i-* 'gotra descendant of Kārikeyá'.

6.4.152 ¹Kyá-²Cvy-os=ca

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the penultimate phoneme y 149 of a patronymic affix 152 occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 150 of a BHA stem 129] also

(ca) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] Kyá (= KyáC 3.1.8. KyáÑ 3.1.11) and Cvi.

1. Kyá: *átmán-ah vāts-yam ecch-ā-ti* = *vāts-ya+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *vātsθa+KyáC+ā=ti vāts-ryā-ā-ti* (7.4.33) = *vāts-ryā-ti* (1.87).
2. Cvi: *ā-vāts-ya-h vāts-ya-h bhāu-a-ti* = *vāts-ya+Cvi+bhāu-a-ti* = *vāts-θa+Cvi+bhāu-a-ti* = *vāts-f=bhāu-a-ti* (7.4.32).

6.4.153 bilvā-ka=ādi-bhyas=cha-sya luK

luK (θ¹) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] cha (4.2.90) [introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with bilvā-ka- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 taddhitā 151 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y- 1.4.18].

This is a sub-group included in the class of nominal stems headed by nadā- 'reed' with final increment [kuK 4.2.91] before the affix [cha]. *bilv-ā-h a-syāñ s-dnti* = *bilvā+kuK+cha* (4.2.91)+TāP = *bilva-kθ-fya+ā* = *bilva-k-fyθ-ā*; *id-syāñ bhāu-a-h* = *bilvā+kuK+cha+TāP+dN* = *bilva-kθ-fya+ā+dN* = *bilva-k-θ+θ+dN* (64) = *bailva-k-ā* 'growing in a Bilvā grove or forest'.

6.4.154 tu-r ¹iṣṭha(N)=²imā(niC)-³tyas-su

[Lópa (θ) 147 replaces the ānga 1 final 1.1.52 affix 3.1.1] °-tṛ- (= tṛN, tṛC) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imāniC- and °-tyasUN.

1. *kṛ+tṛ+iṣṭhaN* = *kar+θ¹+iṣṭhaN* = *kār-iṣṭha* 'doing most'.
2. *duh+tṛC+tyasUN+N̄iP* (4.1.6) = *doh+tṛf+tyas+T* (7.3.84) = *dōh+θθ+tyas-T* = *dōh-tyas-T* 'yielding more milk'.

The inclusion of affix [iman̄iC] is for the following rules; the other two occur in the Chāndas (5.3.59),

6.4.155 TE-ḥ

[Lópa (θ) 147 replaces the ānga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable of a BHA stem 129] beginning with the last vowel (1.1.64) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imāniC- and °-tyasUN 154].

laghā+iṣṭhaN/imāniC/tyasUN = *ldgh-iṣṭha-/lagh-imān-/ldgh-tyas* 'shortest, lightest/shortness, lightness/shorter, lighter.

6.4.156 ¹sthūlá-²dūrā-³yúva(n)=⁴hrasvá-⁵kṣip-rá-
⁶kṣudrá-ṇ-ām yāN=ādi páram pūrva-sya ca guṇá-ḥ

[Lópa (0) 147 replaces ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] beginning with a semi-vowel (yāN=ādi pára-m) [of the BHA stems 129] sthūlá- 'gross', dūrā- 'far', yúva- 'young', hrasvá- 'short', kṣip-rá- 'rapid' and kṣud-rá- 'small' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imāniC- and °=ṭyasUN 154] while guṇá (1.1.2) replaces the preceding [vowel iK 1.1.3].

1. *sthū-lá-iṣṭhaN/imāniC/ṭyasUN* = *stho+00-iṣṭha/imān/ṭyas* = *sthóv-iṣṭha=/
sthav-imān-/stháv-ṭyas*- 'grossest/grossness/grosser'; similarly: 2. *dāv-iṣṭha-/
dáv-imān-/dáv-ṭyas*- 'farthest/far/farther'; 3. *yáv-iṣṭha-/yav-imān-/yáv-ṭyas*-
'youngest/youth/younger'; 4. *hráo-iṣṭha-/hras-imān-/hráo-ṭyas*- 'shortest/
shortness/shorter'; 5. *kṣép-iṣṭha-/kṣep-imān-/kṣép-ṭyas*- 'fastest/fastness/faster';
6. *kṣód-iṣṭha-/kṣod-imān-/kṣód-ṭyas*- 'smallest/smallness/smaller'.

6.4.157 ¹priy-á-²sthi-rá-³sphi-rá-⁴urú-⁵bahu-lá-⁶gurú-
⁷vṛd-dhá-⁸tṛp-rá-⁹dīrghá-¹⁰vṛndārakā-ṇ-ām ¹pra-²stha-³spha-
⁴var-⁵bañhi-⁶gar-⁷varṣi-⁸trap-⁹drāghi-¹⁰vṛnd-ā-ḥ

The substitute morpheme elements pra-, stha-, spha-, var-, bañhi-, gar-, varṣi-, trap-, drāghi- and vṛndá- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the nominal BHA stems 129] priy-á- 'dear', sthi-rá- 'firm', sphi-rá- 'fat', urú- 'broad, wide, large', bahu-lá- 'thick', gurú- 'heavy', vṛd-dhá- 'increased', tṛp-rá- 'satisfying', dīrghá- 'long' and vṛndāraka- 'excellent' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imāniC and ṭyasUN 154].

1. *priy-á-iṣṭhaN/imāniC/ṭyasUN* = *pra+iṣṭha-/imān/ṭyas* = *pr-é-ṣṭha=/
pre-mān-/pr-é-ṭyas*- 'dearest/deariness/dearer'; similarly: 2. *sthirá-: sth-é-ṣṭha-/
sth-e-mān-/sth-é-ṭyas*- 'firmest/firmness/firmer'; 3. *sphi-rá-: sph-é-ṣṭha-/
sph-e-mān-/sph-é-ṭyas*- 'fattest/fatness/fatter'; 4. *urú-: vár-iṣṭha-/vari-mān/
vár-ṭyas*- 'largest/largeness/larger'; 5. *bahu-lá-: bāñh-iṣṭha-/bañh-imān-/
bañh-ṭyas*- 'thickest/thickness/thicker'; 6. *gurá-: gár-iṣṭha-/gar-imān-/gár-ṭya*
'heaviest/heaviness/heavier'; 7. *vṛd-dhá-: váṛa-iṣṭha-/varṣ-imān-/váṛa-ṭyas*-
'oldest/senility/older'; 8. *tṛp-rá-: tráp-iṣṭha-/trap-imān-/tráp-ṭyas*- 'most
satisfying/satisfaction/more satisfying'; 9. *dīrghá-: drāgh-iṣṭha-/drāgh-imān-/
drāgh-ṭyas*- 'longest/length/longer'; 10. *vṛndāraka-: vṛnd-iṣṭha-/vṛnd-imān-/
vṛnd-ṭyas*- 'most excellent / excellence / more excellent'.

6.4.158 bahó-r lópa-ḥ=bhū ca bahó-ḥ

Lópa (Ø) replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the affixes 3.1.1 imán-iC and Iyas-UN 154 introduced after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bahú- 'many', and the substitute element bhū- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] of bahú-.

The affix isthaN is mentioned separately in the following sūtra.
bahú+imán/IyasUN = bhā+imán-/bhā+Iyas = bhā-ṣmán/bhā-ṣyas =
bhā-mán-/bhā-yas- 'abundance/more abundant'.

6.4.159 iṣṭha-sya yīṭ ca

The initial increment yīṭ is inserted at the head of [affix 3.1.1] iṣṭha(N) [introduced after 1.1.67 the nominal BHA stem 129 bahú- 'many' and the substitute element bhū- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 bahú- 158].

bahú+iṣṭhaN = bhā-yīṭ+iṣṭha = bhā-y-iṣṭha- 'most abundant'.

6.4.160 jy-āt=āt=Iyas-aḥ

The substitute phoneme long ā(T) [replaces the initial 1.1.54 of the affix 3.1.1] Iyas(UN) [introduced after 1.1.67 the replacement BHA stem 129] jya- [for pra-śas-ya- or vṛd-dhā- (5.3.62)].

jyā+IyasUN = jyā+āyas = jyā-yas- 'better/older'.

6.4.161 ra ṛT=aḥ=hāL-āde-r laghó-ḥ

The substitute element ra replaces the phoneme short ṛ(T) preceded by a consonant (hāL-āde-ḥ), constituting a light syllable (laghó-ḥ) [of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imániC and IyasUN 154].

prthū-iṣṭhaN/imániC/IyasUN = prathū+iṣṭjaN/imániC/IyasUN (155) =
prath-iṣṭha-/prath-imán-/prath-Iyas- 'broadcast, widest/breadth, width/
 broader, wider'; but from *ṛjū-* 'upright, straight' *ṛj-iṣṭha-/ṛj-imán-/ṛk-Iyas-*
 'most upright/righteousness/more upright'; *kṛṣ-iṣṭha-* 'blackest'.

6.4.162 vibhāṣā=ṛj-ós=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute element ra 161] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the short vowel ṛT 161 of the BHA stem 129] ṛjū- 'straight, upright' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imániC and IyasUN 154].

fj-iṣṭha-/rdj-iṣṭha- etc.

6.4.163 pra-kṛ-ty-ā éka=aC

A monosyllabic [BHA stem 129] (éka=aC) retains its original shape [pra-kṛ-ty-ā] [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN/imán]C and ṭyasUN 154].

sraja+vin(5.2.121)+iṣṭhaN = *sraja+θ¹* (5.3.65) = *srđj-iṣṭha-* 'possessing the most garlands'; similarly *srđj-ṭyas-*, *sruc+matUP* = **sruc+vat* (8.2.10)+*ṭyasUN* = *sruc+θ¹* (5.3.65)+*ṭyasUN* = *srúc-ṭyas-* 'owning a large number of sacrificial ladies'. But from *vāsu+matUP+iṣṭhaN* = *vāseθ* (155)+*θ¹* (5.3.65)+*iṣṭha-* = *vāse-iṣṭha-* 'wealthiest'.

6.4.164 in áN-i=án-apaty-e

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áN which is not patronymic (án-apaty-e: 4.1.92ff.) [a BHA 1.29 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ín- [retains its original form 163].

sām-kūṭi-a+fnuN (3.3.44)+*dN* (5.4.15) = *sām-kūṭi-ín-dN* = *sām-kūṭi-ín-dm* 'total conflagration'; *srag-vñ-aḥ idám* = *srag-vñ+dN* (4.3.120) = *srag-vñ-dm* 'pertaining to or belonging to one who wears a garland', but *medhā-vñ-aḥ ápatya-m* = *medhā-vñ+dN* (4.1.92) = *maidhā-vñ-ā-h* (144).

6.4.165 ¹gāth-i(n)=²vidath-i(n)=³keś-i(n)-⁴gaṇ-i(n)= ⁵paṇ-ín-as=ca

[The BHA stems 129 of] gāth-ín-, vidath-ín-, keśín-, gaṇ-ín- and paṇ-ín- 'names of persons' [retain their original form 1.63] also (ca) [before the affix 3.1.1 áN 164 (when designating a descendant 4.1.92)].

A separate rule has to be framed because the restriction 'not a patronymic affix' is not applicable to these stems.

1. *gāth-ín-aḥ ápatya-m/idám* = *gāth-ín+dN* = *gāth-ín-d-* 'descendant of or belonging to Gāth-ín'. Similarly: 2-5: *vaidath-ín-a-/keś-ín-d-/gaṇ-ín-d-/paṇ-ín-d-*.

6.4.166 sañ-yog-ā=ādi-s=ca

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °ín- 164 retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] when °-ín- is preceded by a conjunct consonant (sañ-yog-ā=ādi-h).

śāṅkh-ín+dN (4.1.92) = *śāṅkh-ín-d-* 'descendant of Śāṅkhin'. Similarly *vāj-ín+dN* = *vāj-ín-d-*.

6.4.167 an

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an- [retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164, either non-patronymic 164 or patronymic 165].

Exception to 144. For a prior exception cf. 135 above.

sāmn-aḥ idām = *sā-man+āN* (4.3.120) = *sāman-ā-* 'relating to a chant'.

6.4.168 y-e ca á-¹bhāva-²kar-maṇ-oh

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-an- 167 retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the semi-vowel y-° when not expressing a state (bhāva-°) or an action (°-kár-maṇ-oh).

sāma-su- sādhdā-h = *sā-man+yāT* (4.4.98) = *sā-man-yā-h* 'fit or proper for a sāman', but *rājñ-aḥ bhāu-ā-h karma vā* = *rāj-an+yāK* = *rāj-θ+yā-m* (144) = *rāj-yām*.

6.4.169 ¹ātma(n)=²ādh-vān-au kh-e

[The BHA 129 nominal stems 4.1.1] āt-mán- 'self' and ādh-van- 'road' [retain their original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] kha.

1. *ātmán-e hí-tā-h* = *āt-mán+kha* (5.2.18) = *āt-man-fna-h* 'good or suitable for oneself';
2. *ādh-vān-am alaṁ-gām-f* = *adh-van+kha* (5.1.9) = *adh-van-fna-h* 'traveler'. But *āt-mán-am prāti* = *prati+āt-man+TāC* (2.1.6; 5.4.108) = *praty-atmθ-a-m*; *ādhvān-am prāti* = *praty-adhv-ā-m* (5.4.84).

6.4.170 ná mā-pūrva-ḥ=ápaty-e=á-var-maṇ-aḥ

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-an- 167] preceded by the phoneme /m/, excluding the word vár-man-, does not (ná) [retain its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] introduced to derive patronymics (ápaty-e).

su-śā-mṇ-aḥ ápatya-m = *su-śā-man+āN* = *sau-śā-mθ-ā-* (144) = *sau-śā-m-ā-* 'descendant of Suśāmán' but *sūt-van-aḥ ápatya-m* = *sūt-van+āN* = *saut-van-ā-h*. When [áN] is not patronymic: *car-maṇ-ā pāri-ṣṭ-ia-h rátha-h* = *car-man+āN* (4.2.10) = *cār-maṇ-a-h* (167).

6.4.171 brāhm-á-ḥ=á-jā-t-au

The expression brāh-m-á 'proper to a brahmin' is introduced [with Ø replacement of BHA 179 final 1.1.72 °-an- 167 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] bráh-man- [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] except when denoting genus (á-jā-t-au).

When indicating genus: *bráh-man+dN* = *bráh-man-á-* (167). The present rule is an exception to 144 above.

6.4.172 kār-m-á-ḥ táč-chīl-y-e

The expression kār-m-á is introduced [with Ø replacement of BHA 129 final 1.1.72 °-an- 167 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 kár-man- before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ná 4.4.82] to denote habitual nature (táč-chīl-y-e).

kār-ma śīla-m a-śyá = *kār-man+Ná* = *kār-mṅ-á-ḥ* 'habitually active, laborious' but
kār-man-ah idám = *kar-man+dN/kār-man-ā yuk-tá-m* = *kar-man+dN* (5.4.36)
 = *kār-man-á-m*.

6.4.173 auks-á-m án-apaty-e

The expression auks-á- 'proper to a bull' is introduced [with Ø replacement of BHA 129 final 1.1.72 °-an- of the nominal stem 4.1.1 uks-án- 'bull' before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] when not introduced as a patronymic (án-apaty-e).

When used as a patronymic: *uks-ṇ-dḥ ápatya-m* = *uks-dn+dN* = *auk-ṣṭṇ-á-* (135)
 = *auk-ṣṇ-á-*.

6.4.174 ¹dāṇḍin-āyaná-²hāstin-āyaná-³ātharvaṇ-iká- ⁴jaihmāśin-eyá-⁵vāsin-eyani-⁶bhraúṇa-hat-ya-⁷dhaf-vat-ya- ⁸sāravá-⁹aikṣváká-¹⁰maṣṭreya-¹¹hiraṇ-máyā-n-i

The expressions beginning with dāṇḍin-āyaná- (numbering eleven) are introduced as fully formed derivatives.

1. *dāṇḍ-in-ah ápatya-m* = *dāṇḍ-in+phaK* (4.1.99) = *dāṇḍ-in-ayand-* (°-in- retaining its original form 163);
2. *haet-in+phaK* = *haet-in-āyaná-*;
3. *āthar-vaṇ-ā pr-ók-ta-ḥ granthá-ḥ* = *dāthar-vaṇ-*;
4. *tām adh-í-te* = *dātharvan+thdK* (4.2.63) = *āthar-vaṇ-iká-*;
5. *jāhm-āśin-ah ápatyam* = *jāhm-ā-ś-in+phaK* (4.1.123) = *jaihmāśin-eyá-*;
6. *vās-in-ah ápatya-m* = *vās-in+phiN* (4.1.157) = *vās-in-āyani-*;
7. *bhraúṇa-hán+SyaN* (5.1.124) = *bhraúṇa-ha-t-ya-* (with /t/ replacing /n/ of the verbal stem).
8. *dhaf-vaṇ+SyaN* = *dhaf-vat-ya-*;
- 9.

sarāv-ām bhāv-a-h = *sarāvā+aN* = *sārav-d-* (with /va/ replacement of /yū/ of the nominal stem); 9. *ikṣvākū-gu jana-padē-gu bhāv-a-h* = *aikṣvāka-* (4.1.168); *ikṣvākō-r āpatya-m* = *ikṣvākū+dN* = *aikṣvāk-d-* (with Ø replacement of stem-final /u/); 10. *mitrayō-r āpatya-m* = *mitra-yū+dhaN* (4.1.136) = *maṣṭr-eya-* (7.3.2); 11. *hīraṇya- sya vi-kār-dh* = *hīraṇya+māyaT* = *hiraṇ-māya-* (4.3.143) (with Ø replacement of final syllable of the nominal stem).

6.4.175 ¹ṣtv-ya-²vāstv-ya=³vāstv-ā-⁴mādhv-f-⁵hiraṇya-yā-n-l chāndas-i

In the Chāndas the five expressions beginning with ṣtv-ya- 'seasonal' are introduced as fully derived (irregular) forms.

1. *ṣtū+yāT* (4.4.110) = *ṣt-āḍ bhāv-a-m* = *ṣtv-yam* (exception to 146); 2. *vastu+yāT* = *vāstv-ya-*; 3. *vāstu+dN* (4.3.120) = *vāstv-d-* = (*vāstu-ni bhāv-a-*); 4. *mādhv+aN+NIP* = *mādhv-f*; 5. *hīraṇya+māyaT* (4.3.143) = *hiraṇya-yā* (with Ø replacement of the initial syllable of the affix).

The irregularity in examples 1-4 is in the replacement of stem-final vowel by the corresponding semivowel before initial y- * of the affix.

7.1.1 'yu-²vo-r 'ana-²ak-au

The substitute elements ana and aka [respectively 1.3.10] replace the cover symbols [nasalized 1.3.2] yu and vu [of affixes 2].

1. yu is the cover symbol for KHyuN (3.2.56), Tyu/TyuL (4.3.23), NyuT (3.1.147ff.), yuC (3.2.148), Lyu (3.1.134) and LyuT (3.3.113,115).
 2. vu is the cover symbol for DvuN (5.1.24), NvuC (3.3.111), NvuL (3.1.138; 3.10,108ff.), vuK (4.2.103), vuC (5.3.80), vuN (3.2.148ff.; 4.2.39ff.), vuN (3.1.49; 4.2.61) and ŠvuN (3.1.145).
- nand+Lyu* (3.1.134) = *nānd-ana*; *kṛ+NvuL* = *kār-aka-* (7.2.114).

7.1.2 'āyan-²ey-³īn-⁴īy-⁵īy-aḥ 'pha-²ḍha-³kha-⁴cha-⁵gh-ām praty-ay-a=ādī-n-ām

The substitute elements āyan-, ey-, īn-, īy- and iy- [respectively 1.3.10] replace the initial phonemes ph, ḍh, kh, ch and gh of affixes.

1. Affixes with initial ph: OphaN (4.1.98), phaK (4.1.99ff.), phaN (4.1.110ff.), phi(N) (4.1.149ff.), phiN (4.1.160), Špha (4.1.17) and ŠphaK (4.2.99ff.).
 2. With initial ḍh: ḍhaK (4.1.119ff.), ḍhaKaN (4.1.140; 2.95ff.), ḍhaN (4.1.135ff.), ḍhiṇyK (4.3.109) and ḍhraK (4.1.129,131).
 3. With initial kh: kha (4.1.139ff.) and khaN (4.1.142; 3.1 ff.).
 4. With initial ch: cha (4.1.143ff.) chaN (4.1.132,134; 2.80) and chaS (4.2.115).
 5. With initial gh: gha (4.1.138 etc.), ghaC (4.4.117), ghaN (4.2.26 etc.) and ghaS (5.1.106).
1. *nada+phak* = *nāḍḍ-āyand-* (7.2.117); 2. *vinatā+ḍhaK* (4.1.120) = *vainatḍ-eyā-*;
3. *kūla+kha* (4.1.139) = *kulḍ-īna-*; *śāla+cha* = *śālḍ-īya-*; *kṣātra+gha* (4.1.138) = *kṣtarḍ-īya-*.

7.1.3 jh-aḥ=anta-ḥ

The substitute element ant- replaces the phoneme jh- occurring [as initial of an affix 2].

- The only two affixes with initial jh- are jhi and jha of the l-substitutes denoted by the siglum tiN (3.4.78).
- bhū+ŚaP+jhi* = *bhō+a+ant-i* (7.3.84) = *bhāv-a-nti* (6.1.78,97) 'become'.
ēdh+ŚaP+jha = *ēdh-a+ant-a* = *ēdh-a-nt-a* (6.1.97) 'grow, increase' → *edh-ante* (3.4.79).

7.1.4 at=abhy-ās-t-āt

The substitute element /at-/ replaces [the phoneme jh- occurring as initial of an affix 3 introduced after 3.1.2] a reduplicated verbal stem (abhy-ās-t-āt : 6.1.5).

jákṣ (+ŚaP→luk 2.4.72) = *jákṣ+θ¹+jhi* = *jákṣ+at-i* 'they eat'. *dā+Ślu* (2.4.75)+*jhi/jha* = *dā-dā+at-i/at-a* (6.1.10) = *dā-dθ+at-i/at-a* = *dā-d-ati/at-e* (3.4.79; 6.4.64) 'they give'.

7.1.5 ātmane-padé-ṣu=ān-aT-aḥ

[The substitute element *at-* 4 replaces the phoneme *jh-* 3 occurring as initial] of an Ātmanepadā (tañ 1.4.100) l-substitute [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal theme] not [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short *a(T)*.

āsA (II 11) *upa-ved-an-e+θ¹+jha* = *ās+at-e* (3.4.79) 'they sit'; *ās+HOT* = *ās+θ¹+jha* = *ās-at-θām* (3.4.90) 'let them sit'; but *vid+θ¹+jhi* (Parasmaipadā) = *vid-ant-i* 'they know' and *ēdh-a-nte* (= *ēdh-a+ant-e*: theme ending in -a-).

7.1.6 śiñ-aḥ=ruṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] *ruṭ* is inserted at the head [of /at/ replacement 5 of *jh* 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] *śiñ* 'lie down, sleep' (II 22).

śi+θ¹+jha = *śe+ruṭ-at-e* (7.4.21) = *śe-r-ate* 'they lie down'; *śi+HOT* = *śi+θ¹+ruṭ-at-ām* (3.4.90) = *śe-r-at-ām* 'let them lie down'. Similarly *d-se-r-ata* (Iañ) 'they lay down'.

7.1.7 vêt-te-r vibhāṣā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *ruṭ* is] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [inserted at the head of the /at/ 4 replacement of *jh* 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] *vid-* 'know' (II 55).

The governing rule 5 above operates here; while [*vid*] is normally Parasmaipadān, it takes on Ātmanepadā l-substitutes when co-occurring with the preverb [*sām-* 1.3.29]: *sām+vid+θ¹+jha* = *sām-vid-r-at-e/sām-vid-at-e* (IAT); *sām+vid+HOT* = *sām-vid+θ¹+jha* = *sām-vid-r-at-ām/sām-vid-at-ām*; *sām+vid+Iañ* = *sām+āT-vid-r-at-a/sām-ā-vid-at-a*; but from *vid-* (VII 13): *vid+Śnām+jha* = *vi-nā-d+jha* = *vi-nθ-d+jh* (6.4.111) = *vind-at-e* (IAT), *vind-at-ām* (IOT), *d-vind-at-a* (Iañ).

7.1.8 bahu-lām chānda-s-i

In the domain of Chāndaś (the initial increment 1.1.46 *ruṭ* 6) is variously (*bahulā-m*) [inserted at the head of the /at/ replacement 5 of *jh* introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.4.1].

$duh+IA\dot{N} = d\dot{T}+duh+\theta^1+jha = d-duh+r-at-a = d-duh-r-a$ (41) 'have milked'.
 $d-d\dot{r}\dot{s}-r-am$ $a-sy\dot{a}$ $ket\dot{a}v-ah$ (RV 1.50.30) 'I saw his rays of light': $d\dot{r}\dot{s}+IUN = d\dot{T}+d\dot{r}\dot{s}+a\dot{N}+am$ (3.1.57) = $d-d\dot{r}\dot{s}-r-am$ (8.1.97), the expression [bahulá-m] blocking out also the operation of 7.4.18 preventing Guṇá replacement of /r/ of the verbal stem. The initial increment does not appear in $d-duh-at-a$.

7.1.9 aT-ah=bhis-ah=ais

The substitute element ais replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] bhis [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel a(T).

$devd+bhis = deva+ais = dev-ais$ (6.1.88) = $dev-aiḥ$ (8.3.15), but $sála-bhiḥ$, $agní-bhiḥ$, $nadī-bhiḥ$, $dhenú-bhiḥ$, $vadhá-bhiḥ$, $pitṛ-bhiḥ$ etc.

The expression [at-ah] with svaritá accent 1.3.11 recurs in the following sūtras up to 17 below.

7.1.10 bahu-lá-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute element ais 9] variously (bahulá-m) [replaces the sUP triplet bhis 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT or not].

1. After stems not ending in short vowel aT: $nadī+bhis = nadī+ais = nady-ais = nady-aiḥ$.
2. Does not replace [bhis] after stems ending in [aT]: $pārva+bhis = pārve-bhiḥ$ (Rv. 1.1.2) (3.103 below).

7.1.11 ná=¹idám=²adás-or á-k-oḥ

[The substitute element ais 9] does not (ná) replace [the sUP triplet bhis 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stems 4.1.1] idám- 'this' and adás- 'that' when not co-occurring with phoneme /k/.

1. $idám+bhis = idda+bhis$ (2.102) = $id-a-bhis$ (8.1.97) = $\theta-a+bhis$ (2.103) = $e-bhāḥ$ (6.1.168 for accent).
2. $adás+bhis = adáa+bhis$ (2.102) = $ada+bhis$ (8.1.97) = $am-f+bhis$ (8.2.80-81) = $amf-bhiḥ$.

$idám$ and $adás$ can contain the phoneme /k/ by introduction of the affix [ákaC 5.3.71] deriving forms $imá-ka/amú-ka-$ (7.2.108/8.2.80)+ $bhis = imá-k-aiḥ/amú-k-aiḥ$.

7.1.12 ¹Tā-²ŅasI-³Ņas-ām ¹ina=²āt=³sy-āḥ

The substitute elements -ina, -āt and -sya [respectively 1.3.10 replace the sUP triplets] -Tā (instr. sing.), ŅasI (abl. sing.) and Ņas (gen. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short vowel aT 9].

devā+Tā/ŅasI/Ņas = devā+ina/āt/sya = dev-ēna (6.1.87)/dev-āt (6.1.101)/dev-sya but sākhi+Tā = sākhy-ā (6.1.77).

7.1.13 Ņe-r ya-ḥ

The substitute element ya replaces [the sUP triplet] Ņe (dative sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in the short vowel aT 9].

devā+Ņe = devā+ya = devā-ya (3.102), but sākhi+Ņe = sākhy-ā.

7.1.14 sarva-nāmn-aḥ smai

The substitute element smai [replaces the sUP triplet Ņe 13 introduced after 3.1.2] a pronominal stem (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 in the short vowel aT 9].

sarvā+Ņe = sārva+smai = sārva-smai 'for all' (6.1.191 for accent).

7.1.15 ¹ŅasI-²Ņy-oḥ ¹smāt-²smin-au

The substitute elements smāt and smin [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the sUP triplets] ŅasI (abl. sing.) and Ņi (loc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2] pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT 9].

sarvā+ŅasI/Ņi = sārva+smāt/smin = sārva-smāt / sārva-smin.

7.1.16 pūrva=ādi-bhyaḥ=navā-bhyaḥ=vā

[The substitute elements smāt and smin 15] optionally (vā) replace [the sUP triplets ŅasI and Ņi 15 respectively 1.3.10, introduced after 3.1.2] the nine [pronominal stems 14] beginning with pūrva- 'prior'.

These nine stems are: 1. pūrva- 'prior, eastern'; 2. pára- 'far, distant'; 3. ávara- 'posterior, hinder'; 4. dáksina- 'right, southern'; 5. út-tara- 'higher, upper,

northern'; 6. *ápara-* 'later, posterior'; 7. *ádharma-* 'lower, inferior'; 8. *svá* 'own' and 9. *ántara-* 'interior'.

1. *páru-āt/párua-smāt; páru-e/párua-smín.* 2. *pár-āt/pára-smāt; pár-e/pára-smín.*
3. *dvar-āt/dvara-smāt; dvar-e/dvara-smín.* 4. *dákṣin-āt/dákṣina-smāt; dákṣin-e/dákṣina-smín.* 5. *úttar-āt/úttara-smāt; úttar-e/úttara-smín.* 6. *ápar-āt/ápara-smāt; ápar-e/ápara-smín.* 7. *ádhar-āt/ádharma-smāt; ádhar-e/ádharma-smín.* 8. *ev-ēt/evd-smāt; ev-ē/evd-smín.* 9. *ántar-āt/ántara-smāt; ántar-e/ántara-smín.*

7.1.17 Jas-aḥ Śī

The substitute element Śī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Jas [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT 9].

$$sarvā+Jas = sarvā+Śī = sārva+ī = sārva-e \text{ (6.1.87).}$$

7.1.18 auÑ-aḥ āP-aḥ

[The substitute element Śī 17 replaces the sUP triplet] auÑ (nom. acc. dual) [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine-forming affix 3.1.1] āP.

[āP] is a cover term for the feminine forming affixes [OāP, TāP, DāP]. *a-jā+TāP* (4.4.4) = *a-jā-ā* = *a-jā+au* = *ajā+Śī* = *aj-ē* (6.1.87) 'two she-goats'; *kosala+ÑyaÑ* (4.4.171) = *kaśśal-ya+OāP* = *kaśśal-yā-ā+Śī* = *kaśśal-y-ē* 'two female descendants of Kosala' (4.1.74). *sānān+DāP+śī* (4.1.13) = *sām-ē* 'two borders'.

7.1.19 ná-puṁs-ak-āt=ca

[The substitute Śī 17 replaces the sUP triplet auÑ 18 introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2] neuter [nominal ānga-s 6.4.1].

$$vāna+au = vāna+Śī = vān-e \text{ 'two forests'; } dhan+au = dhan+Śī = dhan-i/dhñn-i \text{ (6.4.138) 'two days'; } dhānu+au = dhānu+Śī = dhānu-i \text{ (8.3.59) 'two bows'}$$

7.1.20 ¹Jas=²Śas-oḥ Śi-ḥ

The substitute element Śī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets] Jas and Śas [introduced after 3.1.2 a neuter 19 ānga 6.4.1 stem].

$vāna+Jas/\acute{S}as = vāna+\acute{S}i = vāna+num+\acute{S}i$ (72) = $vānā-n-i$ (6.4.8). Similarly
 $vāri+Jas/\acute{S}as = vārī-n-i$; $mādhū-n-i$; $mānas+Jas = mānas+\acute{S}i =$
 $mānas+num+ī = mānā-n-s+ī = mānā-nh-s-i$ (8.3.24).

7.1.21 $a\acute{s}tā-bhyaḥ=au\acute{S}$

The substitute element $au\acute{S}$ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets Jas and $\acute{S}as$ 20 introduced after 3.1.2 the number word] $a\acute{s}tān-$ 'eight'.

By 7.2.84 the substitute phoneme /ɛ/ replaces the stem-final of [$a\acute{s}tān-$] before vibhakti affixes: $a\acute{s}tān+Jas/\acute{S}as = a\acute{s}tā-ā+au = a\acute{s}tā$ (the form quoted in the sūtra) $+au = a\acute{s}t-āu$ (6.1.88).

7.1.22 $ṣaḍ-bhyaḥ=luK$

luK (\emptyset^1) replaces [the sUP triplets Jas and $\acute{S}as$ 20 introduced after 3.1.2 number words] denoted by the technical term $ṣaṭ$ (1.1.24).

This class consists of number words ending in /s/ or /n/: 1. $ṣaṣ-$ 'six', 2. $pāñcan-$ 'five', 3. $saptān-$ 'seven', 4. $a\acute{s}tān-$ 'eight', 5. $nāvan-$ 'nine', $dāśan-$ 'ten'.

$ṣaḍ+Jas/\acute{S}as = ṣaḍ+\emptyset^1 = ṣaṭ$ (8.2.39); similarly, $pāñca$, $saptā$, $nāva$, $dāśa$. 21 has already provided for $a\acute{s}tān+Jas/\acute{S}as = a\acute{s}t-āu$. In the case of numerals, 11-18 end in *-daśan: $ekā-daśan+Jas/\acute{S}as = ekā-daśan+\emptyset^1 = ekā-daśa\emptyset$ (8.2.7).

7.1.23 $'sU=^2am$ -or $nā-puṁs-ak-āt$

[luK (\emptyset^1) 22 replaces the sUP triplets] sU (nom. sing.) and am (acc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2] neuter ($nā-puṁs-ak-āt$) [āṅga stems 6.4.1].

$dāḍhi+sU/am = dāḍhi+\emptyset^1 = dāḍhi$ 'curds'; similarly $mādhū$ 'honey', $mānas+\emptyset^1 = mānas = mānaḥ$ (8.3.15) 'mind'.

7.1.24 $aT-aḥ=am$

The substitute element /am/ replaces [the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2 a neuter 23 nominal āṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] short vowel $a(T)$.

$vāna+sU/am = vāna+am = vān-a-m$ (6.1.107).

7.1.25 adḌ Ḍātara=ādi-bhyaḥ pañca-bhyaḥ

The substitute element adḌ replaces [the whole 1.1.55 of the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2] five [of the neuter 23 nominal āṅga-s 6.4.1] beginning with the pronominal stems Ḍātara-.

The five members are: Ḍātara, Ḍātama, itara- 'other', anyā- 'another', anyā-tarā- 'either of two, any'. The first two are affixes associated with pronominal stems.

kim+Ḍātara = *kṣṭ+atara-* (6.4.143)+sU/am = *k-dtara+ad* = *k-dtarθ-at* = *kātarat* 'which of two?'; similarly *kātam-at* 'which of many?'; *itar-at* 'the other', *anya-d-t* 'the other', *anya-tar-d-t* 'any, either'.

7.1.26 ná=itar-āt=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute element adḌ 25] does not (ná) replace [the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2 the neuter 23 pronominal āṅga stem 6.4.1] itara- 'the other'.

itarā+sU/am = *itarā+am* = *itar-a-m*.

7.1.27 ¹yusmád=²asmád-bhyām Nas-aḥ=aŚ

The substitute element aŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Nas (gen. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1] *yusmád-* 'you' and *asmád-* 'we'.

yusmád+Nas = *táva+a* (2.96) = *táv-a* (6.1.97) 'thine'; similarly *asmád+Nas* = *máma+aŚ* = *mám-a* (6.1.97) 'mine'.

7.1.28 ¹Ñe-²prathamáy-or am

The substitute element /am/ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets] Ñe (dat. sing.) and those of the first and second (pathamáy-oḥ nominative and accusative cases) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1] *yusmád-* 'you' and *asmád* 'we' 27].

yusmád+Ñe = *túbhya+am* (2.95) = *túbhy-a-m* (6.1.107); *yusmád+sU* = *tvá+am* (2.94) = *tv-d-m*; *yusmád+au* = *yuvá+am* (2.92) = *yuvá+am* (2.87-88); *yusmád+Jas* = *yāya+am* = *yāy-d-m*. *yusmád+am* = *tvá+am* = *tvá+am* (2.87) = *tvám*; *yusmád+auT* = *yuv-d-m* (2.87).

The corresponding forms for *asmád-* are: *+Ñe* = *mahy-d-m*; *+su* = *aḥ-d-m*; *+au* = *āv-d-m*; *+Jas* = *vay-d-m*; *+am* = *mám*; *+auT/au* = *āvám*.

7.1.29 Śas-aḥ na

The substitute phoneme /n/ replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the sUP triplet] Śas (acc. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- and asmád- 27].

$yuṣmád+Śas = yuṣmád+ns = yuṣmá+ns$ (2.87) = $yuṣmá-n$ (Ø 8.2.23) = $yuṣmán$ and similarly $asmád+Śas = asmán$.

7.1.30 bhyas-aḥ=bhyam

The substitute element bhyam replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] bhyas (dat. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

$yuṣmád+bhyas = yuṣmád-a+bhyam$ (2.102) = $yuṣmád-bhyam$ (6.1.97); $asmád+bhyas = asmád-a+bhyam = asmád-bhyam$.

7.1.31 pañcamy-āḥ=at

The substitute element /at/ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet of] the fifth (ablative plural: pañcamy-āḥ) [bhyas 30 introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

$yuṣmád+bhyas = yuṣmád-a+at = yuṣm-á+at = yuṣm-á-t$ (6.1.97); $asmád+bhyas = asmád-a+at$ (2.102) = $asm-á-t$.

7.1.32 eka-vac-aná-sya ca

[The substitute element /at/ 31] also [ca] replaces [the whole of 1.1.72 the fifth 31] singular (eka-vac-aná-sya) sUP triplet [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

$yuṣmád+NásI = tvád+at = tvád-a+at$ (2.102) = $tv-á-t$; $asmád+NásI = mád+at = mád-a+at = m-á-t$.

In the examples cited under 27ff. the replacement morphemes for *yuṣmád-*, *asmád-* in the singular, dual and plural numbers are only replacing the portion up to /m/ (2.91) so that the actual forms would be *yuvád-/āvád* in the dual (2.92), and by 2.102 *yuvád-a-/āvád-a = yuvá-/āvá* (6.1.97) respectively before sUP triplets.

7.1.33 sām-aḥ=ākam

The substitute element ākam replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] s-ām (sixth or gen. plur. 52) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal ānga-s yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 29].

$$yuṣmád+am = yuṣmád+suT-ām (52) = yuṣmád-a+ākam = yuṣm-d+ākam = yuṣm-ākam; asmád+s-ām = asmád+ākam = asm-ā-kam.$$

7.1.34 āT-aḥ au NaL-aḥ

The substitute phoneme /au/ replaces [the l-substitute of lIT 3.4.82] NaL [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T).

$$pā+NaL = pā-pā+au (6.1.8; 7.4.59) = pā-p-au (6.1.88) \text{ 'has/have drunk'.$$

7.1.35 ¹tu-²hy-os tātaÑ āśís-i=anya-tará-syām

The substitute element tātaÑ optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the l-substitutes of lOT 3.4.86,87] -tu and -hí when implying a benediction (āśís-i).

The marker Ñ here of tātaÑ is for the purpose of 1.1.5 and not for 1.1.53 and so it replaces the whole of the substituenda by 1.1.55.

$jívu+lOT = jívu+ŚaP+tu/hí = jívu-a-tāt$ 'may he/mayest thou live long'. The accent will depend upon the original situation: $su+lOT = su+Snú+tu/hí = su-nó-tu/su-nú/su-nú-tāt$. $krí+lOT = krí+Snú+tu/hí = krí-ṇá-tu/krí-ṇí-hí = krí-ṇí-tāt$.

7.1.36 víde-ḥ Śatu-r vasU-ḥ

The substitute morpheme vásU (= KvásU 3.2.107) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] ŚátR (3.2.124) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1] víd- 'know' (II 55).

$víd+lAT = víd+ḡ^1+tiP = vót-ti = víd+ŚátR (3.2.124) = víd+KvásU = víd-vás-$. According to some grammarians, through the recurrence of [anya-tará-syām 35], an alternate form is provided by $víd+ŚátR = víd-dí-$.

7.1.37 sam-ās-é á-nañ-pūrv-e Ktv-áh=LyaP

The substitute morpheme LyaP replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvá [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1] co-occurring (as a final member) in composition (sam-ās-é), excluding náñ (á-nañ-pūrv-e) as first member.

prá+kṛ+Ktvá = *prá+kṛ+LyaP* = *prá+kṛ+tyK+Lyap* (6.1.71) = *prá-kṛ-t-ya* 'having started or begun'; similarly *pāśva-taḥ-kṛ-t-ya* 'having placed aside' but *náñ+kṛ=Ktvá* = *á-kṛ-tvā* (6.3.73) 'not having done'.

7.1.38 Ktvá=ápi chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the affix 3.1.1] Ktvá as well as [LyaP 37 replace the kṛt affix 3.1.93 Ktvá 37 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1 co-occurring as a final member in composition excluding náñ 37 as first member].

kṛṇā-m vāso yāja-m-āna-m pari-dhā-p-ay-i-tvā (KS 11.10) 'having caused the sacrificer to cover himself with a black cloth'; *praty-āñc-am arkā-m praty-ar-p-ay-i-tvā* (AV 2.12.55) 'having offered a water oblation to the setting sun'; also with Lyap: *ud-dhṛ-t-ya ju-hó-ti* 'having raised, offers a sacrificial oblation'.

7.1.39 sUP-ām ¹sU-²luK-³pūrv-a-savarṇā=⁴ā-⁵āt=⁶Śe-⁷yā-⁸Ḍā-⁹Ḍyā-¹⁰yāC=¹¹āl-aḥ

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute elements sU, luK (θ¹), a long vowel corresponding to the preceding one (pūrv-a-sa-varṇā-°), ā, āt, Śe, Ḍā, Ḍyā, yāC and āL replace the sUP triplets [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal ánga 6.4.1].

1. *an-ṭkṣarā ṛjāu-aḥ s-antu pántha-ḥ* (= *páthin+eU* (RV 10.85.23) for *páthin+Jas* = *pánthan-aḥ*) 'may the paths be thornless and straight'.
2. *parma-é vyōman* (*vyōman+Ní* → θ¹ for *vyōman-i*) 'in the highest heaven'.
3. *dhṛ-t-í* for *dhṛ-ti+Tā* = *dhṛ-ty-ā* (RV 5.25.3) 'through prayer'.
4. *ubhā devā divi-spṛś-ā ásvín-ā tá hav-ā-mahe* (RV 1.22.2) 'we offer oblations to both divine Ásvins who touch heaven' where the dual ending [au] is replaced by [ā].
5. *nátāḍ brāhmaṇ-āt nínā-ā-mi* (= *ná tā-n brāhmaṇā-n nínā-ā-mi*) 'I will not curse those brahmins'.
6. *ná yuṣm-é vāja-bandhav-aḥ* (RV 8.68.18) = *yūy-ā-m*; *asm-é indrā-byhas-patī* (RV 4.49.4) = *vay-ām*.
7. *urú-yā* = *urú-nā*.

8. *nābh-d* = *nābhi+Dā* = *nābhi+N̄i* = *nābh-au* : *nābh-ā pṛthivy-āh* (RV 1.143.4).
 9. *anuṣṭ-yā* = *anu-ṣṭu-bh+Dyā* = *anu-ṣṭ-ḥyā* = *anu-ṣṭū-bh-ā*.
 10. *sādhu-yā* = *sādhu+eU→yā*.
 11. *vas-ānt-ā yāj-e-ta* = *vas-ānt-e yāj-e-ta* 'one should offer sacrificial oblations in spring'.

7.1.40 am-aḥ maś

[In the Chāndas 38] the substitute element *maś* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] *am* (for *miP* 3.4.101).

vadh-I-m vṛtrā-m = *han+luN̄* = *vadhā+luN̄* (2.4.43) = *vadhā+miP* = *vadhā+Cl̄i+miP* (3.1.43) = *vadhā+Cl̄i+am* (3.4.101) = *vadhā+siC+am* (3.1.44) = *vadhḥ+iT̄-siC+IT̄+maś* (6.4.48; 7.3.96) = *vadh-I-m* for *dvadh-i-ṣ-am* (RV 1.165.8) 'I have killed (the demon) Vṛtra'; similarly *kṛām-I-m vṛkṣā-sya śākhā-m* 'I climbed on a branch of a tree' = *ś-kram-i-ṣ-am*.

7.1.41 lopa-s t-aḥ ātmane-padé-ṣu

[In the Chāndas 38] *lopa* (ḥ) replaces the phoneme /t/ [of an l-substitute] of *Ātmane-padā* (3.4.78: *taN̄*).

gandharv-ā-psarās-aḥ ā-duh-ra (= *ā-duh-ata*) : *āT̄+duh+IĀN̄* = *ā-duh+ḥ¹+ruT̄+ata* (5.8) = *ā-duh-r-aḥa* = *ā-duh-ra* (6.1.97). *duh-ā-m aśvī-bhyām páyo aghnyeyā-m* (RV 1.164.27) = *dug-dh-am* : *duh+IoT̄* = *duh+ḥ¹+tām* (3.4.101) = *duh+ḥām* 'may the two draw cow's milk for the two Aśvins'. *dakṣiṇa-tāḥ śay-e* (= *śe-te*) : *śT̄+IĀT̄* = *śT̄+ta* = *śT̄+te* (3.4.79) = *śe+ḥe* = *śay-e* 'lies down on the right/south side'.

7.1.42 dhvam-aḥ dhvāt

[In the Chāndas 38] the substitute element *dhvāt* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] *dhvam* [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.4.1].

antār eva āṣ-mān-am vār-ay-a-dhvāt (= *vār-ay-a-dhvam*) (Ait.Br. 2.6.14) 'cover the heat from within itself'.

7.1.43 yāj-a-dhvainam iti ca

[In the Chāndas 38] the expression *yāj-a-dhv-al-nam* is also (ca) introduced [to denote the ḥ replacement of the final phoneme /m/ of affix

3.1.1 dhvam 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] yaj-
'sacrifice' (I 1051).

yáj-a-dhvaṃ ena-m = *yáj-a-dhaṃ+ena-m* = *yáj-a-dhu-ai-na-m* (6.1.88) 'worship
him' (RV 8.2.37).

7.1.44 tá-sya tát

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute element tát replaces [the whole of
1.155 l-substitute of *lOT* Parasmaipadá 2nd person plural] tá (3.4.101)
[introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1].

gátra-m gátra-m a-syá nūnd-m kṛ-ṇu-tát (Ait.Br. 2.6.15.16) = *kṛ+lOT* =
kṛ+Śnú+tá = *kṛ-ṇu+tát*.

7.1.45 ¹taP-²tanaP-³tána-⁴thána-ā-s=ca

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute elements taP, tanaP, tána and thána
(ca) [replace the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute of *lOT* Parasmaipadá
2nd person plural tá, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1].

1. taP: *éru+lOT* = *éṛ+Śnú+ta* (3.1.74) = *éṛ-ṇó+ta grāvāṇ-ah*.
2. tanaP: *dhā+lOT* = *dhā+Ślu+tá* = *dā-dhā+tana*.
3. tána: *juṣ+lOT* = *juṣ+Śá+tá* = *juṣ+Ślu+tá* = *ju-juṣ+tána* (6.1.10) = *ju-juṣ-tána*.
4. thána: *iṣ+lOT* = *iṣ+Śá+tá* = *icch+luK+thána* (39) = *is-thána* (8.2.38; 4.41).

7.1.46 iT=anta-ḥ masi

[In the Chándas 38] the l-substitute mas (Parasmaipadá 1st per. plur.)
ends in the phoneme short i(T).

dīp+NlO+ŚaP+mas = *dīp-é+a+mas* (7.3.84) = *dīp-áy+ā+mas* (6.1.78; 7.3.101) =
dīp-áy-ā-masi 'we light up'.

7.1.47 Ktv-áh yaK

[In the Chándas 38 the final increment 1.1.46] yaK is introduced [after
1.1.67 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvá [when introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga
6.4.1].

dā+Ktvá = *dād+Ktvá* (4.76) = *dat-tvā-ya* 'having given'.

7.1.48 iṣ-ṭv-īnam iti ca

[In the Chāndas 38] the expression iṣ-ṭv-īnam is also (ca) introduced [with the substitute element īnam replacing the final phoneme of Ktvā introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] yaj- 'sacrifice, worship' (I 1051).

yaj+Ktvā = iaj+Ktvā (6.1.15) = ij+Ktvā (6.1.108) = iṣ+tvā (8.2.36) = iṣ-ṭvā (8.4.41) = iṣ-ṭv-īnam 'having offered a sacrifice'.

7.1.49 snā-tvī=āday-as=ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 38] the class of (gerundial) expressions beginning with snā-tvī 'having bathed' are introduced as fully derived forms.

snā+ktvā = snā-tvī; pī-tvī sōma-sya vā-ṛdh-ḥ (RV 3.40.7) 'having drunk Soma has grown'.

7.1.50 āt=Jasṛ-asuK

[In the Chāndas 38 the final increment 1.1.46] asuK is inserted [after 3.1.67 the sUP triplet] Jas (nom. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal āṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class /a/ (āt).

brāhmaṇ-ā-saḥ pītar-aḥ sōmy-ā-saḥ (RV 6.75.10); yé pūrv-a-so yá ūpar-ā-saḥ (RV 10.15.2).

7.1.51 ¹āsva-²kṣīrā-³vṛṣa-⁴lavaṇā-n-ām ātma-prī-t-aú KyáC-I

[The final increment 1.1.46 asuK 50 is inserted after 1.1.67 the nominal āṅga-s 6.4.1] āsva- 'horse', kṣīrā- 'milk', vṛṣa- 'bull' and lavaṇa- 'salt' [before 1.1.57 the affix 3.1.1] KyáC (3.1.8) to express the delight of the agent in these (ātma-prī-t-aú).

ātman-aḥ āsva-m icch-ā-ti = āsva+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP = āsva-asuK+yá+a-ti = āsṇ-a-s-y-ā-ti (8.1.97) vādava 'the mare desires the stallion'; similarly kṣīr-a-s-y-ā-ti bālā-h 'the child longs for milk'; vṛṣ-a-s-y-ā-ti gaur-h 'the cow longs for the bull'; lavaṇ-as-y-ā-ti ūśtra-h 'the camel longs for salt'. But āsṇ-yāti (4.33) = 'desires a horse for oneself'; kṣīrī-yā-ti/vṛṣī-yā-ti/lavaṇī-yāti 'desires milk/a bull/salt for oneself'.

7.1.52 $\bar{a}m$ -i sarva-nāmn-aḥ suṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] suṭ is inserted at the head of the sUP triplet $\bar{a}m$ (sixth or gen. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2] pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ).

$sarvā+ām = \text{ṣarvā}+\text{suṭ-ām} = \text{ṣarvēc}+\text{s-ām}$ (3.103) = ṣarvēc-ṣām (8.3.59). $tād+ām = tād+ṣām$ (2.102) = $tā+ṣām$ (8.1.97) = $tē-ṣām$. $sarvā+ām = \text{ṣarvā-s-ām}$; $tā-s-ām$.

7.1.53 tré-s tráya-ḥ

The substitute morpheme tráya- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal áṅga 6.4.1] trí- 'three' [before 1.1.67 the sixth sUP triplet $\bar{a}m$ 52].

$trí+ām = tráya+ām = tráya+n-ām = trayā-n-ām$ (54; 3.102) = $trayā-n-ām$ (8.1.169 for accent, 8.4.2 for retroflexion).

7.1.54 ${}^1\text{hrasvá-}{}^2\text{nadī}={}^3\bar{a}P\text{-aḥ nuṭ}$

[The initial increment 1.1.46] nuṭ [is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet $\bar{a}m$ 52, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short vowel (hrasvá-°) and those denoted by the t.t. nadī (1.4.3ff.) or those [ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 4.1.3ff.] denoted by the cover term $\bar{a}P$ (= CāP, TāP, DāP).

1. $devā-/hāri-/sānū/pi-tī+ām = devā-n-ām/hāri-n-ām/sānū-n-ām/sānū-n-ām/pitī-n-ām$ (3.102 for stem-final long vowel and 6.1.177 for alternate accent of $sānū-n-ām$).
2. $nadī/vadhū+ām = nadī-n-ām/vadhū-n-ām$.
3. $śālā+ām = śālā-n-ām$.

7.1.55 ${}^1\text{ṣās-}{}^2\text{catúr-bhyas}=\text{ca}$

[The initial increment 1.1.46 nuṭ 54] is also (ca) [inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet $\bar{a}m$ 52, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 indicating numerals 1.1.23] comprised by the t.t. ṣās (1.1.24) and catúr- 'four'.

1. The number words denoted by the t.t. ṣās are: $pāñcan-$ '5', $ṣāṣ-$ '6', $saptān-$ '7', $aṣṭān-$ '8', $nāvan-$ '9', $dāśan-$ '10'. $pāñcan+ām = pañcan+n-ām$ (6.1.179) = $pañcān+n-ām$ (6.4.7) = $pañcāṇ-nām$ (8.2.7); similarly $ṣāṣ+ām = ṣaṣ+n-ām = ṣaḍ+n-ām$ (8.2.39) = $ṣaṇ-n-ām$, $aṣṭā-n-ām$, $navā-n-ām$, $daśā-n-ām$.

7.1.56 'śrī-²grāma-ṇy-ós=chāndas-ī

In the domain of Chāndas [the initial increment 1.1.46 *nyṭ* 54 is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet *ām* 52, introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal *śṅga-s* 6.4.1] *śrī* 'glory' and *grāma-ṇī-* 'village head'.

śrī-+ām = *śrī-+n-ām* (6.1.188) = *śrī-ṇ-ām* (8.4 2). By 1.4.5 *nadī*-stems are optionally covered by that t.t. before affix *ām* but by this rule [*śrī*] is exempted from that option and, so far as Chāndas is concerned, [*nyṭ*] increment is necessarily inserted. In non-Chāndas: *śrīy-ām*/*śrī-ṇ-ām*.

7.1.57 gó-ḥ pāda=ant-é

[In the Chāndas 56 the initial increment 1.1.46 *nyṭ* is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet *ām* 52, introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal *śṅga* 6.4.1] *gó-* 'cow/bull', occurring at the end of a quarter verse of RV (*pāda-ant-é*).

vid-mā hí tvā gó-pati-n śūra gó-n-ām 'we recognize you, O hero! as the protector of (all) cattle'. (RV 10.47.2). When not so occurring: *gáv-ām go-trá-m ud-á-sy-j-o yád aṅgrāḥ* (RV 2.23.18) 'O Aṅgiras! that you have released the cattle pen'. This form also occurs occasionally at the end of a *pāda*: *vi-rāj-a-n gó-pati-n gáv-ām* (RV 10.186.1).

7.1.58 iṭ=IT-aḥ *nyM* dhāto-ḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] *nyM* [is inserted after the last vowel of a verbal *śṅga* 6.4.1] with marker short phoneme *i(T)* as *IT* [when first introduced (in the Dhātupāṭha)].

ṭU-ndd-ī sdm-ṛd-dh-au (I 67)+*IAṭ* = *ná-nyM-d+ŚaP+tiP* = *ndand-a-ti* 'rejoices'; *kūḍ-ī dāh-e* (I 289)+*IAṭ/tumuN* = *kūṇḍ-a-te* 'burns'/*kūṇḍ-iṭ-tum* = *kūṇḍ-i-tum* 'to burn' (2.35).

7.1.59 Ś-e muc-ādī-n-ām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58 is inserted after 1.1.67 the last vowel of the class of verbal *śṅga-s* 6.4.1] beginning with *muc-* 'release' (VI 136) [before 1.1.66 the present system class marker] *Śa* [3.1.71].

The stems included in this class are listed in the Dhp. VI 186-43: 136 *muc-*

mókə-an-e; 137 *lupj, chéd-an-e*; 138 *vidj, labh-é*; 139 *lipÁ upa-deh-é*; 140 *əicÁ ksár-an-e*; 241 *kʁt-ĭ chéd-an-e*; 142 *khidÁ par-ghāt-é*; 143 *plśÁ ava-yav-é*.
muc+Śa+tiP = *mu-nuM-c+á=ti* = *muñc-á-ti* 'releases'; similarly *lump-d-ti* 'cuts';
vind-d-ti 'gains'; *limp-d-ti* 'smears'; *siñc-a-ti* 'sprinkles'; *kʁnt-d-ti* 'cuts';
khind-d-ti 'strikes'; *pimś-d-ti* 'cuts, divides'. But *muc+tumyN* = *mók-tum*
 (3.84; 8.2.30).

7.1.60 ¹masjĭ-²naś-or jhāL-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *āṅga-s* 6.4.1] *masj-* 'sink, plunge, immerse' (VI 122) and *naś* 'disappear' (IV 85) [before 1.1.67 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a non-nasal consonant (*jhāL-i*).

1. *masj+tumyN* = *mā-nuM-sj+tum* = *mā-n-ġj+tum* (8.2.29) = *mā-n-k+tum* (8.2.30) = *mā-m-k-tum* (8.3.24) = *mā-n-k-tum* (8.4.58) 'to plunge, immerse'.
2. *naś+tumyN* = *nā-nuM-ś+tum* = *nā-m-ś+tum* (8.2.36; 3.24) = *nā-m-s-tum* (8.4.41) 'to disappear'. But *masj+LyuT* = *mājj-ana-* (8.4.53) 'immersion'.

7.1.61 ¹rādhĭ-²jābh-or aC-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *āṅga-s* 6.4.1] *rādh-* 'subdue' (IV 84) and *jābh-* 'gape, snap out' (I 451) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a vowel (*aC-i*).

1. *rādh+NġC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ra-n-dh-f-a-ti* = *randh-ś-a-ti* (3.84) = *randh-dy-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'cooks, delivers'; *rādh+NvuL* = *rā-n-dh-aka-*; *rādh+GHaÑ* = *rā-n-dh-a-* 'subjection'.
2. *jābh+NġC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ja-n-bh-dy-a-ti* = *ja-m-bh-dy-a-ti* (8.3.24) = *ja-m-bh-dy-a-ti* (8.4.58) 'snaps at'; *jābh+GHaÑ* = *jā-m-bha-* 'tooth'.

7.1.62 *ná=iT-i=á-IIṬ-i* *rādhē-ḥ*

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58] is not (*ná*) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *āṅga* 6.4.1] *rādh-* 'subdue' (IV 84) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial increment 1.1.46] *iṬ*, excluding such *l*-substitutes of *IIṬ*.

rādh+tumyN = *rādh+iṬ-tum* (2.35) = *rādh-i-tum*; similarly *rādh-i-tāvya-*, but *rādh+IIṬ* = *ra-ra-n-dh-i-vá/°-i-mā*; *rādh+LyuT/NvuL* = *rā-n-dh-ana/°-aka-*.

7.1.63 rabhē-r á-¹ŚaP=²lIT-oh

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1] rabh- 'grasp, clasp, seize' (I 1023) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vowels 61] excluding ŚaP and the l-substitutes of lIT (Perfect).

$\acute{a}\text{-rabh} + \text{NIC} + \acute{S}aP + tiP = \acute{a}\text{-ra-n-bh-ay-a-ti} = \acute{a}\text{-rambh-ay-a-ti}$ 'causes to undertake';
 $\acute{a}\text{-rabh} + QHa\acute{N} = \acute{a}\text{-ra-m-bh-á}$ 'beginning', but $\acute{a}\text{-rabh} + \acute{S}aP + te = \acute{a}\text{-rabh-a-te}$;
 $\acute{a}\text{-rabh} + lIT \acute{a}\text{-rebh-e}(\acute{S})$ (6.4.120).

7.1.64 labhē-s=ca

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is] also (ca) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1] labh- 'gain' (I 1024) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vowels 61, excluding ŚaP and such l-substitutes of lIT 63].

$labh + \text{NIC} + \acute{S}aP + tiP = la\text{-m-bh-á-y-a-ti}$ 'causes to gain', but $labh + \acute{S}aP + te = l\acute{a}bh\text{-a-te}$;
 $labh + lIT = labh + e\acute{S} = lebh\text{-á}$.

7.1.65 áN-ah y-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with the preverb áN [before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme /y-°/.

$\acute{a} + labh + Ny\acute{a}T = \acute{a}\text{-la-m-bh-y\acute{a} + T\acute{a}P = \acute{a}\text{-la-m-bh-y-á}$ *gaú-h/vádava* 'a cow/mare to be sacrificed', but $labh + y\acute{a}T = l\acute{a}bh\text{-ya-}$ 'to be gained'.

7.1.66 úp-āt pra-śamsá-y-ām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is introduced after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme y-° 65] to denote praise (pra-śamsá-y-ām).

$\acute{u}pa + labh + Ny\acute{a}T + T\acute{a}P$ (3.1.124; 4.1.4) = $\acute{u}pa\text{-la-m-bh-y-á}$ *vid-y\acute{a}* 'wisdom worthy of being acquired', but $\acute{u}pa + labh + y\acute{a}T = \acute{u}pa\text{-l\acute{a}bh\text{-ya-}}$ 'obtainable'.

7.1.67 upa-sarg-āt ¹KHaL-²GHaÑ-oḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with preverbs [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] KHaL and GHaÑ.

ṛsat+prá+labh+KHaL (3.3.126) = *ṛsat-pra-lá-m-bh-a-* 'easily deceived';
prá+labh+GHaÑ = *pra-la-m-bh-á-* 'gaining, acquisition'. But *labh+GHaÑ* =
lábh-a- 'gain, profit'; *ṛsát+labh+KHaL* = *ṛsal-lábh-a-* (8.4.60) 'to be obtained for
 a little'.

7.1.68 ná ¹sú-²dúr-bhyām kévalā-bhyām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' 64 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 KHaL and GHaÑ 67] when co-occurring singly with the preverbs sú-° and dúr-°.

su+labh+KHaL = *su-lábh-a-* 'easy to obtain'; similarly *dur-lábh-a-* 'difficult to obtain, rare'. *su+labh+GHaÑ* = *su-lábh-á-/dur-lábh-á-* 'easily obtainable/rare'.
 But *su+pra+labh+KHaL* = *su-pra-lá-m-bh-a-*.

7.1.69 vibhāṣā ¹CiÑ-²NamūL-oḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] CiÑ and NamūL.

1. *labh+CiÑ* *dī+labh+CīÑ* (6.4.71) = *á-la-m-bh-i/á-lábh-i* : (*labh+IUN* = *á+labh+CīÑ+ta-ḥ*¹ 6.4.104) 'was gained'.
2. *labh+NamūL* = *lá-m-bh-am la-m-bh-am/lábh-am lábh-am* 'having gained'.

7.1.70 ¹úK=IT-²ac-āñ sarva-nāma-sthān-é=á-dhāt-oḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of a nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] with IT marker denoted by the siglum uK (= U, R, L) or one [ending in 1.1.72 such affix] excluding verbal stems (a-dhāt-o-ḥ), and the verbal stem ac- (= anc- : aṇc-6.4.24) [before 1.1.66] strong sUP triplets (sarva-nāma-sthān-é).

1. *bhāvatU+eU* = *bhāv-a-n-t+eU* (6.4.14) = *bhāv-a-n-t+ḥ* (6.1.68) = *bhāv-a-nḥ* (8.2.23); **tau* = *bhāva-n-t+au*: **Jas/am* = *bhāva-n-t-aḥ/bhāva-n-t-am*.
2. *gam+ŚatR* = *gam+ŚaP+atR* (3.1.68) = *gacch-a+at+eU* = *gacch-a-t+eU* (6.1.97) = *gacch-a-n-t+ḥ* (6.1.68) = *gacch-a-nḥ* (8.2.23); *gacch-a-nt-au*, *gacch-a-n-t-aḥ*, *gacch-a-n-t-am*.

3. $prā+añc-a-ti = prā+añc+KviN$ (3.2.59) = $prāñc+KviN$ (6.1.101) = $prāñc+KviN$ (6.4.24) = $prāñc+θ$ (6.1.67)+ sU = $prā-ñ-c+θ$ (6.1.68) = $prā-ñθ$ (8.2.23) = $prāñ$ (8.2.30). $prāñc-au$, $prāñc-aḥ$, $prāñc-am$; $prāñc+Śas = prāñc-aḥ$; $prāñc+Śi$ (1.1.42) $prāñc-ā$.

4. $śra+tyasUṆ = śréyas+sU$ (6.2.25) = $śréyā-n-s+sU$ (6.4.14) = $śréyā-n-s+θ$ (6.1.68) = $śréyā-nθ$ (8.2.23); $śréyā-m-s-au$ (8.3.23); $śréyā-m-s-aḥ$, $śréyā-m-s-am$, $śréyas+Śi = śréyā-m-s-i$; $śréyas+Śas = śréyas-aḥ$.

But $ukhā-y-ām srāms-a-ti = ukhā+θ^1+srāms+KviP = ukhā-srāθs+KviP = ukhā-srās+sU = ukhāsrās+θ$ (6.1.67) = $ukhā-srāt$ (8.2.72) 'falling in the cauldron' from the verbal stem $srāns-Ū$ $ava-srāms-an-e$ (I 790). The only exception to the constraint [á-dhāto-h] of this rule is in respect of $āncŪ$ $gāti-pūj-anay-oh$ I 203.

7.1.71 yuj-*r* á-sam-ās-e

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal ánga 6.4.1] $yuj-$ (VII 7) [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP affixes (sUT and $Śi$ 1.1.42-3) 70].

$yu-nā-k-ti = yuj+KviN$ (3.2.59) = $yúj+sU = yú-ñ-j+θ$ (6.1.68) = $yūñθ$ (8.2.23) = $yūñ$, $yú-ñ-j-au$, $yú-ñ-j-aḥ$, $yú-ñ-j-am$ but $dśvam yu-nā-k-ti = āśva+θ^1+yuj+KviP$ (3.2.61) = $āśva-yúj+sU = āśva-yúj+θ$ (6.1.68) = $āśva-yúk$ (8.2.30).

7.1.72 ná-puṁs-aka-sya ¹jhaL=²aC-aḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of] a neuter (ná-puṁs-aka-sya) [nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] a non-nasal consonant ($jhaL-$) or a vowel ($-aC-aḥ$) [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP 1.1.42-3 triplets 70].

In the case of neuter nominal stems the only strong sUP triplet is the substitute morpheme $Śi$ replacing both Jas and $Śas$ (7.1.20; 1.1.42).

1. $yásas+Śi = yásā-n-s-i$ (6.4.10) = $yásā-m-s-i$ (8.3.24) 'renowns'; $uda-śvlt+Śi = uda-śvlt-n-t-i$ 'mixtures of water and buttermilk'.
2. $vána+Śi = vānā-n-i$ (6.4.8) 'forests'; $dádhi+Śi = dadh-t-n-i$ 'curds', $mádhūn-i$ 'honey'; $karf-n-i$ (8.4.1) 'agents'; but $bahu-púr+Śi = bahu-púr-i$ 'possessing many fortified cities'; $vśmala-div+Śi = vśmala-div-i$ 'possessing a clear sky'; $catúr+Śi = catu-ś-r-i$ (98) = $catu-ś-r-i$ '4'.

7.1.73 iK-aḥ=aC-i vi-bhák-t-au

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM is inserted after the last vowel of a neuter 72 nominal 6.4.1 áṅga ending in 1.1.72] one of the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [before 1.1.66] vibhákṭi (1.4.104) [affixes = sUP triplets here, beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

vāri+Tā/Ñe/ÑasI/Ñas/os/Ñi = *vāri-ṇ/ā/e/as/as/os/i*; *mādhun-ā/e/as/as/os/i*;
kartṛ-ṇ-ā/e/as/as/os/i.

7.1.74 tṛ-tīyā=ādi-ṣu bhāṣ-i-tā-puṁs-k-āt puṁ-vát= gālava-sya

[A neuter 72 nominal 4.1.1 áṅga ending in 1.1.72 one of the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) 73] which has a masculine counterpart (bhāṣ-i-tā-puṁs-k-āt) is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát) [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets beginning with a vowel 73] starting with the third case (tṛ-tīyā-ādi-ṣu) according to the grammarian Gālava.

grāma-n nāy-a-ti = *grāma+nI+KviP* = *grāma-ñf- m., grāma-ñf- n.*
(1.2.47)+*Tā/Ñe/Ñas(I)/os/i* = *grāma-ñi-n/ā/e/as/os/i* : *grāma-ny/ā/ās/*
ás/ām (3.116).

7.1.75 ¹ásthi-²dádhi-³sákthi=⁴ákṣ-ṇ-ām áṇaÑ udātta-ḥ

The substitute element áṇaÑ with a high pitch (udātta-ḥ) accent replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] ásthi- 'bone', dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets with initial vowels 73 beginning with the third case 74].

1. *asthi+Tā/Ñe/Ñas(I)/os/Ñi* = *asth-dn+ā/e/as/os/i* = *asthñn-ā/* (6.4.134)/
e/aḥ/oh/asthán-i/asth-n-f; 2. *dadhán-i/dadhñ-f*; 3. *sakthán-i/sakth-n-f*; 4.
asthán-i/asth-n-f (6.4.136).

7.1.76 chāndas-i=ápi dṛś-yá-te

In the Chāndas [the substitute element áṇaÑ with udātta accent 75] is also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yá-te) [to replace the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ásthi- 'bone', dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' 75].

[dṛś-yá-te 'is seen'] implies contexts other than those specified in 75 above: (a) before

affixes beginning with consonants: *ásthi+bbhis* = *asth-án+bbhis* = *asthāḅ-bbhih* (8.2.7; 3.15); (b) before first and second sUP triplets: *ásthi+Śi* = *asth-ān-i* (8.4.8); (c) before non-vibhākti affixes: *ákṣi+matuP* = *akṣ-án+matUP* (8.4.2) = *akṣ-āḅ+nuṭ-matUP* (8.2.7, 16) = *akṣ-a-n-udī-* (8.2.9; 6.1.176 for accent) = *akṣ-a-ṇ-udī* (8.4.2); *asth-a-n-udī-*.

7.1.77 f ca dvi-vac-an-é

[In the Chāndas 76] the substitute phoneme long /í/ replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.552 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ásthi- 'bone'; dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' 75 before 1.1.66] dual sUP triplets (dvi-vac-an-é).

The expression [udātta-h] recurs here from 75 above, so that the substitute has the high-pitched accent.

ákṣi+Śi (19) = *akṣi+f* = *akṣ-f te indra píṅgal-é* 'your eyes, O Indra, are tawny-brown'; *akṣ-f-bhyām*.

7.1.78 ná=abhy-ās-t-āt=Śatuh

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the affix 3.1.1] ŚatR- [introduced after 3.1.2] reduplicated verbal [ánga-s 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 70].

dā+ŚátR = *dā+Śi+ŚátR* = *da-dā+átR* (6.1.10; 7.4.59) = *da-dḅ-atR* (6.4.112) = *dād-at+vu/au/Jas/am* = *dad-at+ḅ* (6.1.68), *dad-at-au/ah/am*. *jakṣ+ŚátR+eU/au/Jas/am* = *jákṣat+ḅ*, *jákṣ-at=au/ah/am*. Exception to 70 above.

7.1.79 vā ná-puṁs-aka-sya

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is optionally (vā) [inserted after the last vowel of] a neuter (ná-puṁs-aka-sya) [nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1 derived from a reduplicated verbal stem with affix 3.1.1 ŚatR 78 before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 70].

dhā+ŚátR = *dhā+Śi+ŚátR* = *dā-dhā-at* (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54)+*Śi* = *dā-dhḅ-at+Śi* (6.4.112) = *dādh-a-n-t-i/dādh-at-i*.

7.1.80 ā-t ¹Śī-²nady-ór nyM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] nyM is [optionally 79 inserted after the last vowel of the affix 3.1.1 ŚātṚ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme /a/ [before 1.1.66 the affixes] Śī and those denoted by the t.t. nadī (3.4.3ff.).

$tud+ŚātṚ = tud+Śā+ŚātṚ = tud+d-at- = tud-ā-t- (6.1.97)+Śī = tud-ā-n-t-I/tud-āt-I; tud-dt+NIP (4.1.6) = tud-ā-n-t-I/tud-at-f; yā+ŚātṚ = yā+θ^1+dtṚ = yā+dt+Śī = yā-n-t-I/yāt-f (6.1.173 \text{ for accent when nyM is not inserted}). Similarly yāt+NIP = yā-n-t-I/yāt-f.$

The reason for repeating [nyM] in this rule when it was already recurring from 58 onwards is to block out the recurrence of particles [ná 78] and [vā 79] simultaneously in this sūtra and avoid undesirable interpretations such as the increment may be optionally inserted before the affixes [Śī, nadī] and not at all after āṅga-s ending in the phoneme-class /a/, leading to false forms like [*kurv-ā-n-t-I] as alternative to [kurv-at-f] but not to [kar-i-śy-ā-n-ā].

7.1.81 ¹ŚaP-²ŚyaN-or nītya-m

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 80] is necessarily (nītya-m) [inserted after the last vowel of affix 3.1.1 ŚātṚ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the present class markers] ŚaP and ŚyaN [before 1.1.66 the affixes Śī and nadī (1.4.3ff.) 80].

1. $pac+ŚātṚ = pac+ŚaP+dtṚ = pac-a+at+Śī/NIP = pac-a-n-t-I (6.1.97).$
2. $div+ŚyaN+ŚātṚ = div-ya-at+Śī/NIP (8.2.76) = div-y-a-n-t-I (6.1.97).$

7.1.82 s-AU anaduh-aḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 80 is inserted after the last vowel of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] anad-ūḥ- 'ox' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] sU.

$anad-ūh+sU = anad-ū-ā-h+sU (98) = anad-vāh+sU (6.1.77) = anad-vā-n-h+sU = anad-vānh+θ (6.1.68) = anad-vānθ (8.2.23).$

7.1.83 ¹dīś=²sv-āvas=³svā-tavas-ām chāndas-i

In the Chāndas [the infixed increment 1.1.47 nyM 80 is inserted after the last vowel of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-dīś- 'appearing like', sv-āvas- 'affording good protection' and svā-tavas 'self-strong' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

1. $I-df\acute{s}+sU = Idf\acute{-}n-\acute{s}+sU = I-df\acute{-}\tilde{n}-\acute{s}+\emptyset$ (8.1.68) = $I-df\acute{-}\tilde{n}-\emptyset$ (8.2.23) = $I-df\acute{-}\tilde{n}$ (8.2.30),
2. $sv-av\acute{a}s+sU = sv-av\acute{a}-n-\acute{s}+sU$ (8.4.14) = $sv-av\acute{a}ns/\emptyset$ (8.1.68) = $sv-av\acute{a}-n\emptyset$ (8.2.23).
3. $sv\acute{a}-ta-v\acute{a}-n$.

7.1.84 div-áh=auT

The substitute phoneme au(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] div- 'sky, heaven' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

$$dfv+sU = df-au+sU = dyau\acute{-}s = dyau\acute{-}h \text{ (8.2.66; 3.15).}$$

7.1.85 'pathí(n)²mathí(n)=³ṛbhukṣ-ām āT

The substitute phoneme long ā(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning rod or stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra or the first of the Ṛbhu-s' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

1. $pathín+sU = pathí\acute{-}ā+sU = pathā\acute{-}ā+sU$ (86) = $panthā\acute{-}ā+sU$ (87) = $pānth-ā-h$ (6.1.199 for accent; 6.1.97; 8.2.66; 3.15). Similarly 2. $mānth-ā-h$; 3. $ṛbhukṣ-ā-h$.

7.1.86 iT-ah=aT sarva-nāma-sthān-é

The substitute phoneme short a(T) replaces the short phoneme i(T) [of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning rod or stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra' 85 before 1.1.66] strong sUP (affixes 1.1.42-3).

- Exx. before [sU] cited under 85 above. $pathín+au/Jas/am = pāthan+au$ (6.1.199) = $pānthan+au$ (87) = $pānthān+au$ (6.4.8)/ $pānthān-ah$ /pānthān-am. Similarly: $mānthān+au/ah/am$; $ṛbhukṣān+au/ah/am$.

7.1.87 th-ah nth-ah

The substitute phoneme /nth/ replaces the phoneme /th/ [of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path' and mathín- 'churning stick or rod' 85 before strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

Exx. cited under 86 above.

7.1.88 bha-sya ṬE-r lópa-h

Lópa (Ø) replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of BHA (1.4.18-9) stems [of the nominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra' 85 before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel or y- * 1.4.18].

$pathín + Śas / Ṭā / Ōe / Ōas(l) / os / Ōi = path-ā / ē / dh / dh / i; +ām = path-ām$ wherein Ø replaces *-ín. $math-ā / ē / dh / dh / ām / i; ṛbhukṣ-ā / ē / dh / dh / ām / i$.

7.1.89 púrṁs-aḥ=asUN

The substitute element asUN replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] púrṁs- 'man, male' [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

$púrṁs + sU / au / Jas / am = púrṁ-as + sU / au / Jas / am = púrṁa-n-s + sU / au / Jas / am$ (70)
 $= púrṁāns + sU / au / Jas / am = púrṁāns + Ø$ (6.1.68) $/ au / as / am = púrṁān-$
 (8.2.23) $/ púrṁāns-au / aḥ / am = púrṁāṁs-au / aḥ / am$ (8.3.23).

7.1.90 gó-taḥ=N-IT

[The strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] gó- 'cow/bull' are treated like those having marker N as IT.

$gó + sU / au / Jas = gáu-sU / au / aḥ = gáu-h, gáu-au / aḥ$ (6.1.78). For $gó + am / Śas$ cf. 6.1.93 $gām / gās (= gá-h)$.

7.1.91 NaL uttama-h vā

[The Parasmaipadá first person I-substitute of IIT 3.4.82] NaL is optionally (vā) [treated like those having N as IT marker 90].

$pac + NaL = pa-pac + NaL = pa-pāc-a / pa-pāc-a$ (6.1.8; 7.4.60). But $pac + NaL$ (3rd pers. sing.) = $pa-pā-ca$.

7.1.92 sákhy-ur á-sam-bud-dh-au

[The strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86] excluding the vocative sing. (á-sam-bud-dh-au) [introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] sákhi- 'friend, companion' [are treated like those with marker N as IT 90].

sákhi+eU/au/Jas/am = *sákh-ai+au/Jas/am* (7.2.115) = *sákhāy-au/as/am* (6.1.78). For *sákhi+eU* cf. 93 below.
sákhi+eU (sam-bud-dh-au) = *sákh-e* (3.108; 6.1.69).

7.1.93 *anaṅ* s-AU

The substitute element *anaṅ* replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 2.2.53 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *sákhi-* 'companion' 92 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] sU [excluding that of the vocative singular 92].

sákhi+eU = *sákh-an+eU* = *sákhān+e* (6.4.8) = *sákhān+θ* (6.1.68) = *sákhāθ* (8.2.7);
 before voc. sing.: *sákh-e* (92 above).

7.1.94 ¹ṛT=²uśánas=³puru-dámś-as=⁴an-eh-ás-ām ca

[The substitute element *anaṅ* 93] also (ca) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short ṛ(T) and *uśánas-* 'n.pr.', *puru-dámś-as-* 'abounding in marvelous deeds' and *an-eh-ás-* 'unrivaled' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 93 excluding that of the vocative singular 92].

1. ¹ṛT: *karṭ+eU* = *kart-án+eU* = *kart-án+θ* (6.4.8; 6.1.68) = *kar-tāθ* (8.2.7);
kar-tṛ+eU (voc.) = *kar-tar+eU* (3.110) = *kár-tar+θ* (8.2.24) = *kar-tāḥ* (8.3.15).
2. *uśánas+eU* = *uśána+an+eU* = *uśán-a-n+eU* (6.1.97) = *uśán-ān+θ* (6.1.68) =
uśánāθ (8.2.7) = *uśánā*; *+eU (vocative)* = *úśanas+θ* = *úśanas* = *úśanaḥ*.
 Similarly 3. *puru-dámśā*, *aneḥā*; voc.: *púru-damśāḥ*, *áneḥāḥ*.

7.1.95 *ṭṛC*=vát *króṣ-ṭu-h*

[Before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86, excluding the vocative singular 92, the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] *króṣ-ṭu* 'jackal' is treated like one [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *ṭṛC*.

krúṣ+tuN (Uṇādi) = *króṣ-ṭu+eU/au/Jas/am* = *krúṣ+ṭṛC+eU/au/Jas/am* =
króṣ-ṭṛ+eU/au/as/am = *króṣ-ṭ-án+eU* (94) = *króṣ-ṭ-án+θ* = *króṣ-ṭāθ* (6.1.68;
 4.8; 8.2.7); *króṣ-ṭṛ+au/as/am* = *króṣ-ṭār-au/as/am* (3.110; 6.4.11); *+eU (voc)*
 = *króṣ-ṭo* (3.108; 6.1.69).

7.1.96 striy-āṁ ca

[Before 1.1.66] a feminine [affix 4.1.3ff.] also (ca) [the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga 6.4.1 krós-ṭu- 'jackal' 95 is treated like one ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 tḥC 95].

$$krós-ṭu + \check{N}f\check{S} \text{ (4.1.63)} = kros-ṭf + \check{N}f\check{S} \text{ (4.1.41)} = kros-ṭr-f.$$

7.1.97 vibhāṣā ṭṛ-tṛyā-ādi-ṣu=aC-i

[The nominal 4.1.1 āṅga 6.4.1 krós-ṭu- 'jackal' 95 is treated like one ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 tḥC 95] optionally (vibhāṣā) [before 1.1.66] sUP triplets with initial vowels (aC-i), beginning with the third (case: ṭṛ-tṛyā-ādi-ṣu).

$$krós-ṭu-/kros-ṭf+Tā/\check{N}e/\check{N}as(I)/os/\check{N}i = krós-ṭu-nā \text{ (3.120)}/kros-ṭr-ā; krós-ṭau-s \text{ (3.111)}/kros-ṭr-é; krós-ṭ-o-h \text{ (6.1.110)}/kros-ṭ-ū-h \text{ (6.1.111); } krós-ṭ-au \text{ (3.112-19)}/kros-ṭár-i \text{ (3.110)}.$$

7.1.98 ¹catúr-²anaḍ-úh-or āM udāṭṭa-h

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] āM with high-pitched accent (ud-āṭṭa-h) [is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga-s 6.4.1] catúr- 'four' and anaḍ-úh- 'beast of burden' [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

$$catúr+Jas/\acute{S}i = catu-á-r-as/i = catvár-ah/catvár-í.
anaḍ-úh+sU = anaḍ-u-á-h+sU = anaḍ-vá-n-h+sU \text{ (82)} = anaḍ-vá-nθ \text{ (6.1.68)} -
anaḍ-vānθ \text{ (8.2.23); } anaḍ-vāh=au/as/am.$$

7.1.99 aM sam-búd-dh-au

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] aM [is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga-s 6.4.1] catúr- 'four' and anaḍ-úh- 'beast of burden' 98 before 1.1.66] the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au).

1. *priy-á-catur+sU* = *priy-á-catu-a-r+θ* (6.1.68) = *priy-á-catu-a-r* = *príy-a-catu-a-h* (8.3.15).
2. *anaḍ-úh+sU* = *ánaḍ-u-a-h+sU* = *ánaḍ-v-a-n-h+θ* (82; 6.1.68) = *ánaḍ-vanθ* (8.2.23) = *ánaḍ-van*.

7.1.100 ṛT-ah iT=dhāto-ḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] phoneme long ṛ(T) of a verbal [ánga 6.4.1] (dhāto-ḥ).

$kṛ+Śā+tiP = kir-ā-ti$ 'scatters'; $kṛ+Ktā- = kir+nd-$ (8.2.42) = $kṛ-nd-$ (8.2.76) = $kṛ-nd-$ (8.4.1) 'scattered'. But $pitṛ-ṇ-ām$.

7.1.101 upa-dhā-y-ās=ca

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 100] also replaces [the ánga 6.4.1] penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [phoneme long ṛ(T) of a verbal stem 100].

$kṛt+NīC+ŚāP+tiP = kirt+ī+a+ti = kirt$ (8.2.76)+ $ē+a+ti$ (7.3.84) = $kṛt-āy-a-ti$ (6.1.78) 'extols, celebrates'.

7.1.102 $\text{uT óṣṭh-ya-pūrva-sya}$

The substitute phoneme short u(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] vowel long ṛ(T) of a verbal stem 100] preceded by a labial (consonant: óṣṭh-ya-purva-sya).

$pṛ+Ktā- = pur+Ktā- = pār-tā-$ (8.2.57,76) 'filled up'; $pṛ+saN+ŚāP+tiP = pū-pur-sa+a-ti$ (6.1.9) = $pū-pār-ṣa-ti$ (8.2.76; 3.59) 'desires to fill'

7.1.103 $\text{bahulā-in chāndas-i}$

In the Chāndas [the substitute short vowel u(T) 102] variously replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] vowel long ṛ of verbal stems 100].

This is in contexts other than those specified above.

1. when ṛ is preceded by a consonant other than a labial: $tṛ+KiN$ (3.2.171) = $tā-tṛ+ī$ (6.1.8; 7.4.66); = $tā-tur-i-$; $+Kī=ta-tur-i$.
2. Does not operate when ṛ is preceded by a labial: $pṛ+KiN+tamaP = pa-pṛ+īT-tama = pā-pr-i-tama-$; but $pā-pur-i/pa-pur-i$ (3.2.171).

7.2.1 s̥C-i v̥d-dhi-h parasmai-padé-ṣu

Substitute vowels denoted by the t.t. v̥d-dh-i (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) replace [the āṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ 1.1.3) of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker] s̥C (3.1.44), co-occurring with Parasmaipadā l-substitutes.

By metarule 1.1.3 V̥ddhi and Guṇā used by themselves imply the substituenda as vowels represented by the siglum iK. So the āṅga vowels involved are i, u, ṛ or ḷ.

$d\bar{T}+ci+s̥iC+tiP = d-cai-ṣ-IT+ti$ (3.4.100; 7.3.98; 8.3.59) = $d-cai-ṣ-I-t$ 'has heaped up'; similarly $pā+IU\bar{N} = pā+s̥iC+i\bar{T}+s+IT+ti$ (35; 3.96) = $d-pāu-i-ḷ-I-t$ (8.2.28) = $d-pāu-I-t$; $kṛ+s̥iC = d-kṛ+s̥iC+IT+ti = d-kār-ṣ-I-t$, but before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes. $cya+s̥iC+ta = d-cyo-ṣ-ta$ (3.84; 8.3.59; 4.41); $kṛ+s̥iC+ta = d-kṛ-ḷ-ta$ (1.2.12; 8.2.27) = $d-kṛ-ta$.

7.2.2 aT-aḥ r-l̥=anta-sya

[Substitute v̥ddhi 1 (ā 1.1.1) replaces] the short vowel a(T) [of a verbal āṅga 6.4.1] ending in (*ānta-sya) the phonemes /r/ or /l/ [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker s̥C followed by Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

$kṣar+s̥iC+ti = a-kṣār+i\bar{T}-s̥iC+IT+ti = d-kṣār-i-ḷ-I-t$ (8.2.28) = $d-kṣār-I-t$ 'has trickled or oozed'; similarly $jval+s̥iC+ti = d-jvāl-I-t$ 'has burnt'. Prior exception to 7 below.

7.2.3 ¹vād-²vraj-³hāl-anta-sya aC-aḥ

[Substitute v̥ddhi 1] replaces the vowel (aC) [of the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] vād- 'speak' (I 1058), vāj- 'wander; (I 272) and those ending in a consonant (hāl-anta-sya) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker s̥C co-occurring with Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

The expression [aC] here, like [aT in the preceding rule] is to remove the constraint of metarule 1.1.3 which stipulates that the substituenda are the vowels comprised by the siglum iK. [vād-, vāj-] though ending in a consonant, are included to block out the option introduced under 7.

1. $vad+s̥iC+ti = d-vād+i\bar{T}-s̥iC+IT+ti$ (35; 3.96) = $d-vād-i-ḷ-I-t$ (8.2.28) = $d-vād-I-t$.
2. $d-vāj-I-t$. $pac+s̥iC = d-pāk-ṣ-I-t$ (3.96; 8.2.30) 'has cooked'; $bhid+s̥iC = d-bhait-ṣ-I-t$ (8.4.55) 'has broken'; $rudh+s̥iC = d-raut-ṣ-I-t$ 'has blocked'.

7.2.4 ná=iT-1

[Vṛddhi (1.1.1) 1] does not (ná) replace [the ánga 8.4.1 vowel 3 of verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 3 before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker s̥C 1] co-occurring with [initial increment 1.1.46] iT̄ [followed by Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

div+siC = *d-div+iT̄-siC+iT̄-t* (35.3.96) = *d-dev-i-ṭ-t* (3.86; 8.2.28) = *d-dev-t* 'has sported or gambled'; similarly: *muṣ+siC* = *d-moṣ-t* 'has stolen', but from stems ending in vowels, cf. 1 above.

7.2.5 ¹h-²m-³y=anta=⁴kṣaṇ-⁵śvās-⁶jāgr-⁷ñi-⁸śvi=⁹éT=IT-ām

[Vṛddhi (1.1.1) 1] does not 4 replace the vowel 3 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes /h, m, y/ as also of kṣaṇ- 'injure' (VIII 3), śvās- 'breathe' (II 60), jāgr- 'wake up' (II 63) and those [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] ñiC, as also śvi- 'swell' (I 1059) and those with marker E(T) as IT [when first introduced in the Dhṛp.] [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker s̥C 1 co-occurring with initial increment iT̄ 4 followed by Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

1. -h: *grah+siC+t* = *d-grah+i-s-i-t* (35, 3.96) = *d-grah-i-ṭ-t* (8.2.28) = *d-grah-t* (6.1.101) 'has grasped or seized'; similarly: 2. *syam+siC+t* = *āsyam-t* 'has made a sound'. 3. *d-vyay-t* 'has spent money'. 4. *d-kṣaṇ-t* 'has injured'. 5. *d-śvās-t* 'has breathed'. 6. *jāgr+siC* = *d-jāgar-t* (3.84) 'woke up'. 7. *ā+ān+ñiC+siC+t* (6.4.72) = *dī+ān-e+i-s-i-t* = *aún-ay-i-ṭ-t* (6.1.90, 78; 8.2.28) = *aún-ay-t* (3.1.41 blocking 3.1.48) 'caused to ebb'. This is restricted to the three other verbal stems *dhvan-*, *il-*, *ard-* in the domain of Chāndas only; elsewhere affix [CaN] replaces [s̥C]. 8. *śvi+siC+t* = *d-śvay-t* (3.84) 'has swollen'. 9. *rag-É+i-s-i-t* = *d-rag-t* 'has doubled'. Examples 1, 5 and 9 are exceptions to 7 below.

7.2.6 ūṛṇ-6-te-r vibhāṣā

[Vṛddhi 1 does not 4] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replace the vowel 3 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ūṛṇu- 'cover' (II 30) [before 1.1.86 the Aorist marker s̥C 1 co-occurring with initial increment iT̄ 4 followed by Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

prā+ūṛṇu+iT̄-siC+iT̄-t = *pra+āT̄-ārṇu+i-ṭ-t* = *prāūrṇav-t* (3.84)/*prāūrṇāṇu-t*/ *prāūrṇuv-t* (1.2.3; 6.4.77).

7.2.7 aT-ah hāL-āde-r laghó-ḥ

[Vṛddhi (1.1.1) 1 does not 4 optionally 6 replace] the light vowel (laghó-ḥ) a(T) [of an āṅga 6.4.1] beginning with a consonant (hāL-āde-ḥ) [before Aorist marker siC 1, co-occurring with initial increment iṭ 4 followed by Parasmaipadā 1-substitutes 1].

$raṇ+iṭ-siC+iṭ-t = d-raṇ-i-t/d-rāṇ-i-t$ 'has sounded', but by 3 above: $d-vāḍ-i-t$, $d-vrāḍ-i-t$; by 2 above $d-juāḍ-i-t$; but in the case of a heavy syllable: $d-takṣ-i-t$ 'has fashioned'

7.2.8 ná=iṭ vaŚ-i kṛt-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṭ is not (ná) [inserted at the head of] a kṛt [affix 3.1.1] (3.1.93ff.) [beginning with semivowels] and voiced stops (vaŚ) excluding /y/.

Exception to 35 below.

1. $ś+varāC$ (3.2.175) = $ś-varā-$ 'ruler, lord, god'. 2. $dṛp+rd$ (3.2.167) = $dṛp-rd-$ 'shining'. 3. $bhas+manin$ = $bhās-man-$ (3.2.75) 'ashes'. 4. $yāc+nā+TāP$ (3.3.90, 4.1.4) = $yāc-nā-$ 'begging'.

Before other kṛt affixes: $ś-i-tum$, $dṛp-i-tum$, $bhās-i-tum$, $yāc-i-tum$. Before non-kṛt affixes, however, 35 below operates: $rud+iṭ+va/mā = ru-rud-i-vā/mā$ (8.1.8; 7.4.60).

7.2.9 ¹ti-²tu-³tra-⁴ta-⁵tha-⁶śi-⁷sū-⁸sāra-⁹ka-¹⁰śe-ḥu ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṭ is not inserted 8] also (ca) [at the head of kṛt 8 affixes 3.1.1] °-ti-, °-tu-, °-tra-, °-ta-, °-tha-, °-śi-, °-sū-, °-sāra-, °-ka- and °-śa-.

Except for the first and third, all the remaining affixes are Upādi.

1. °-ti- = KtiN/KtiC: $tan+KtiC = tan-ti-$ 'cord, line, string', but $tān-i-tum$; $dṛp+KtiN = dṛp-ti-$ 'lustre', but $dṛp-i-tum$.
2. °-tu(N uN 1.69): $sac+tu(N) = śak-tu-$ 'barley meal', but $śac-i-tum$ 'to associate with'.
3. °-tra (ŚtraN uN 4.155): $tan+ŚtraN = tān-tra-$ (f. $tan-tr-$); $tān-i-tum$ 'loom/to extend'; $pat+ŚtraN$ (3.2.182) $pāt-tra-$ 'vehicle, cart', but $pāt-i-tum$.
4. °-ta(N uN): $has+taN$ (uN 3.86) = $hās-ta-$ 'hand', but $hās-i-tum$.
5. °-tha (KthaN uN 2.2): $kṣ+KthaN = kṣ-ṭha-$ 'n. of a plant', but $kṣ-i-tum$.
6. °śi (Kśi uN 3.155): $kṣ+Kśi = kṣ+śi$ (8.2.36) = $kuk-śi-$ (8.2.41; 3.59) 'stomach'.
7. °sū (sūk uN 3.157): $iṣ+śūK = iṣ-śū-$ (8.2.41; 3.59) 'sugar-cane', but $iṣ-i-tum$.
8. °sāra (uN 3.70): $aś+sāra- = aṣ-sāra-$ (8.2.36) = $ak-śāra-$ (8.2.41; 3.59) 'syllable' but $aś-i-tum$.
9. °ka (kaN uN 3.43): $śal+kaN = śāl-ka-$ 'chip', but $śāl-i-tum$.

10. *-śā- (uN 3.62): *vad+śā-* = *vat-śā-* 'calf', but *vād-i-tum*; *han+śā-* = *hañ-śā-* (8.3.24) 'swan'.

Exceptions to this rule (by vārttika): *-KtiN: *ni-gṛh-i-ti-* (37) 'restraint'; *upa-enśh-i-ti-* 'becoming wet, moistening'; *ni-kūc-i-ti-* 'contraction'; *ni-pāṭh-i-ti-* 'study, recitation'.

7.2.10 ekā=aC-aḥ upa-deś-é=án-udātt-āt

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̐ is not inserted 8 at the head of an affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] a monosyllabic (ekāC-aḥ) verbal stem bearing a low-pitched (ánudātta) accent when first introduced (in the Dhp. *upa-deś-é*).

By 35 below this initial increment is generally inserted at the head of an árdhadhātuka affix beginning with all consonants excluding the semivowel y-^o. The present rule is a prior exception to that and blocks this insertion. Such verbal stems are I 906-9,912; 946-1014; II 1-7; 31-57,59; III 1-13; IV 26-40,57-91; V 1-17; VI 1-6; 109-42; VII 1-7,12-17; VIII 10; IX 1-9,29-36. There are, however, some exceptions which are dealt with in separate rules. Kāśikā and Siddhanta-Kaumudī provide special kārīkās to enumerate these for ease of reference. A few general rules may be specified here. Verbal stems end either in a vowel or a consonant. Of those ending in vowels, all except those ending in short ^oa- are án-udātta and so on.

pūN pav-an-e IX 12 has the udātta accent and so we have *á-pāv-i-s-am* in the Aorist (IUÑ) and *pāv-i-tum*, but from *DU-kṛ-N kár-aṇ-e* (VIII 10) which is ánudātta the corresponding forms are *á-kár-s-am/kár-tum*.

7.2.11 ¹śrí=²uK-aḥ K-IT-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̐ is not inserted 8 at the head of an affix 3.1.1] with marker K as IT [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] śrí- 'lean or depend upon' (I 945) and those [which end in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum uK (= u,ṛ,ḷ).

1. *śrí-N sevā-y-am* bears the udātta accent but the initial increment is blocked only for K-IT affixes after this stem: *śrí+Ktá* = *śrí-tá-*, ^o+*Ktvá* = *śrí-tvá*, but *śrí+ṭfC* = *śrí+iṭ̐-ṭf-* = *śre-i-ṭf* (3.84) = *śray-i-ṭf-*; *śray-i-tum*.
2. ^o*uK*: *yá mīśr-aṇ-e* (II 23)+*Ktá* = *yu-tá*; +*Ktvá* = *yu-tvá*; +*tumyN* = *yáv-i-tum*; *lāN chéd-aṇ-e*+*Ktá/Ktvá* = *lá-ná* (8.2.44)/*lá-tvá*; *vṛN var-aṇ-e*+*Ktá/Ktvá* = *vṛ-tá*/*vṛ-tvá*; +*tumyN* = *vár-i-tum/vár-i-tum* (38).

7.2.12 saN-i 'gráh-¹gúh-os=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 Iṭ̣ is not inserted 8 at the head of the desiderative affix 3.1.1] saN also (ca) [when introduced after 3.1.1 the verbal ángá 6.4.1] gráh- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61) or gúh- 'hide' (I 944) as well as (ca) [after those ending in 1.1.72 vowels denoted by the siglum uK 11].

1. *gráh+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *ḡ-gráh-sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.60,62,79) = *jḡgh-sa-ti* (6.1.16,97) = *jḡ-gráh-sa-ti* (8.2.31) = *jḡgh-k-sa-ti* (8.2.37,41; 8.59).
2. Similarly: *guh+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jú-ghuk-sa-ti*.
3. *uK: *rú+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *rú-rá-sa-ti* (6.4.16; 8.3.59).
śrf- (11) is not included in this rule because of the option in 49 below.

7.2.13 'kṛ-²ṣṛ-³bhṛ-⁴vṛ-⁵stu-⁶dru-⁷sru-⁸śruv-ah Iṭ̣-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̣ is not inserted 8 at the head of l-substitutes of] Iṭ̣ (Perfect) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] kṛ- 'make' (VIII 10), ṣṛ- 'move, flow' (I 982, III 17), bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5), vṛ-Ṛ 'cover' (V 8), vṛ-Ṛ 'choose, share' (IX 38), stu- 'praise' (II 34), dru- 'run' (I 992), sru- 'run, ooze' (I 987) and śru- 'hear' (I 989).

The verbal stems listed above, except for the cover term [vṛ] are all ánudātta while [vṛ-Ṛ, vṛ-Ṛ] are both udātta. In the former case the constraint is with reference to the nature of the stem (10) and with the latter to the affix (11). 1. *kṛ+Iṭ̣+ud/má* = *ca-kṛ-ud/má*; 2. *sa-ṣṛ-ud/má*; 3. *ba-bhṛ-ud/má*; 4. *va-vṛ-ud-má*; *va-vṛ-váhe/máhe*; 5. *tu-stu-ud/má* (4.61, 8.3.59); 6. *du-dru-ud/má*; 7. *śu-sru-ud/má*; 8. *śu-śru-ud/má*.

The constraint here is limited only to K-IT l-substitutes with reference to the general rule 11 above. For the stems [stu-, dru-, sru-, śru-] the option provided by 83 below is also blocked by this prior exception.

7.2.14 'śví=²Iṭ̣=IT-ah niṣṭhá-y-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̣ is not inserted 8 at the head of] niṣṭhá (Ktá-, KtávatU 1.1.26) [affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] śví- 'swell' (I 1059) and those with marker long I(T) as IT [when first introduced in the Dhp. 10].

1. *ṬU-O-śví+Ktá-* = *śví+td* (6.1.15) = *śu-nd-* (8.2.45) = *śā-nd-* (6.4.2) 'swollen'.
2. *O-laj-Ṭ vṛtáddā-y-ām* (VI 10)+*Ktá* = *lag+nd* (8.2.30,45).

The word [niṣṭhá-y-ām] recurs in the following rules up to 35 below.

7.2.15 ya-sya vibhāṣā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̐ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 after which 1.1.67 insertion of the initial increment] has been made optional (yā-sya vibhāṣā).

Rule 45 below prescribes this option for the verbal stem [dhū-Ń] 'shake, agitate' and for those with marker long Ū(T) as IT: 1. *vi+dhū+Ktā-* = *vi-dhū-ia-* 'shaken or tossed about' (6.2.49 for accent). 2. *gūh-Ū sam-vāṛ-aṇ-e* (I 944)+*Ktā-* = *gudh+Ktā-* (8.2.31) = *gudh-dhā-* (8.2.40) = *gudh-dhā-* (8.4.41) = *guḥ-dhā-* (8.3.13) = *gā-dhā-* (6.3.111) 'hidden, secreted'.

7.2.16 āT=IT=as=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̐ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] with marker Ā(T) as IT also [when first introduced in the Dhṛ. 10].

NI-mā-d-Ā anēh-aṇ-e (I 779)+*Ktā-* = *mid+tā-* = *min-nā-* (8.2.42).

7.2.17 vibhāṣā ¹bhāvā=²ādi-kar-māṇ-oh

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̐ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1] optionally (vibhāṣā) when [introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 with marker Ā as IT 15 when first introduced in the Dhṛ. 10] to denote an impersonal (bhāvā-°) or inceptive meaning (°-ādi-kar-māṇ-i).

The present rule blocks the operation of 15 above in the impersonal and inceptive meanings and permits the optional insertion of the initial increment.

NI-mid-Ā+Ktā- = *min-nā-m/med-i-tā-m* (1.2.19, 7.3.86) *an-éna*; *pra-min-nā-/pra-med-i-tā-* (3.4.71).

7.2.18 ¹kṣub-dhā-²svān-tā-³dhvān-tā-⁴lag-nā-⁵mliṣ-ṭā- ⁶vī-rib-dhā-⁷phāṇ-ṭā-⁸bā-dhā-n-i ¹manthā-²mānas=³tāmas= ⁴saktā=⁵ā-vi-spaṣ-ṭa-⁶svarā=⁷ān-ā-yās-a-⁸bhṛṣe-ṣu

The expressions 1. kṣub-dhā-, 2. svān-tā-, 3. dhvān-tā-, 4. lag-nā-, 5. mliṣ-ṭā-, 6. vī-rib-dhā-, 7. phāṇ-ṭā- and 8. bā-dhā- are introduced [with affix Ktā 14, not co-occurring with initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̐ 8] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 1. a mixed beverage or churning rod, 2. mind, 3. darkness, 4. attached, 5. indistinct, 6. tone, 7. made without effort and 8. strong, vehement.

In other senses the expressions are: *kəubh-i-tá-* 'stirred'; *svan-i-tá-* 'sounded', *dhvan-i-tá-* 'indicated, suggested', *lag-i-tá-* 'adhered', *mlecch-i-tá-* 'spoken wrongly or indistinctly', *vf-rebh-i-ta-* 'chattered', *phān-i-tá-* 'inapissated or condensed juice of sugar-cane' and *bāh-i-tá-* 'exerted'.

The irregularly derived forms either constrain the meaning or undergo special modifications not regulated by rules framed: In the case of verbal stems *mlecch-*, *rebh-* the stem vowels are shortened (by 1.1.48); in the case of *lag-*, *Ktá*→*Knd*.

7.2.19 ¹dhṛṣ-²śás-I vafyāt-y-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal śūga-s 6.4.1] dhṛṣ- 'dare' (V 22) and śás- 'hurt, injure' (I 763) to denote insolence (vaf-yāt-y-e).

1. *NI-dhṛṣ-Ā prā-galbh-y-e+Ktá-* = *dhṛṣ-ṭá-* (8.4.41) 'impudent, audacious', but *dharṣ-i-tá-* (1.2.29) 'over-powered, ill-treated'. The operation of 16 above is restricted by this rule in the specific sense of 'insolence' only.
2. *vi-śas+Ktá-* = *vi-śas-tá-* 'rude, ill-mannered' but *vf-śas-i-ta-* 'cut up, dissected'. This stem is also introduced with marker U as IT: *śás-U himśā-y-ām* and by 56 below and 15 above both forms are realized, but the present rule delimits their use in specific senses.

7.2.20 dṛ-ḍhā-ḥ ¹sthū-lā-²bál-ay-oh

The expression dṛ-ḍhā- is introduced [without initial increment iṬ 8 inserted at the head of affix 3.1.1 Ktá 14, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal śūga 6.4.1 dṛmḥ- 'grow' (I 770)] to denote 'stout' (sthū-lā-^o) and 'strong' (*-bál-ay-oh).

dṛmḥ+Ktá- = *dṛṭh+Ktá-* = *dṛḍh+dḥá-* = *dṛḍha+dḥá-* = *dṛṭ-dḥá-*. In other senses: *dṛmḥ-i-tá/dṛh-i-tá-* from the twin verbal stems *dṛmḥ-/dṛh-* (I 770/769). The irregular derivative cited in this rule presupposes a 0 replacement of phonemes /nh/ in the first stem and of /h/ in the second and substitute [ḍh] replacing [t] of the affix. The derivation shown above becomes defective in deriving further derivatives of [dṛ-ḍhā-] on account of the governing rule 8.2.1 in *dṛ-ḍhā+imānīO* (5.1.123) = *dra-dh-imān-* by 6.4.161 which stipulates the restriction that /ra/ replaces /ṛ/ preceded by a consonant only when it is a light syllable, but by metarule 8.2.1 *dṛḍh+dḥá-* = *drṭ-dḥá-* by 8.3.13 does not fulfil the conditions laid down by 6.4.61, and /ra/ replacement of [ṛ] is blocked. Hence the need for special introduction of the finished form without subjecting it to normal derivation.

7.2.21 pra-bh-aú pari-vṛ-dhá-h

The expression *pari-vṛ-dhá-* is introduced as a fully formed one to denote 'a sovereign, king' (*pra-bh-aú*) [derived with affix *Ktá* introduced after the verbal ánga 6.4.1 *vṛnh-/vṛh-* (I 772, 221) without the initial increment *īṭ* 8].

Its derivation is similar to that of [*ḍṛ-dhá-*] above. In other senses: *pári-vṛnh-i-ta/vṛh-i-ta-* 'increased, augmented'. Cf. *pari-vradh-imán-* (6.4.61) 'capability'.

7.2.22 ¹kṛcch-rá=²gáh-anay-oh kás-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *īṭ* is not inserted 8 at the head of *nīṣṭhá* 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] *kás-* 'rub' (I 716) to denote 'difficult' (*kṛcch-rá-°*) or 'impenetrable, impervious' (*°-gáh-anay-oh*).

kás+Ktá- = *kaṣ-tá-* (8.4.41): *kaṣ-tá-h agní-h* 'fire is troublesome' or *kaṣ-tá-m vana-m* 'the forest is impenetrable'. But *kaṣ-i-tá-m su-úarna-m* 'gold has been tested on the touchstone'.

7.2.23 ghúṣ-ÍR á-vi-śabd-an-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *īṭ* is not inserted 8 at the head of *nīṣṭhá* 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] *ghúṣ-ÍR* (I 683) when the sense is 'not to proclaim' (*á-vi-śabd-an-e*).

ghuṣ+Ktá+ṬāP = *ghuṣ-ṭ-á* (8.4.41) *rájju-h* 'the rope has been rubbed'; similarly *ghuṣ-ṭ-aú pād-au* 'the two feet have been massaged'; but from the verbal stem *ghuṣ-ÍR vi-śabd-an-e* (X 187)+*Ktá-* = *ghuṣ-i-tá-* 'proclaimed, declared, sounded'.

7.2.24 árd-e-h ¹sám=²ní=³ví-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *īṭ* is not inserted 8 at the head of *nīṣṭhá* 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] *árd-* 'go, beg' (I 56), co-occurring with the preverbs *sám-°*, *ní-°* and *ví-°*.

sám+ard+Ktá = *sám-arṇ-ṇa* (8.2.42; 4.2) = *sám-arṇa-* (8.4.64) 'wounded, injured'; similarly *ny-árṇa-* 'dissolved'; *vṛ-árṇa-* 'oppressed, harassed', but *ard-i-tá-* 'asked, requested'.

7.2.25 *abhé-s=ca ś-vi-dūr-y-e*

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̥ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1 ārd- 'beg, request, ask' (I 56) 24] co-occurring with the preverb abhí- 'to denote 'proximity' (ś-vi-dūr-y-e).

abhl+ārd+Ktā+TāP = *abhy-arṇ-ā senā* 'the army is in the vicinity'; *abhy-arṇ-ā śardt* 'autumn is approaching', but *abhy-ārd-i-ta-* 'afflicted, distressed'.

7.2.26 *Né-r adhy-áy-an-e vṛt-tá-m*

The expression *vṛt-tá-* is introduced [without initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̥ being inserted at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] the causative (Né-ḥ) [ānga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem 3.1.1 *vṛt-* 'turn' (I 795)] to indicate 'completed a course of study' (*adhy-áy-an-e*).

vṛt+N(C)+Ktā = *vṛt+θ+td-* in this particular sense, but in other senses: *vṛt+N(C)+iṭ̥+Ktā* = *vart-i-tá-* (= *vart-i-tá-* 6.4.52) 'turned'.

7.2.27 *vā¹dān-tá-²śān-tá-³pūr-ṇá-⁴das-tá-⁵spāṣ-tá-⁶chan-ná-⁷jñā-p-tá-ḥ*

The expressions *dān-tá-* 'subdued', *śān-tá-* 'calm', *pūr-ṇá-* 'full, filled up', *das-tá-* 'exhausted', *spāṣ-tá-* 'manifested', *chan-ná-* 'covered' and *jñā-p-tá-* 'informed' are introduced optionally (*vā*) [without initial increment 1.46 iṭ̥ being inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affix *Ktā-* introduced after 3.1.2 the causative stems 26 of the corresponding verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 *dām-* 'tame, subdue' (IV 94), *śam-* 'be quiet' (IV 92, X 156), *pṛ-* 'fill' (III 4, X 15), *das-* 'waste' (IV 104), *spāṣ-* 'perceive, observe' (I 936, X 141), *chād-* 'cover' (I 851, X 290) and *jñā-p-* 'inform' (X 81)].

dam+N(C)+Ktā = *dān-tá-* (6.4.15)/*dam-i-tá-*; similarly *śān-tá-/śam-i-tá-*; *pūr-ṇá-/pūr-i-tá-*; *das-tá-/dāṣ-i-tá-*; *spāṣ-tá-/spāṣ-i-tá-*; *cha-ná-/chād-i-tá-*; *jñāp-tá-/jñāp-i-tá-* (6.4.92).

7.2.28 *¹rúṣi=²ám-³tváṛa-⁴sám-ghuṣa=⁵ś-svan-ām*

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̥ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] *rúṣ-* 'be angry' (IV 120), *ám-* 'be ill, ail' (I 493), *tvár-* 'hasten' (I 812), *sám+ghuṣ-* 'proclaim' (I 683) and *ś+svan-* 'resound, echo' (I 879) [optionally 17].

rus+Ktd-/rus+iT+Ktd- = *rus-tđ-/rus-i-tđ-*; *abhy-đn-tđ-* (8.4.15; 8.4.58)/
abhy-am-i-tđ-; *tvđr+Ktd/tvar+iT+Ktd* = *tđr-đđ-* (8.4.20; 8.2.42)/*tvar-i-tđ-*;
sđm-ghuđ-ta-/sđm=ghuđ-i-tđ-; *đ-svđn-tđ-/đ-svan-i-ta-(kartđr-i)*, *đ-svđn-ta-/đ-svan-i-ta-(kárman-i)*. The present rule becomes necessary for the optional insertion of iT in order to block the operation of 15 above, since option for [rúđ-] is prescribed by 48; similarly for [tvár-] this blocks out the constraint of 16 above; for [sđm-ghuđ-] 23 becomes inoperative, while for [svan-] co-occurring with [đN] the restriction of 18 becomes inoperative.

7.2.29 hḥṣe-r loma-su

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 8.4.1] hḥṣ- 'rejoice' (I 741) with reference to hair (loma-su).

hḥṣ-Ktd+Śi = *hḥṣ-tđ-n-i lómān-i* (8.4.8) 'hair standing on end, horripulated'. There are two verbal stems involved here: *hḥṣ-U dīk-e* I 741 *hḥṣ-Á tđṣ-t-au* IV 119; the first one with marker [U] is necessarily an-iT before Ktd by 11 above while the other is not. The present option applies to both. When the reference is not to hair, the seT is associated with IV 119 and the an-iT form with I 741: *hḥṣ-i-tđ-h deva-dattá-h* 'D. is pleased' but *hḥṣ-tđ-h* 'D. has lied'.

7.2.30 ápa-ci-ta-s=ca

The expression ápa-ci-ta- 'honored, respected' is introduced [optionally 27, without initial increment 1.1.46 iT being inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 8.4.1 cáy- (I 929) co-occurring with preverb ápa- 'to honor, respect'].

ápa-cáy+Kta- = *ápa-ci-ta-* (with irregular allomorph ci- for cáy-)/*ápa-cáy-i-ta-*.

7.2.31 hru hvare-s=chándas-i

In the Chándas the substitute element hru- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 verbal ánga 8.4.1] hvṛ- (I 978) [be crooked' before 1.1.87 niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1].

hvṛ+Ktd (10) = *hru-tđ-* 'crooked'; in non-Chándas: *hvṛ-tđ-*.

7.2.32 á-pari-hvṛ-ta-s ca

[In the domain of Chándas 31] the expression á-pari-hvṛ-ta- 'not endangered' is introduced.

Exception to 31 above.

7.2.33 sóm-e hva-r-itá-ḥ

[In the Chándas 31] the expression hvar-i-tá- is introduced with reference to Soma.

Guṇá and initial increment iṭ are associated with the affix Ktá: hvṛ+iṭ+ktá- = hvar-i-tá-; má naḥ sóma hvar-i-tá-ḥ 'let not Soma mislead us'.

7.2.34 ¹gras-i-tá-²skabh-i-tá-³stabh-i-tá-⁴út-tabh-i-ta-
⁵cat-tá-⁶vī-kas-ta-⁷vī-śas-tf-⁸śams-tf-⁹śās-tf-¹⁰taru-tf-
¹¹tarū-tf-¹²várutṛ-¹³varū-tf-¹⁴vāru-trī-r-¹⁵ūj-jval-i-ti-
¹⁶kṣār-i-ti-¹⁷kṣām-i-ti-¹⁸vām-i-ti-¹⁹ām-i-ti=itica

[In the Chándas 31] the expressions beginning with gras-i-tá- 'devoured' and ending with 18 am-i-ti 'goes, ails, etc.' are introduced as fully derived forms.

1. Initial increment iṭ is inserted at the head of [Ktá] introduced after the verbal stems *grás +U* (I 661), *skānbh-Ū* (IX 8), *stānbh-Ū* (IX 7), whereas it is blocked by 56 and 15: *gras-i-tá-* 'devoured'; *śka-bh-i-tá-* (8.4.24) 'arrested'; *stabbh-i-tá-* 'fixed, supported'. In non-Chándas *gras-tá-*, *śkab-dhā-* (8.2.40; 4.53), *stab-dhā-*.
2. Initial increment iṭ is blocked after verbal stems *cāt-Ē* (I 918), *kāś-Ā* (I 913, II 14): *cat+Ktá+ṬāP* = *cat-i-tá varṣ-śna vi-dyāt* 'the lightning is hidden by the rain', in non-Chándas *cat-i-tá-*. *uttānāy-ā hṛd-aya-m yād vī-kas-ta-m* (MS 2.7.4) 'the heart of one lying on the back is rent asunder': non-Chándas *vī-kas-i-ta-* 'blown'.
3. The initial increment iṭ is blocked in the case of affix [tfC] introduced after the verbal stems *śāns-Ū* (I 764), *śās-Ū* (I 763), *śās-Ū* (II 68): *vī+śas+tfC-* = *vī-śas-tf-* 'dissector'; *śams+tfC* = *śams-tf-* 'a reciter'; *śās-tf-* 'instructor'; in non-Chándas *vī-śas-i-tf-*, *śams-i-tf-*, *śās-i-tf-*.
4. Initial increment uṭ/uṭ are inserted at the head of affix ['-tfC] introduced after the verbal *śānga-s tf-* (I 1018), *vṛ-N̄* (V 8), *vṛ-N̄* (IX 38) instead of iṭ/iṭ: *tar-u-tf-/tar-ā-tf-* 'who crosses', *vār-u-tṛ-/var-ā-tf-* 'chooser/protector'; in non-Chándas: *tar-i-tf-/tar-i-tf-*; *var-i-tf-/var-i-tf-*. *vār-u-tṛ+N̄P* (4.1.5) = *vār-u-tṛN̄=I* = *vār-u-tr-I* 'female protector, guardian goddess'. The long increment is by 38 below. It may be noted by the accentuation of this last form that the affix is [trN̄] instead of [tfC] in the masculine form.
5. In the remaining five forms substitute phoneme /i/ replaces *śānga-* final /a/ before

[tiP] or substitute Ø for class-marker [ŚaP] and initial increment iT inserted at the head of [tiP]: *śā+jvaI+ŚaP+tiP* = *śj-jvaI-i-ti* (8.4.40) 'flares'; similarly *kṣār-i-ti/kṣām-i-ti/dm-i-ti*; alternatively *kṣār+Ø+iT+ti*; *śj-jvaI-a-ti/kṣār-a-ti/kṣām-a-ti/vām-a-ti/dm-a-ti* in non-Chāndas.

7.2.35 ārdha-dhātuka-sya iṭ=vaL-āde-h

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṭ is inserted at the head of an ārdha-dhātuka (3.4.114) affix beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-^a (vaL=āde-h).

This is a governing rule. The expression [ārdha-dhātuka-] recurs in the following sūtra-s up to 78 below, while [vaL-ādi-] recurs up to 79. The repetition of the word [iṭ] here while it was recurring from 8 above is to block out the privative particle [ná] from that sūtra.

lā+ti/tumN/tāvya = *lā+iṭ+ti/tum/tāvya* = *lav-i-ti/lāv-i-tum/lav-i-tāvya*- (3.84; 6.1.78). But *āe+Ø+te* = *āe-te* 'mits' since the affix is sāvadhātuka.

7.2.36 ¹anú-²krámo-r an-ātmane-pada-ni-mit-t-é

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-^a 35, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] *śnú-* 'ooze' (II 28) and *krám-* 'tread' (I 502) when they do not cause the introduction of Ātmanepadā (middle) l-substitutes.

Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are occasioned where the impersonal (bhāv-é) or passive (kárman-i) constructions, or in the active construction when reflexive (karma-kartār-i 3.1.82) or reciprocal (karma-vy-ati-hār-é 1.3.13-4) usage are involved.

1. *pra+snu+tiC* = *pra-snu+iṭ+ti* = *pra-snav-i-ti/-tāvya-/pra-snāv-i-tum* 'to pour out', but from *snu-té*: *pra-sno-ti/-tāvya-/pra-sno-tum*.
2. *kram-*: *krām-a-ti pra-kram-i-ti/-tāvya-/pra-krām-i-tum*; *krām-a-te: pra-krān-ti/-tāvya-/pra-krān-tum* (8.3.23; 4.58).

7.2.37 grāh-aḥ=á-IIṭ-i dīrghá-h

A substitute long (dīrgha-h vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ inserted at the head of ārdha-dhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels except y-^a, and consonants (vaL-ādi) 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] *grāh-* 'seize, grasp' (IX 61), excluding l-substitutes of IIṭ.

grāh+tiC/tāvya/tumN = *grah+iṭ+tiC/tāvya/tumN* = *grah-i-ti-/grah-i-tāvya-*,

grāh-i-tum. But *grāh+IIṬ* = *grāh+IIṬ+va/mā* (8.1.18) = *ja-grāh-i-va/mā* (8.1.8; 7.4.60,62)

7.2.38 $\text{vṛ} = \text{vṛ}^2 \text{T-ah vā}$

[A substitute long vowel 37] optionally (*vā*) [replaces the initial increment 1.1.46 *iṬ* inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka affixes beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding *y-*^o 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 626.4.1] *vṛ-N̄* 'cover' (V 8) *vṛ-N̄* 'choose' (IX 38) and those [ending in 1.1.72] long ṛ(T) [excluding those of *IIṬ* 37].

1. *vṛ-N̄+tiC/tāvya/tumN* = *vṛ+iṬ+trC/tāvya/tumN* = *var-i-ti-/tāvya-/vār-i-tum*; *var-i-ti-/tāvya-/vār-i-tum*. But *vṛ-N̄+IIṬ+va/mā* = *va-var-i-va/mā*; *prā-vṛ+tiC/tāvya/tumN* = *prā-var-i/i+ti-/tāvya-/prā-vār-i/i+tum* 'to cover'.
2. *ti+tumN* = *tār-i-tum/tar-i-tum*, but *hṛ+tumN* = *hār-tum*.

7.2.39 *nā IIṆ-i*

[A substitute long vowel 37] does not (*nā*) [replace the initial increment 1.1.46 *iṬ* inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka affixes beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding *y-*^o 35 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 *vṛN̄* (V 8) 'cover' and *vṛN̄* 'choose, share' (IX 38) and those ending in long ṛ(T) 38] when they are l-substitutes of *IIṆ* (3.4.116: Precative or Benedictive Mood).

prā/vi+vṛ+IIṆ = *prā/vi+vṛ+iṬ+styāṭ+suṭ+ta* (102, 107) = *prā/vi-var-i-sty+ta* (8.1.66) = *prā/vi+var-i-sṛ-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.58; 4.41). *ā/vi+stṛ+IIṆ* = *ā/vi+stār-i-sṛ-ṣ-dṭa*. Initial increment is provided by 42 below.

7.2.40 *siC-i ca parasmai-padé-ṣu*

[A substitute long vowel 37 does not 39 replace the initial increment 1.1.46 *iṬ* inserted at the head of the ārdhahātuka 31 Aorist marker 3.1.44] *siC* co-occurring [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadā l-substitutes introduced [after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 *vṛN̄* (V 8) 'cover' and *vṛN̄* (X 38) 'share, choose' and those ending in long ṛ(T) 38].

prā+vṛN̄ (V 8)+*IIṆ* = *prā+dṬ* (6.4.71)+*vṛ+iṬ+siC+tām* (3.4.101) = *prā-vār-i-ṣ-tām* (8.3.59, 4.41); *ā+dṬ+stṛ+iṬ+siC+tām* = *ā=stār-i-ṣ-tām*. Before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes: *prā-vari-ṣ-ṭa/prā-var-i-ṣ-ṭa* (38, 42).

7.2.41 iṭ saN-i vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally (vā) [inserted at the head of the ārdhahātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s vṛñ (V 8) 'cover' and vṛñ (IX 38) and those ending in 1.1.72 long ṛ(T) 38].

$vṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP/vṛ+iṭ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = vū-vār-ṣa-a-ti$ (1.2.9; 7.1.102; 6.4.16) = $vū-vār-ṣa-ti$ (6.1.97)/ $vṛ-var-i-ṣa-te/vṛ-var-i-ṣa-te$ (38); $tṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = tṛ-tṛ-ṣa-ti$ (1.2.9; 7.1.100)/ $tṛ-tar-i-ṣa-ti/tṛ-tar-i-ṣa-ti$ (38).

7.2.42 ¹līN-²siC-or ātmane-padé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdha-dhātuka 35 l-substitutes of] līN (3.4.116) and [the Aorist marker 3.1.44] siC [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 vṛñ- (V 8) 'cover' and vṛñ (IX 38) 'share, choose' and those ending in long ṛ(T) 38 co-occurring before 1.1.66] Ātmanepadā l-substitutes.

1. $vṛ+līN+ta = vṛ+sṛyūṭ+suṭ+td$ (3.4.102, 107) = $vṛ-sṛy-s-ta = vṛ-sṛṭ-s-ta$ (6.1.66; 1.2.11) = $vṛ-ṣṛ-ṣ-tā$ (8.3.59; 4.41)/ $var-i-ṣṛ-ṣ-tā$ (3.84).
2. $vṛ+lūN+ta = āṭ+vṛ+siC+ta = ā+vṛ+ṭ ta$ (8.2.27; 1.2.11)/ $ā-var-i-ṣ-ta/ā-var-i-ṣ-ta$ (38).
3. Similarly: $ā-stṛ-ṣ-ta/ā-star-i-ṣ-ta/ā-star-i-ṣ-ta$.

7.2.43 ṛT-as=ca sam-yog-ā=āde-h

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka 35 l-substitutes of līN and the Aorist marker 3.1.44 siC co-occurring before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of Ātmanepadā 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T) with initial conjunct consonants (sam-yog-ā=āde-h).

$dhvṛ+sṛyūṭ+suṭ+td = dhvṛ-ṣṛ-ṣ-tā/dhvar-i-ṣṛ-ṣ-tā$, but $kṛ-ṣṛ-ṣ-tā$;
 $dhvṛ+siC+ādlām = ā-dhvṛ-ṣ-ādlām/ā-dhvar-i-ṣ-ādlām$ but $ā-kṛ-ta$.

7.2.44 ¹svār-a-ti-²sū-ti-³sū-ya-ti-⁴dhūñ=⁵ūT=IT-aḥ vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a semivowel or a consonant excluding y-° 35, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] svṛ- 'resound' (I 979), sū- 'give birth to' (II 21, IV 24), dhū- 'shake' (V 9) and those with marker U as IT (when first introduced in the Dhṛp.: upadeśé).

The repetition of the expression [vā] in this rule, when it was already recurring from 41 above is to block out the recurrence of the expressions of 42 above, thus reverting to the general governing rule 35.

1. *sv̥+tum̥N* = *svār-tum/svār-i-tum; svar-tf-/svar-i-tf; svar-tāvya-/svar-i-tāvya-*.
2. *sā: pra-sā+tfC* = *pra-so-tf-/pra-sav-i-tf-* 3. *dho-tf-/dhav-i-tf-* 4. *gup-U; gop-tf-/gop-i-tf-* etc.

In the case of [sv̥-] 70 below blocks out this option and yields the correct form *svār-i-syd-ti*. Similarly in the case of affixes with marker K as IT, 11 above blocks out this option by a special device which commentators call *pūrva-vipratishedha* (contra 1.4.2). Patañjali, however, interprets [pāra- 1.4.2] as equivalent to [istā-] 'what is appropriate in the context of actual speech'; this yields the correct forms such as *sv̥+Ktvā* = *sv̥-tvā, sū-tvā, dhā-tvā*.

7.2.45 radhĀ=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 IṬ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y- ° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] beginning with radh- 'submit, surrender' (IV 84).

This class consists of: 84. *radhĀ himsā-sam-rād-dhy-oh;* 85. *nasĀ d-darś-an-e* 'disappear'; 86. *typĀ prī-ṇ-an-e* 'be pleased'; 87. *dṛpĀ harṣa-mohanay-oh* 'be mad'; 88. *druhĀ jñ-ghām-sā-y-ām* 'be hostile'; 89. *muhĀ vaf-cit-ty-e* 'be perplexed'; 90. *ṣnuhĀ ud-gīr-ane* 'throw up, vomit'; 91. *ṣnihĀ prī-t-au* 'be affectionate, stick, adhere'.

1. *radh+tum̥N* = *rād̥h+dhum* (8.2.40) = *rād̥-dhum* (8.4.53)/*rād̥h-i-tum*; 2. *nas+tum̥N* = *nāms̥-ṣum* (1.60; 8.2.38, 4.41)/*nd̥s̥-i-tum*; 3. *tfp-tum/tf+aM-p-tum* = *trāp-tum* (8.1.59)/*tārp-i-tum*; 4. *dṛp-tum/dārp-tum/dārp-i-tum* (3.86); 5. *druh+tum̥N* = *drogh+dhum* (8.2.32,40) = *dróg-dhum* (8.4.53)/*dróh-i-tum/droḡh+dhum* (8.2.33,38; 4.41) = *drōḥ-dhum* (8.3.13); 6. *móg-dhum/mó-dhum/móh-i-tum*; 7. *snóg-dhum/snó-dhum/snóh-i-tum*; 8. *snég-dhum/sné-dhum/snéh-i-tum*.

7.2.46 nír-aḥ kúṣ-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 IṬ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y- ° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1] *kúṣ-* 'hurt, injure' (IX 46), co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb *nír-* °.

nír+kúṣ+tum̥N = *niḥ-kós-tum* (8.3.15) = *nis-kós-tum* (8.3.34) *niṣ-kos̥-tum* (8.3.59; 4.41)/*niṣ-kós-i-tum* 'to extract, pull out'.

7.2.47 iṭ niṣṭhā-y-ām

The initial increment (1.1.46) iṭ is inserted at the head of niṣṭhā (1.1.26: Ktā, KtavatU) [affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1 kṣ- 'hurt, injure' (X 46), co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb nīr-° 46].

Exception to 15 above. The repetition of iṭ here is for the purpose of indicating that this is a necessary insertion in this context and the option-indicating [vā] will still continue in the following rules.

nīr+kṣ+Ktā = nīṣ-kṣ-i-ta- 'extracted, pulled out'.

7.2.48 ti=¹ṣā²sāhA-³lūbhA-⁴rūṣA-⁵rīṣ-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of an ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme t-° (t-i) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] iṣ- 'desire' (VI 59), sāh- 'endure, bear' (I 905), lūbh- 'covet' (IV 238), rūṣ- 'be angry' and rīṣ- 'hurt, injure' (I 725).

1. *iṣ+tumN* = *iṣ-tum/iṣ-i-tum*; 2. *sāh+tumN* = *sādh-tum* (6.3.112; 8.2.31) = *sādh-dhum* (8.2.40) = *sādh+dhum* (8.4.41) = *sādh-dhum* (8.3.13) = *sādh-dhum/sādh-i-tum*; 3. *lūbh+tum* = *lōbh+dhum* (8.2.40) = *lōb-dhum* (8.4.53)/*lōbh-i-tum*; 4. *rūṣ+tum/rōṣ-i-tum*; 5. *rīṣ+tum/rēṣ-i-tum*.

7.2.49 saN-i ¹iv=anta=²ḍdha-³bhrasjA-⁴dānbhU-⁵śri-⁶svṛ-⁷yú=⁸ūrṇú-⁹bhara-¹⁰jñapi-¹¹sān-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the syllable °-iv-, and ḍdh- 'increase' (IV 135), bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4), dānbhU 'deceive' (V 23), śri- 'lean or depend on' (I 945), svṛ- 'sound' (I 979), yú- 'mix' (II 23), bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5), jñap- 'inform' (X 81) and sān- 'gain' (VIII 2).

1. *div+saN* = *di-div+sa+ṢaP+tiP* = *di-div-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.9,97; 8.3.59)/*diāṬH+saN-a-ti* (1.2.10; 6.4.19) = *dyā+saN-a-ti* = *dú-dyā-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 6.4.59-60; 8.3.59).
2. *ḍdh+saN+ṢaP+tiP* = *ḍd-irḍh-sa-ti* (6.1.2; 7.4.55; 1.1.51) = *ḍ-ḥrḍh+sa+ti* (7.4.58) = *ḥrī-sa-ti* (8.4.55)/*ḍrā-i-dhiṣa-ti* (3.86).
3. *bhrasj+saN+ṢaP+tiP* = *bhraṣj-sa-a-ti* (8.2.29) = *bhraṣ+saN+a+ti* (8.2.36) = *bī-bhṛk-ṣa-ti* (8.2.41; 8.59; 6.1.97)/*bī-bhrajj-i-ṣa-ti* (8.4.40,53).
4. *dānbh+saN+ṢaP+tiP* = *di-dānbh+sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 8.3.24; 4.58) = *ḍ=dānbh+sa+ti* (7.4.56,58; 1.2.10; 6.4.24) = *dhābh+sa-ti* (8.2.37) = *dhāp-sa-ti* (8.4.55)/*dhāp-sa-ti* (7.4.56)/*di-dānbh-i-ṣa-ti*.

5. $\acute{e}rf+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \acute{e}f-\acute{e}rfi-sa-a-ti = \acute{e}f-\acute{e}rfi-\acute{s}a-ti$ (6.1.97; 4.16)/ $\acute{e}f-\acute{e}rfay-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ (3.84; 6.1.78).
6. $svr+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = sv-\acute{s}v\acute{a}r-\acute{s}a-ti$ (1.102; 9.2.77; 3.59; 6.1.97)/ $sv-\acute{s}var-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ (7.4.79).
7. $y\acute{a}-y\acute{a}-\acute{s}a-ti$ (6.4.16)/ $y\acute{f}-yav-i-\acute{s}a-ti$.
8. $\acute{a}r\acute{n}u+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \acute{a}r\acute{n}u-nu+sa-a-ti$ (6.1.2) = $\acute{a}r\acute{n}u-n\acute{a}-\acute{s}a-ti$ (6.1.2; 4.16)/ $\acute{a}r\acute{n}u-nuv-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ (1.2.3; 6.4.77)/ $\acute{a}r\acute{n}u-nav-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ (3.84; 6.1.78).
9. $bh\acute{r}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = b\acute{u}-bhur-sa-a-ti$ (8.2.77) = $b\acute{u}-bh\acute{a}r-\acute{s}a-ti$ (6.1.97; 7.2.77)/ $b\acute{f}-bh\acute{a}r-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ (8.3.59).
10. $\acute{g}\acute{n}ap-i+saN+\acute{S}aP+riP = \acute{g}\acute{n}fp-\acute{s}a-ti$ (4.55,58)/ $\acute{g}\acute{f}-\acute{g}\acute{n}ap-i-\acute{s}a-ti$.
11. $san+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = si-\acute{s}a-\acute{s}a-ti$ (6.4.42)/ $si-\acute{s}an-i-\acute{s}a-ti$.

7.2.50 $kli\acute{s}-ah$ ${}^1Ktv\acute{a}-{}^2ni\acute{s}th\acute{a}y-oh$

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with $v\acute{a}L$ 35] $Ktv\acute{a}$ and those denoted by the t.t. $ni\acute{s}th\acute{a}$ (1.1.28 $Kt\acute{a}$, $Kt\acute{a}vatU$) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] $kli\acute{s}$ - 'torment' (IV 52a).

1. $kli\acute{s}+Ktv\acute{a}/Kt\acute{a} = kli\acute{s}-i\acute{v}\acute{a}$ (8.2.36; 4.41)/ $kli\acute{s}-i-tv\acute{a}$; 2. $kli\acute{s}-t\acute{a}/kli\acute{s}-i-ta-$.

7.2.51 $p\acute{u}\acute{N}-as=ca$

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with $v\acute{a}L$ 35: $Ktv\acute{a}$ and $ni\acute{s}th\acute{a}$ ($Kt\acute{a}$, $Kt\acute{a}vatU$) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] $p\acute{u}\acute{N}$ - 'purify' (I 1015) also (ca).

- $p\acute{a}+Ktv\acute{a} = p\acute{a}-tv\acute{a}/pav-i-tv\acute{a}$ (1.2.18); $p\acute{a}+Kt\acute{a} = p\acute{a}-t\acute{a}/pav-i-t\acute{a}$ - (1.2.22).

7.2.52 ${}^1v\acute{a}s-a-ti={}^2k\acute{s}udh-or$ iṬ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is inserted at the head of [ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with $v\acute{a}L$ 35: $Ktv\acute{a}$ and $ni\acute{s}th\acute{a}$ ($Kt\acute{a}$, $Kt\acute{a}vatU$) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] $v\acute{a}s$ - 'reside' (I 1054), and $k\acute{s}udh$ - 'be hungry' (IV 81).

1. $v\acute{a}s+Ktv\acute{a}=v\acute{a}s+i\acute{T}-Ktv\acute{a} = uas+i-tv\acute{a}$ (6.1.15) = $us-i-tv\acute{a}$ (6.1.108) $u\acute{s}-i-tv\acute{a}$; $v\acute{a}s+i\acute{T}+Kt\acute{a} = us-i-t\acute{a}$ - (8.3.60).
2. $k\acute{s}udh+i\acute{T}+Ktv\acute{a}/Kt\acute{a} = k\acute{s}udh-i-tv\acute{a}/k\acute{s}udh-i-t\acute{a}$ -.

The repetition of [iṬ] in this rule is to block out the recurrence of the option introduced from 41 onwards.

7.2.53 ánc-ḥ pūjā-y-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of árdhahātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL: Ktvá and niṣṭhā (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] ánc- when denoting 'honor, worship' (pūjā-y-ām) (I 203).

The verbal stem *áncU gati-pūjanay-oh* has two main meanings and the present rule restricts the operation to only one.

anc+iṭ+Ktvá/Ktá = *añc-i-tvā/añc-i-tá* 'honored, worshiped'. By having marker [U] as IT the initial increment is inserted optionally after it before niṣṭhā affixes (56 below) which would have blocked that insertion by 15 above, but by this rule the operation of 15 is also blocked.

In other senses: *úd+anc+Kta* = *údañk-ta-m* (6.4.24; 8.2.30) *udaká-m kúp-at* 'water has been lifted up from the well'.

7.2.54 lúbh-aḥ vi-móh-an-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is inserted at the head of árdhahātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL 35: Ktvá and niṣṭhā (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] lúbh- (VI 22) when denoting 'perplexity' (vi-móh-an-e).

lubb+iṭ+Ktvá/Ktá = *lubb-i-tvā* (1.2.26)/*lubb-i-tá*.

48 above, read with 15 would normally block out this initial increment after [lúbh-], but in this particular meaning the present rule supervenes. In other senses 15 prevails: *lubb+Ktá* = *lub-dhā-ḥ vṛṣalā-ḥ=śñ-éna pīḍ-i-tá-ḥ* 'afflicted by cold'.

7.2.55 'jṛ-²vraścy-oh Ktv-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of árdhahātuka affix beginning with vaL 35]: Ktvá [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] 'grow old' (I 883, IX 24) and vraśc- 'tear, cut' (VI 11).

1. *jṛ+iṭ+Ktvá* = *jar-i-tvā/jar-i-tá* (38). Since this verbal stem is here introduced without an IT marker, this rule does not apply to *jṛS* (IV 22): *jṛ+Ktvá* = *jṛ-tvā* (1.1.00, 8.2.77). Exception to 11 above.
2. *vraśc+Ktvá* = *vraśc+iṭ+Ktvá* = *vraśc-i-tvā*. Since the verbal stem is *vraśc-U chéd-an-e*, this is an exception to 44 above. Also, as seṭ (Ktvá) is not deemed a K-IT by 1.2.18, vocalization by 6.1.16 is effectively blocked.

7.2.56 uT=IT-ah vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35] is optionally (vā) [inserted at the head of the ārdhahātuka affix beginning with a semivowel or a consonant other than y-° 35: Ktvā 55 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.4.1] whose stem is marked with U as IT [when first introduced in the Dhṛp.: upa-deś-ē].

śāmŪ ūpa-śam-ē (IV 92)+*Ktvā* = *śam-i-tvā/śan-tvā* (8.4.15) and *śam+Ktd* = *śan-tā-* (15; 8.4.15); *bhramŪ cāl-an-ē* (I 903) *bhram-i-tvā/bhrān-tvā*.

7.2.57 se=a-siC-i ¹kṛt₂-²cṛt₂-³chṛd₂-⁴tṛd₂-⁵nṛt-ah

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is optionally 56 inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] s-° excluding the Aorist marker siC (3.1.44) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] kṛt- 'cut' (VII 10), cṛt- 'attach' (VI 35), chṛd- 'vomit' (VII 8), tṛd- 'pierce' (VII 9) and nṛt- 'dance' (IV 9).

1. *kṛt+iṛT* = *kṛt+syā+tiP* = *kart-syā-ti/kart-i-sya-ti* (3 86; 8.3.59); *+iṛN* = *āT+kṛt+syā+ti* = *ā-kart-sya-t/ā-kart-i-sya-t*; *+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cf-kṛt-sa-ti* (1.2.10)/*cf-kart-i-sa-ti*. But *āT+kṛt+iṛT+siC+tiP+ti* = *ā-kart-i-ṣ-ṣ-t* = *ā-kart-i-t*.
2. *cṛt+syā+ti* = *cart-syā-ti/cart-i-syā-ti*; *ā-cart-syā-t/ā-cart-i-sya-t*, *cf-cṛt-sa-ti/*
cf-cart-i-sa-ti; *ā-cart-i-t*.
3. *chart-syā-ti* (8.4.55)/*chard-i-syā-ti* (8.3.59); *ā-chart-sya-t/ā-chard-i-sya-t*;
cf-cchṛt-sa-ti/cf-cchard-i-sa-ti; *ā-chard-i-t*.
4. *tart-syā-ti/tard-i-syā-ti*; *ā-tart-sya-t/ā-tard-i-sya-t*; *ti-tṛt-sa-ti/ti-tard-i-sa-ti*;
ā-tard-i-t.
5. *nart-syā-ti/nart-i-syā-ti*; *ā-nart-sya-t/ā-nart-i-sya-t*; *ni-nṛt-sa-ti/ni-narti-i-sa-ti*;
ā-nart-i-t.

7.2.58 game-r iṭ parasmaipadé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṭ [is inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s-° 57 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1] gām- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadā l-substitutes.

gam+iṭ+syā-ti = *gam-i-syā-ti*, *ā-gam-i-sya-t*; *+saN*: *ji-gam-i-sa-ti*. But before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes: *sām=gam-sya-te* (1.3.29)/*sam-gam-ṣṭ-ṣ-ṭa* (Precative). The repetition of [iṭ] in this rule is to block out [vā] of 56 above.

7.2.59 ná vřt=bhyaś catúr-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35] is not inserted [at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s-° 57, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] of four verbal stems beginning with vřt- 'turn, occur' (I 795) [before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 58].

The four verbal stems are: 795. *vřtU vřt-an-e*; 796. *vřdhU vřd-dh-au*; 797. *śřdhU śabda-kutśā-y-ām*; 798. *syānd-U pra-srāv-aṇ-e*. 1-2. *vřt/vřdh+syā+tiP* (1.3.92) = *vart-syā-ti/vart-syā-ti* (8.4.55); *d-vart-sya-t/vf-vřt-sa-ti* (1.2.10). 3. *śřdh+syā+tiP* = *śart-syā-ti/d-śart-syā-t/śf-śřt-sa-ti* (1.2.10); 4. *syānd+syā+tiP* = *syant-syā-ti/d-syant-sya-t/śf-syant-sa-ti*. But before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes: *vart-i-syā-te/vardhi-syā-te śardh-i-syā-te/syand-i-syā-te* etc. In the case of the fourth stem, this rule blocks the operation of the option in 44 above.

7.2.60 tās-i ca křp-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s-° 57] as well as (ca) tās (the marker of IUṭ 3.1.33) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] křp- 'be able, accomplish' (I 799) [before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 58].

křp+tās+miP = *kalp-tās-mi*; *kalp-syā-ti/d-kalp-sya-t/cf-křp-sa-ti* (1.2.10). Before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes: *kalp-i-syā-te/d-kalp-i-sya-ta/cf-kalp-i-sa-te*.

7.2.61 aC-as tās-vát thaL-i=án-iṭ-aḥ=nitya-m

[After 1.1.67 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-aḥ) which do not operate the initial increment necessarily [at the head of the affix 3.1.1 tās 60, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of an árdhadhātuka 35 l-substitute of IUṭ 3.4.82] thaL, as in the case of tās.

yā+tās+mi: *ya-yā-tha*; *ce-tās-mi*: *ci-cē-tha*; *ne-tās-mi*: *ni-nē-tha*; *ho-tās-mi*: *ju-ho-tha*; but *ya-y-i-vā/mā*.

7.2.62 upa-deś-é áT=vat-aḥ

[As in the case before 1.1.66 tās 61, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 l-substitute of IUṭ 3.4.82 thaL 61 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.4.1] of a stem which contains a short a(T) when first introduced (in the Dh-p.: upa-deś-é) [and which does not necessarily introduce it before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 tās 60].

This rule is in respect of verbal stems which do not end in a vowel (61).
pac+tās+miP = *pak-tās-mi* (8.2.30): *pa-pāk-tha* from the verbal stem
DU-pac-À-S pāk-é (I 1045); but from *kṛṣ-Á vi-lékh-an-e* (I 1039): *kars-tās-mi*:
ca-kāṛṣ-i-tha since it does not contain the short vowel [a(T)] when first introduced in the Dhp.

7.2.63 ṛT-aḥ bhāradvāja-sya

[As in the case before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1 *tās* 61, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 l-substitute of IIṬ 3.4.81 *thaL* 61, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.4.1 of a stem ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] short ṛ [which does not necessarily operate it before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1 *tās* 60] according to the grammarian Bhāradvāja.

smṛ+tās+miP = *smar-tās-mi*: *sa-smār-tha*. According to this grammarian, then, 61 is applicable only to verbal stems ending in the short phoneme /ṛT/ and not to any others: thus *ya-y-f-tha/ya-y-i-vá/má* (61), *pec-f-tha* (62), thus making these rules optional.

7.2.64 ¹ba-bhū-tha=²ā-ta-tán-tha=³ja-gr̥bh-má=⁴va-vár-tha= iti ni-gam-é

The expressions *ba-bhū-tha* 'thou hast become', *ā-ta-tán-tha* 'thou hast spread', *ja-gr̥bh-má* 'we have seized', and *va-vár-tha* 'thou hast covered' are introduced in the Vedic tradition (*ni-gam-é*).

1. *tvám hí hótā prathamó ba-bhū-tha* 'thou hast become the first officiating priest' (TS 3.1.4.4), (for *ba-bhū-i-tha*).
2. *y-éna=antárikṣa-m uru-ā-ta-tán-tha* 'by which (power) thou hast spread out' (RV 3.11.1) (for *ā-tén-i-tha* 6.4.121).
3. *ja-gr̥bh-má te dáksina-m indra hásta-m* 'we have grasped your right hand, O Indra!' (RV 10.47.1), (for *ja-gr̥h-i-má*).
4. *va-vár-tha tvám hí jyótiṣ-ā* 'thou hast covered thyself with light' (for *va-vár-i-tha*).

7.2.65 vibhāṣā ¹sṛji-²dṛś-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 25 is not 59 inserted] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 *thaL* 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] *sṛji*- 'project' (VI 121) and *dṛś*- 'perceive' (I 1037).

1. $srj+iT = sa-srj-(+iT)+thaL = sa-sr-aM-j+tha$: (6.1.58)/ $sa-srj+iT-thaL$
 $sa-srds-tha$ (8.2.36; 4.41)/ $sa-sdrj-i-tha$.
2. $dʒe+thaL = da-dʒe-tha/da-dʒe-i-tha$.

7.2.66 $iT^1 \acute{a}t-ti=^2ar-ti=^3vyáy-a-ti-n-ām$

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iT is inserted [at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 $thaL$ 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] $ad-$ 'eat' (II 1), $ʃ-$ 'go' (III 16) $vye-$ 'cover, clothe' (I 1056).

The repetition of [iT] in this rule is to block out the recurrence of [vibhāṣa] from the preceding rule.

1. $ad+thaL = a-ad-iT-thaL = \acute{a}d-i-tha$ (4.70).
2. $ʃ+iT-thaL = a-dr-i-tha = \acute{a}r-i-tha$.
3. $vye+thaL = vye+iT+thaL = vi-vye+i-tha = vi-vyáy-i-tha$ (3.84; 6.1.78).

7.2.67 $vásU^1 \acute{é}ka=aC=^2\acute{a}T=^3ghas-ām$

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iT 35 is inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1] (K) $vásU$ (3.2.107) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] of a (reduplicated) monosyllabic stem ($ek=aC-\acute{o}$) and stems [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel $\acute{a}(T)$ as well as $ghas-$ 'eat' (I 747).

The qualified "reduplicated" for monosyllabic stems arises from the fact that there is no polysyllabic stem without reduplication to block which the word monosyllabic is necessary here [with the exception of $\acute{a}rṇu-$ and $jágr-$ (for which special vārttikas have been provided)].

1. $ad+KvdsU$ (3.2.107) = $a-ad+iT+vds = \acute{a}d-i-vds-$ 'who has eaten' where, after euphonic combination the theme before [$vás$] is monosyllabic; similarly $aś+KvdsU = \acute{a}-aś+vds = \acute{a}ś-i-vds-$. $pac+KvdsU = pa-pac+KvdsU = \emptyset-pec+iT+vds = pec-i-vds-$ 'has cooked' where $pec-$ before $KvdsU$ is monosyllabic by virtue of \emptyset replacement of the reduplicated syllable by 4.58.
2. $yā+KvdsU = ya-yā+iT-KvdsU = ya-y\acute{a}-i-vds$ (6.4.64) = $ya-y-i-vds-$ 'who has gone'.
3. $ghas+KvdsU = ja-ghas+KvdsU = ja-gh\acute{e}+i-vds$ (6.4.98) = $ja\acute{k}e-i-vds-$ (8.3.80; 4.55).

7.2.68 $vibhāṣā^1 gám-a^2han\acute{A}-^3víd\acute{A}-^4viś-ām$

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iT is optionally [vibhāṣā] [inserted at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 $vásU$ 67 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] $gám-$ 'go' (I 1031), $han-$ 'kill, strike' (II 2), $víd-$ 'know' (II 55) and $viś-$ 'enter' (VI 130).

1. $gám+KvdsU/gám+iT+KvdsU = ja-gám+vds/ja-gám+i-vds = ja-gan-vds$
(8.2.64)/ $ja-g\acute{a}m-i-vds$ (6.4.98) = $ja-gmi-vds-$.

2. *han+KvdsU* = *ja-han+vds/ja-han-i-vds* = *ja-ghan+vds/ja-ghan-i-vds* (3.55) = *ja-ghan-vds* (8.2.64)/*ja-ghñn-i-vds* (8.4.98) = *ja-ghn-i-vds*.
3. *vid+KvdsU* = *vi-vid+vds/vi-vid+i-vds* = *vi-vid-vds/vi-vid-i-vds*.
4. *viđ+KvdsU* = *vi-viđ-vds/vi-viđ-i-vds*.

7.2.69 *sanim-sa-san-i-vāms-am*

The expression *sanim-sa-san-i-vāms-am* is introduced [as a derivative in *KvdsU* from the verbal stem *san-* 'gain' (VIII 2) co-occurring after *sanim-* with initial increment *iT* inserted at the head of *vdsU* 67].

This non-classical form corresponds to classical Sk. *san+KvdsU* = *sa-san+vds* = *ś-sen-i-vds* (67).

7.2.70 *ṛT=²han-oḥ sy-é*

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *iT* 25 is inserted at the head of the *ārdhahātuka* 35 tense-marker 3.1.33] *syá* [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal *āṅga-s* 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short phoneme *ṛ(T)* as well as *han-* 'kill, strike' (II 2).

1. *ky+ṛT/ARṆ* = *kar-i-syá-ti/á-kar-i-sya-t* (3.84; 8.3.59).
2. Similarly: *han-i-syá-ti/á-han-i-sya-t*.

7.2.71 *anj-e-ḥ siC-i*

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *iT* 35 is inserted at the head of the *ārdhahātuka* 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44] *siC* [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal *āṅga-s* 6.4.1] *anj-* 'anoint' (VII 21).

anj+HUN = *āT+anj+iT+siC+IT+t* (6.4.72; 7.3.96) = *āñj-i-ḥ-i-t* (8.2.28) = *āñj-i-t/; +tām/'us* = *āñj-i-ḥ-tām/āñj-i-ḥ-uh*. *anjU+tumyN* = *āñk-tum/dñj-i-tum* (44).

7.2.72 *¹stu-²su-³dhūñ-bhyaḥ parasmai-padé-ṣu*

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *iT* 34 is inserted at the head of the *ārdhahātuka* 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44 *siC71* introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal *āṅga-s* 6.4.1] *stu-* 'praise, extol' (II 34), *su-* 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) and *dhūñ* 'shake' (V 9, IX 17) [before 1.1.66] *Parasmaipadā* 1-substitutes.

1. *stu+siC* = *āT+stu+iT+siC+IT+t* = *á-stau-i-ḥ-i-t* (1; 3.93; 8.2.28) = *á-stāv-i-t* (6.1.78) but *á-sta-ḥ-ḥa* (8.3.59, 4.41).

2. *su+siC = ásau+i-ṣ-i-t = á-sāv-i-t.*

3. *dhu+siC = á-dhau+i-ṣ-i-t = á-dhāv-i-t.*

The corresponding Ātmanepadā forms for 2-3 are: *á-so-ṣ-ta. á-dho-ṣ-ta/ á-dhau-i-ṣ-ta* (44).

7.2.73 ¹yámÁ-²ramA-³námÁ=⁴ET-ām saK ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44 siC 71 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] yam- 'restrain, control' (I 1033), ram- 'sport' (I 906), nám- 'bend down, bow' (I 867) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T), and [the final increment 1.1.46] saK is inserted after the verbal [ānga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 72].

1. *yam+siC = dṭ+yam+saK+iṭ+siC+iṭ+t* (3.96) = *á-yam-s-i-ṣ-i-t* (8.2.28) *á-yam-s-i-t* (8.3.23). On the same lines: 2. *á-ram-s-i-t*; 3. *á-nam-s-i-t*; 4. *á-yā-s-i-t*.

But before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes: *á-yam-s-ta/á-ram-s-ta/á-nam-s-ta*. This type of Aorist is known as the s-i-ṣ-Aorist.

7.2.74 ¹smi-²pūN=³ṛ=⁴anjŪ=⁵as-ām saN-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] smi- 'smile' (I 996), pūN- 'purify' (I 1015), ṛ- 'go' (I 983, III 16), anj- 'anoint' (VII 21) and as- 'reach, attain' (V 18).

1. *smiN+saN+ŚaP+te = śf-smi+iṭ-sa+a-te* (6.1.9) = *śf-eme-i-ṣa-a-te* (3.84; 8.3.59) = *śf-smay-i-ṣa-a-te* (6.1.78, 97). Similarly 2. *pūN+saN = pf-pav-i-ṣa-a-te* (4.80); 3. *ṛ+saN = ṛ+iṭ+sa(N)+ŚaP+tiP = ári-ri-sa-a-ti* (6.1.2) = *ári-ri-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 8.3.59). 4. *anj+saN = dññ-ñ-ṣa-ti*. 5. *as+saN = áśi-śi-ṣa-te*. But *pūN* (IX 12) +*saN* = *pū-pā-ṣa-ti* (6.4.16).

7.2.75 kir-as=ca pañcá-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7 saN 74 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] consisting of five stems beginning with kṛ- 'scatter' (VI 116).

These five stems are: 116. *kṛ vi-keep-é*; 117. *gr̥ ni-gṛ-aṇ-e* 'swallow'; 118. *dṛ-N á-dar-é* 'respect, honor'; 119. *dhṛ-N ava-sth-á-n-e* 'live, remain, continue; and 120. *prach-Á jñāp-sá-y-ām* 'ask, request, interrogate'.

1. $k\bar{r}+saN = k\bar{r}+i\bar{T}+saN+\bar{S}aP+tiP = ci-kar-i-ṣa-a-ti$ (4.62,66,79; 3.84; 8.4.59) = $ci-kar-i-ṣa-ti$ (6.1.97).
2. $g\bar{r}+i\bar{T}+saN+\bar{S}aP+tiP = j\bar{r}-gar-i-ṣa-ti$.
3. $d\bar{r}N+i\bar{T}+saN+\bar{S}aP+te = di-dar-i-ṣa-te$.
4. $dh\bar{r}N+i\bar{T}+saN=\bar{S}aP+te = di-dhar-i-ṣa-te$.
5. $prach+i\bar{T}+saN+\bar{S}aP+ti = p\bar{r}-pracch-i-ṣa-ti$ (6.1.73).

7.2.76 rud-ādi-bhyaḥ sārvaḍhatuk-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of] sārvaḍhatuka [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL (semivowels and consonants excluding y-^o) 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1 consisting of five verbal stems 75] beginning with rud- 'cry, weep' (II 58).

These five are: 58. *rudīR aśru-vi-moc-an-e*, 59. *NI-ṣvap-Ā śay-e* 'lie down, sleep', 60. *śvaś-Ā pr-ā-ṇ-an-e* 'breathe', 61. *ān-Ā ca (pr-ā-ṇ-an-e)* 'breathe', and 62. *jāks-Ā bhakṣā-d-ḥṣa-anay-oḥ* 'eat, laugh'.

1. $rud+θ^1+mi/vas/mas = rōd-i-mi/rud-i-vās/mās$ etc. Similarly: 2. $śvāp-i-mi, śvap-i-vas/mās$.
3. $śvaś-i-mi, śvas-i-vaś/mās$.
4. $ān-i-mi/an-i-vās/mās$.
5. $jāks-i-mi, jakṣ-i-vas/mās$ etc.

7.2.77 īś-aḥ sé

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the] sārvaḍhātuka 76 l-substitute] sé [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] īś- 'rule, govern' (II 10).

$īś+θ^1+thāś = īś+i\bar{T}+se$ (3.4.80) = $īś-i-ṣe$ (8.3.59). (6.1.186 for accent.)

7.2.78 īḍā=²jān-or dhvé ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the] sārvaḍhatuka 76 l-substitute 34.78] dhvé (3.4.79) as well as [sé 77, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] īḍ- 'praise, laud' (II 9) and jān- 'be born' (IV 34).

1. $īḍ+θ^1+dhve = īḍ-i-dhue; īḍ-i-ṣe$ (8.3.59).
2. $jān-i-dhue/jān-i-ṣe$.

The expressions [sé] and [dhvé] stand for the second person singular and plural l-substitutes of Ātmanepadā, including their allomorphs: *īḍ-i-dhvaṃ, īḍ-i-ṣva; jān-i-dhvaṃ, jān-i-ṣva* where the class marker [ŚyaN] is zeroed in the domain of Chāndaś. (Accent by 8.1.186).

7.2.79 IIÑ-aḥ sa-lopá-ḥ=án-ant-ya-sya

Lopa (ḥ) replaces the non-final (án-ant-ya-sya) phoneme /s/ [of the sárvadhātuka 76] IIÑ (Optative Mood) markers (yásuṭ 3.4.103 and siyuṭ 3.4.102 and syṭ 1.4.107).

$bh\acute{a}+II\acute{N} = bh\acute{a}+\acute{S}aP+y\acute{a}sy\acute{u}\acute{T}+sy\acute{u}\acute{T}+tiP = bh\acute{a}+a+y\acute{a}\theta-\theta-t$ (3.4.102) = $bh\acute{a}-a-y\acute{a}t$ (3.84)
 = $bh\acute{a}v-a+y\acute{a}-t$ (6.1.78) = $bh\acute{a}v-a+iy+t$ (80) = $bh\acute{a}v-ey+t$ (6.1.87) = $bh\acute{a}v-e\theta-t$
 (6.1.86) = $bh\acute{a}v-e-t$. $\acute{e}dh+\acute{S}aP+s\acute{y}y\acute{u}\acute{T}+sy\acute{u}\acute{T}+ta = \acute{e}dh-a+\theta iy-\theta+ta = \acute{e}dh-e\theta-ta =$
 $\acute{e}dh-e-ta$. $k\acute{r}N+II\acute{N} = k\acute{r}+u+y\acute{a}s+s+t/\cdot-s\acute{y}y+s+t\acute{a} = kur-u+y\acute{a}\theta+\theta-t$
 (6.4.110)/ $kur-u-\theta\acute{y}+\theta+t\acute{a} = kur-u-y\acute{a}-i/kur-u-\theta-t\acute{a}$ (6.1.86) = $kur-\theta-y\acute{a}-t$
 (6.4.109)/ $kur-u-t\acute{a} = kur-y\acute{a}-i/kur-u-t\acute{a}$.

In the Precative or Benedictive Mood (sāñ-IIÑ or IIÑ sāñ-i) which is śrddhadhātuka by definition (3.4.116), the corresponding forms derived from the verbal stem [kṛN] are:

1. $k\acute{r}+y\acute{a}s+s+t\acute{a}m/us = kri-y\acute{a}s-s-t\acute{a}m/us$ (7.4.28) = $kri-y\acute{a}\theta-s-t\acute{a}m/us$ (8.2.29) = $kri-y\acute{a}-s-t\acute{a}m/uḥ$.
2. $k\acute{r}+s\acute{y}y+s+t\acute{a}/\acute{a}t\acute{a}m = k\acute{r}-s\theta-\theta-t\acute{a}/k\acute{r}-e\acute{y}y-\acute{a}t\acute{a}m$.

7.2.80 aT-aḥ yā=iya-ḥ

The substitute element iy replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sárvadhātuka 76 augment 3.4.103] yā [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] short phoneme a(T).

$p\acute{a}c+\acute{S}aP+y\acute{a}s+s+t$ (3.1.103,107) = $p\acute{a}c-a+y\acute{a}\theta+\theta+t$ (79) = $p\acute{a}c-a+iy+t = p\acute{a}c-e-y+t$
 (6.1.87) = $p\acute{a}c-e-\theta-t$ (6.1.86) = $p\acute{a}c-e-t/p\acute{a}c-e-t\acute{a}m/p\acute{a}c-e-y-uḥ$. Accent by 6.1.186.

7.2.81 āT-aḥ Ñ-IT-aḥ

[The substitute element iy 80] replaces the phoneme long ā(T) [of sárvadhātuka 76 l-substitutes of l-members] with marker Ñ as IT (Ñ-IT-aḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.4.1 ending in the phoneme short a(T) 80].

By 1.3.12 the marker Ñ with reference to l-substitutes denotes a member of the Ātmanepadā or middle voice (taÑ) and so the l-substitutes involved are [ātām, āthām 3.4.78] and their allomorphs.

$y\acute{a}j+\acute{S}aP+\acute{a}te/\acute{a}the = y\acute{a}j-a+iye/iythe = y\acute{a}j-eyte/eythe = y\acute{a}j-e\theta+te/the$ (6.1.86) = $y\acute{a}j-e-te/the$; $y\acute{a}j-e-t\acute{a}m/th\acute{a}m (= y\acute{a}j+\acute{S}aP+\acute{a}t\acute{a}m/\acute{a}th\acute{a}m = y\acute{a}j-a+iy-t\acute{a}m/iyth\acute{a}m$ 3.4.90).

7.2.82 ān-é myK

[The final increment 1.1.46] myK is inserted [after 1.1.67 a verbal ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme short a(T) 80 before 1.1.66 the sárvadhātuka 76 affix 3.1.1] "-ānā- (= ŚānāC 3.2.127).

pac+ŚānāC = *pāc+ŚāP+ānā-* = *pāc-a+myK+āna-* = *pāc-a-m-āna-* 'who is cooking'. Accent by 8.1.186.

7.2.83 iT ās-ah

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces [the initial 1.1.54 of the sárvadhātuka 76 affix 3.1.1 ānā- 82 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] ās- 'sit' (II 11).

ās+ā¹+ānā- = *ās-ma-* 'who is sitting'.

7.2.84 aṣṭán-ah ā vi-bhák-t-au

The substitute phoneme long ā replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṣṭán- 'eight' [before 1.1.66] sUP triplets (1.4.103-4).

aṣṭán+bbhis/bhyas/su = *aṣṭā-ā+bbhis/bhyas/su* = *aṣṭā-bbhīḥ/bhyāḥ/sū* (6.1.172 for accent). For the form *aṣṭā-n-ām* cf. 7.1.55 and 6.4.7, though Kāśikā records this form under the present rule. Before non-vibhakti affixes: *aṣṭán+tvā/taL* = *aṣṭāṭṭ-tvā/aṣṭāṭṭ-tā* = *aṣṭāṭṭ-tvā* (8.2.7)/*aṣṭā-tā*. In the rules of accentuation 6.1.172 stipulates that when *aṣṭán-* ends in a long vowel the accent falls on the sUP triplets, implying that when it does not end in a long vowel it retains its original accent: *aṣṭā-bbhīḥ/bhyāḥ/su* as alternate forms.

7.2.85 rāy-áh=haL-i

[The substitute long vowel ā 84 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] rāf- 'wealth, riches' [before 1.1.66 vibhakti 84 affixes (= sUP triplets) beginning with] a consonant (haL-i).

rāf+bbhis/bhyām/bhyas/su = *rā-bbhīḥ/bhyām/bhyāḥ/sū* (6.1.168 for accent).

7.2.86 ¹yusmád=²asmád-or ān-ā-deś-e

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] *yusmád-* 'you' and *asmád-* 'we' [before 1.1.66 vibhakti 84 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 95]

and are not subject themselves to replacement (án-ā-deś-e according to 1.27ff.).

yusmāḍ/asmāḍ+bhīś = *yusmā-ā/asmā-ā+bhīś* = *yusmā-bhīh/asmā-bhīh*.
Similarly *yusmā-eu/asmā-su*; but *yusmāḍ/asmāḍ+bhīś* = *yusmā-a/asmā-a+bhīś* (102; 1.30) = *yusmā/asmā+bhīś* (6.1.97).

7.2.87 dvi-tīyā-y-ām ca

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84 replaces the āṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 *yusmāḍ-* 'you' and *asmāḍ-* 'we' 86] also (ca) [before 1.1.66] the second (dvi-tīyā-y-ām) [vibhakti 81 sUP triplets 1.4.103-4].

yusmāḍ+am = *tva-dḍ+am* (97) = *tva-dā+am* = *tva-d+m* (6.1.97) = *tv-ā-m*; (6.1.107); similarly *asmāḍ+am* = *ma-dḍ+am* = *m-ā-m*.
yusmāḍ/asmāḍ+au = *yuva-dḍ/āva-dḍ+au* (92) = *yuva-dā/āva-dā+am* (1.28) = *yuv-ā-m/āv-ā-m*; *yusmāḍ/asmāḍ+śas* = *yusmā-ā/asmā-ā+ns* (1.19) = *yusmā-nḥ/asmā-n-* (8.2.23) = *yusmā-n/asmā-n*.

7.2.88 prathamā-y-ās=ca dvi-vac-an-é bhāṣā-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84] also (ca) replaces [the āṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems *yusmāḍ-* 'you' and *asmāḍ-* 'we' 86 before 1.1.66] the first dual (prathamā-y-ās=ca dvi-vac-an-é) [vibhakti 84 sUP triplet] in the domain of the spoken language (bhāṣā-y-ām).

yusmāḍ/asmāḍ+au = *yuvā-dḍ/āvā-dḍ+au* (92) = *yuvā-dā/āvā-dā+am* (1.28) = *yuv-ā-m/āv-ā-m* (6.1.107), but in Chāndas *yuv-d-m/āv-d-m* also.

7.2.89 ya-ḥ=aC-i

The substitute phoneme y replaces [the āṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the pronominal stems *yusmāḍ-* 'you' and *asmāḍ-* 'we' 86 before 1.1.66 vibhakti 84 (sUP triplets) beginning with] vowels (aC-i) [which are not subject to replacement themselves 86].

yusmāḍ/asmāḍ+Tā/Nī/os = *tva-dḍ/ma-dḍ+ā/i* (97) = *tva-dy/ma-dy+ā/i* = *tvdy-ā/i*; *māy-ā/i*. *yuva-dḍ/āva-dḍ+os* = *yuvdy/āvdy* (6.1.97)+*os* = *yuvdy-oh*, *āvdy-oh*.

7.2.90 *sés-e lópa-h*

Lópa (Ø) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 *yusmád-* 'you' and *asmád-* 'we' 86 before 1.1.66] the remaining (*sés-e*) [vibhákti 84 sUP triplets (which do not condition replacement by *ā* 86-88 or *y* 89)].

yusmád/asmád+eU = *tva-ád/aha-ád+am* (94, 1.28) = *tva-dØ/aha-dØ+am* = *tv-á-m/ah-á-m* (6.1.107); +*Jas* = *yāya-ád/vāya-ád+am* (93; 1.28) = *yāya-dØ/vāya-dØ+am* = *yāy-á-m/vāy-á-m* (6.1.107); +*NasI* = *tva-ád/ma-ád+at* (97; 1.32) = *tv-á-t/m-á-t* (6.1.97). +*Ne* = *tubhya-ád/mahya-ád+am* (95, 1.28) = *tubhya-dØ/mahya-dØ+am* = *tubhy-á-m/mahy-á-m* (6.1.107); +*bhyas* (5) = *yusmád/asmád+at* (1.31) = *yusmádØ/asmád-Ø+at* = *yusm-á-t/asm-á-t*. +*Nas* = *tava-ád/mama-ád+aŚ* (1.27) = *tava-dØ/mama-dØ+a* = *táv-a/mám-a* (6.1.211 for accent). +*am* (8 pl.) = *yusmád/asmád+s-ām* (1.52) = *yusmádØ/asmádØ+ākam* (1.33) = *yusm-ākam/asm-ākam*.

7.2.91 *má-pary-anta-sya*

[The replacements introduced in the following rules up to 98 below are of that part of the nominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusmád-* 'you' and *asmád-* 'we' 86] which ends with the phoneme /m/ [*má-pary-anta-sya*].

This is a governing rule and recurs through 98 below.

7.2.92 *¹yuva=²āv-au dvi-vac-an-é*

The substitute morphemes *yuva-* and *āva* [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 *yusm-ád-* 'you' and *asm-ád-* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84] when denoting the dual (*dvi-vacane*').

yusm-ád/asm-ád+au/auT = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+am* (1.28) = *yuva-áā/āva-á-ā+am* (87, 88) = *yuvām/āvām*; +*bhyām* = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+bhyām* = *yuva-áā/āva-áā+bhyām* = *yuvā-bhyām/āvā-bhyām*; +*os* = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+os* = *yuva-áy/āva-áy+os* (89) = +*yuváy-oh/āváy-oh* (6.1.97).

7.2.93 *¹yūva=²vay-au Jas-i*

The substitute morphemes *yūya-* and *vaya-* [respectively 1.3.10] replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusm-ád-* 'you' and *asm-ád-* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] *Jas*.

yusm-ád/asm-ád+Jas = *yūya-đđ/vaya-đđ+am* (1.28) = *yūya-đđ/vaya-đđ+am* (90) = *yūyđm/vayđm* (6.1.107).

7.2.94 ¹tva=²ah-au s-AU

The substitute morphemes *tva-* and *aha-* [respectively replace the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga-s of the pronominal stems *yusm-ád* 'you' and *asm-ád* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

yusm-ád/asm-ád+sU = *tva-đđ/aha-đđ+am* = *tva-đđ/aha-đđ+am* = *tvdm/ahám* (6.1.107).

7.2.95 ¹tubhya=²mahy-au Ńay-i

The substitute morphemes *tubhya-* and *mahya-* [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusm-ád* 'you' and *asm-ád* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91, before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] Ńe.

yusm-ád/asm-ád+Ńe = *tubhya-đđ/mahya-đđ+am* (1.28) = *tubhya-đđ/tubhya-đđ+am* (90) = *túbhyam/máhhyam* (6.1.107). Accent by 6.1.212.

7.2.96 ¹tava=²mam-au Ńas-i

The substitute morphemes *tava* and *mama* [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1.ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusm-ád* 'you' and *asm-ád* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] Ńas.

yusm-ád/asm-ád+Ńas = *tava-đđ/mama-đđ+aŚ* (1.27) = *tava-đđ/mama-đđ+aŚ* = *táva/máma* (6.1.211 for accent).

7.2.97 ¹tva=²m-au eka-vac-an-é

The substitute morphemes *tva-* and *ma-* [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusm-ád* 'you' and *asm-ád* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91, before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84] when denoting the singular (eka-vac-an-é).

yusm-ád/asm-ád+am (2nd sg.) = *tva-đđ/ma-đđ+am* = *tva-đđ/ma-đđ+am* = *tvdm/mám* (87). +Tā = *tva-đđ/ma-đđ+a* = *tva-áy/ma-áy+a* (89) =

tváy-ā/máyā (6.1.97). +*ÑasI* = *tva-dḍ/ma-dḍ+at* (1.32) = *tva-dḍ/ma-dḍ+at* (90) = *tvāt/māt* (6.1.97). +*Ñi* = *tva-dḍ/ma-dḍ+i* = *tva-dy/ma-dy+i* = *tváy-i/máy-i* (*89).

7.2.98 ¹prat-ay-á=²uttara-padáy-os=ca

[The substitute morphemes *tva-* and *ma-* 97 respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusm-ád-* 'you' and *asm-ád-* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with *m* 91 before 1.1.66 (a *taddhitā* 4.1.76)] affix (*praty-ay-á-*°) or a final member (°-ut-tara-padáy-oh: in composition) [when denoting the singular 97].

yusm-dḍ/asm-dḍ+cha (4.2.114) = *tva-dḍ/ma-dḍ+cha* = *d tvad-fya-/mad-fya* (6.1.97; 7.1.2). *táva putrá-h* = *tvad+putrá-h* = *tvat-putrá-h*; *mat-putrá-h* 'your son/my son'

7.2.99 ¹tri-²catúr-oh striy-ām ¹tisf-²cátasf

[The substitute morphemes] *tisf-* and *cátasf-* replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga-s of nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of the number words *tri-* 'three' and *catúr-* 'four' [before 1.1.66 *vibhákṭi* sUP triplets 84] when denoting the feminine (gender *striy-ām*).

tri+Jas/Śas/bhis/bhyas/n-ām/su = *tisf+Jas/Śas/bhis/bhyas/n-ām/su* *tisr-dh*,
tisf-bhih/bhyah/su/tisf-ṇ-ām (6.1.166, 180).
cátasr-ah, *cátasf-bhih/bhyah/su*, *cátasf-ṇ-ām* (6.1.167, 180 for accent).

7.2.100 aC-i rā rT-ah

The substitute phoneme *r* replaces [the ángá 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short *r*(T) [of the feminine nominal stems *tisf-* 'three' and *cátasf-* 'four' 99 before 1.1.66 *vibhákṭi* sUP triplets 84 beginning with] a vowel {aC-i}.

tisf+Jas/Śas = *tisr-dh* (6.1.166); *cátasf+Jas/Śas* = *cátasr-ah*

7.2.101 jará-y-āḥ jarás anya-tará-syām

The substitute allomorph *jarás-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] *jarā* 'old age' [before 1.1.66 *vibhákṭi* sUP triplets 84 beginning with a vowel 100] variously (*anya-tará-syām*).

jarā/Tā/Ñe/Ñas (I)/*Ñi/os* = *jarás+Tā/Ñe/Ñas* (I)/*Ñi/os* = *jaráy-ā/jarás-ā*;

jarā+yā+e (3.113) = *jarā-y-ai/jarāe-e*; *jarā-y-āh/jarāe-ah*; *jarā-y-ām/jarāe-i*;
jarāy-oh (3.105)/*jarāe-oh*; *jarā-n-ām/jarāe-ām*.

7.2.102 tyād-ādī-n-ām a-h

The substitute phoneme /a/ (short) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the class of pronominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with tyād- 'that' [before 1.1.66 vibhakti sUP triplets 84].

This group is a sub-set of the word-class beginning with *earvā-* 1.1.27 and consists of: *tyād-*, *tād-* 'that', *yād-* 'which, what, who (relative)', *etād-* 'this', *adās-* 'that', *idām-* 'this', *ēka-* 'one' and *duf-* 'two'.

tyād+eU = *tyāda+eU* = *syāda+eU* (108) = *syā-h* (6.1.97); *etād+eU* = *eśā-h* (8.3.58).
tyād+au = *tyāda+au* = *tyād*; *+Jae* = *+Śī* (1.17) = *tyāda+ī* = *tyē* etc.
duf+bhyām/os = *duā+bhyām/os* = *duā-bhyām* (3.102)/*dvay-oh* (3.104; 6.1.78) etc.

7.2.103 kīm-aḥ ká-h

The substitute allomorph *ká* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] *kīm-* 'who, what, which' (interrogative) [before 1.1.66 vibhakti sUP triplets 84].

kīm+eU = *kā+eU* = *kā-h* (8.3.15); *+au* = *k-aú*; *+Śī* = *k-ē* etc.

7.2.104 kú ¹tī-²h-oh

The substitute allomorph *kú* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *kīm-* 'who, what, which' 103 before 1.1.66 vibhakti triplets 84 beginning with] phonemes *t-* or *h-*.

1. *kīm+taśīL* (5.3.7) = *kú-tah* (8.3.15) 'whence?' *kīm+traL* (5.3.10) = *kú-tra* 'where?'.

2. *kīm+hā* = *ku-hā* (5.3.13) 'where?'.

7.2.105 kva àT-ī

The substitute allomorph *kva* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *kīm-* 'who, what, which' 103 before 1.1.66 the vibhakti 84 affix 3.1.1] àT (5.3.12).

Here the marker T of [àT] is not connected with 1.1.70 but with 6.1.185 by which the affix [àT] bears the svaritá accent.

kīm+āT = *kva+āT* = *kvā* (6.1.97) 'where?'.

7.2.106 ¹ta-²d-oh sa-h s-AU án-antyay-oh

The substitute phoneme s replaces non-final (án-ant-yay-oh) phonemes t or d [of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem-class 4.1.1 beginning with tyád- 'that' 102 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

$$tyád+sU = tyáa+sU \text{ (102)} = syáa+s = syá-h \text{ (6.1.97; 8.3.15)}. \quad adda+sU = asda+sU = asda+au \text{ (107)} = asav.$$

7.2.107 adás-ah au sU-lopá-s=ca

The substitute phoneme au replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] adás- 'that' [before 1.1.66 the vibhákti triplet 84 sU 106] and (ca) lópa (Ø) replaces the sUP triplet sU.

$$adás+sU = asd+au\emptyset = asav \text{ 'that one'}.$$

7.2.108 idám-ah ma-h

The substitute phoneme m replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] idám- 'this' [before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84 sU 106].

$$idám+sU = ida-m+\emptyset^1 = idá-m \text{ (1.23)}. \text{ By 1.1.63 } \emptyset^1 \text{ blocks the operation of 108-9.}$$

$$idám+sU = idá-m+\emptyset \text{ (6.1.68)} = iyá-m \text{ f. (110), ayá-m m. (111). Exception to 102 above.}$$

7.2.109 d-as=ca

[The substitute phoneme m 108] also replaces the phoneme d [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84].

$$idám+au/Jas/am/\acute{S}as = imáa \text{ (102, 108)+au/Jas/am/\acute{S}as} = im-av \text{ (6.1.97),}$$

$$im-é/im-á-m, im-án.$$

7.2.110 y-ah s-AU

The substitute phoneme y replaces [the phoneme d 109 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

Since in the following rule the constraint [puma-f] is introduced, here the form generated is restricted to the feminine gender only: $idám+sU = iyá-m+\emptyset$ (6.1.68) = $iyá-m$ f.

7.2.111 id-áh=ay puṁs-í

The substitute element *ay* replaces the element *id* [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *idám*- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 the vibhakti sUP triplet 84 sU 110] when denoting the masculine (puṁs-í).

idd-m+sU = *ay-d-m+θ* (6.1.68) = *aydm m.*

7.2.112 ana=āP-í á-k-ah

The substitute element /*ana*/ replaces [the element /*id*/ 111 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *idám*- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 vibhakti sUP triplets 84] denoted by the siglum *āP* (from the third singular to the locative plural), provided the stem is not co-occurring with [the infixed increment] *k* (= ákaC 5.3.71).

The siglum *āP* starts with [ā: Tā] and ends with marker *P* of [suP]. *iddm+Tā* = *ana-da+Tā* = *and+Tā* (6.1.97) = *and+ina* (1.12) = *an-éna* (6.1.87). *and+os* = *ane+os* (3.104) = *andy-oh* (6.1.78), but *imák-ena/imákay-oh*.

7.2.113 haL-i lópa-h

Substitute *lópa* (θ) replaces [the element *id*- 111 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *idám*- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 vibhakti sUP triplets 84 beginning with] a consonant (*haL-i*).

idám+bhyām = *θ-d-a+bhyām* = *d+bhyām* = *a-bhyām* (6.1.97; 7.3.102); *d+bhis* (6.1.97) = *e-bhis* (8.3.15); *d-Nc* = *a+smāf* (1.14); *+NasI* = *a-smāt* (1.15); *+Nas* = *a-syá* (1.12); *+Nī* = *a-smān* (1.15). *+ām* = *e-sām* (1.52; 3.103); *+su* = *e-sū* (3.103).

Similarly in the feminine gender the pre-affixal stem will be *θ-d-a+TāP* before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel and *ana-d+TāP* before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel starting with the instrumental singular: (a) *andy-a* (3.105); *+os* = *andy-oh* (3.105) (b) *a-bhyām*, *a-bhis*; *a-syaf* (3.114); *+Nas(I)* = *a-syáh* (3.114); *+Nī* = *a-syām* (3.114, 116); *d-sām* (1.52); *d-sū*.

7.2.114 mrj- r vḍd-dhi-h

The substitute phoneme denoted by the t.t. *vḍd-dhi* (1.1.1 ā, ai, au) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 vowel denoted by the siglum *iK* 1.1.3 of the verbal stem] *mrj*- 'wash, cleanse, purify' (II 57) [before 1.1.66 vibhakti 84 (l-substitutes of l-members)].

Since the verbal stem *mrj-ū śūd-dh-au* is the substituendum, [vibhakti] here

represents l-substitutes tiÑ (1.4.104). *mrj+θ¹+tiP* (2.4.72) = *māṛj+ti* (1.1.51) = *māṛs-ti* (8.2.36; 4.41); **tumyN* = *māṛs-tum*; **tāvya* = *māṛs-tāvya*-. Vibhakti sUP triplets and taddhitá affixes are not involved in this replacement.

7.2.115 aC-aḥ=Ñ-N-IT-i

[A substitute vḥd-dhi 114 vowel replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] vowel phoneme (aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ñ or N as IT.

The expression [aC-aḥ] is for the purpose of blocking the restriction of the metarule 1.1.3 to [iK]. *nís-ci+GHaÑ* = *nís-cai+GHaÑ* = *nís-āy-d-* (6.1.78; 2.144); *nís-pā+GHaÑ* = *nís-pāv-d-*; *kṛ+GHaÑ* = *kār-d-* (6.1.159). *nI/śru/kṛ+NāL* = *ni-nāy-a* (7.4.59; 6.1.78)/*śu-śrāv-a* (7.4.60)/*ca-kār-a* (7.4.62, 66).

7.2.116 aT-aḥ upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[The substitute vḥd-dhi 114 vowel (ā) replaces the ánga 6.4.1] penultimate vowel short a(T) (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [before affixes 3.1.1 with markers Ñ or N as IT 115].

pac+GHaÑ = *pāc-d-* = *pāk-d-* (3.53) 'cooking'. *pac+NIC+ŚaP+tiP* = *pāc-ē-a-ti* (3.84) = *pāc-āy-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'makes (someone) to cook'.

7.2.117 taddhité-ṣu aC-ām āde-h

[A substitute vḥd-dhi 114 vowel (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] first (āde-h) [vowel 115 before 1.1.66] taddhitá (4.1.78ff.) [affixes 3.1.1 with markers Ñ or N as IT 115].

gargā-sya gotrāpatyā-m = *gargā+yaÑ* (4.1.106) = *gārgθ-ya-* (6.4.148). *dāksa+iÑ* = *dāks-i* (4.1.95). *upagu+dN* (4.1.92) = *aupago-d* (6.4.146) = *auṣa-gav-d* (6.1.78).

7.2.118 K-IT-i ca

[A substitute vḥd-dhi 114 vowel (ā, ai, au)] also (ca) [replaces the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 4.1.2 first vowel 117 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 117 affixes 3.1.1 with marker Ñ or N as IT 115] as well as (ca) marker K.

nādā+phaK = *nāda+āyand* (1.2) = *nādθ-āyand-* (6.4.149).

7.3.1 ¹dévika-²śimsápā-³ditya-vāh-⁴dīrgha-sattrā-⁵śréyas-ām āT

The substitute long vowel ā(T) replaces [the first vowel 2.117 of the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] dév-ik-ā 'n. of a river', śimsáp-ā 'n. of a tree', ditya-vāh- 'an animal aged two years', dīrgha-sattrā- 'a long-lasting sacrificial session' and śr-é-yas- 'the better' [before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 1.227 with marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118 as IT 2.115].

1. *dévika-y-ām bhāu-am udakā-m* = *devika+d/Ñ* (4.3.53) = *dāvika+d* = *dāvikθ-d-m* (6.4.148) 'water from the river D.'
2. *śimsápā-y-dh vikārd-h* = *śimsápā+a/Ñ/d/Ñ* (4.3.141) = *śāmsāpa-h/śāmsāpā-d-h* 'made from the Ś. tree'.
3. *ditya-vāh+d/Ñ* (4.3.53) = *dātya-d/TH-h+d-* (6.4.132) = *dāty-au-h-d-* (6.1.89) 'pertaining to D.'
4. *dīrgha-sattrā+d/Ñ* (4.3.53) = *dārgha-sattrθ-d* (6.4.148) 'occurring in a long-lasting sacrificial session'.
5. *śréyas-i bhāu-a-* = *śréyas+d/Ñ* (4.3.53) = *śrāyas-d-* 'patronymic of Kaṇvá.

7.3.2 ¹kekaya-²mitray-ú-³pra-layā-n-ām yā=āde-r iy-aḥ

The substitute element /iy/ replaces the syllable beginning with the phoneme /y-°/ [of the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] kekaya- 'n.pr., mitray-ú- 'friendly-minded' and pra-lay-ā- 'final dissolution' [before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *kekaya-sya ápatya-m* = *kekaya+a/Ñ* (4.1.168) *kaika-iy+a* (2.117) = *kaikēy-a-* (6.1.87).
2. *mitray-u-bhāu-ēna ślāgh-a-te* = *mitray-u+vu/Ñ* (5.1.134) = *maītra-iy+aka* (1.1) = *maītrēy-aka-* 'applauds in a friendly way'.
3. *pra-lay-āt ā-ga-ta-* = *pra-lay-d+d/Ñ* (4.3.74) = *prāla-iy+d* = *prāle-y-d-* (2.117; 6.1.87) 'resulting from final dissolution of the universe'.

7.3.3 ná ¹y-²vā-bhyām pada=antā-bhyām pūrv-au tu tā-bhyām aiC

[The substitute vfd-dhi vowel 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1)] does not (ná) replace [the first vowel 2.117 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of (the posterior member of a compound) preceded by] a padá-final (pad-ā-ntā-bhyām) phoneme y or v, but before them (tā-bhyām pūrv-au) the augment denoted by the siglum aiC (= ai, au, respectively 1.3.10) are inserted [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá affix with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

vi-śes-ēṇa ś-kriy-a-nte śābd-ā-h an-ēṇa = *vi-ā+ky+LyuT* (3.3.117) -
vy-ā-kār-āṇa-m (8.4.2), *tā-m adh-f-te* = *vy-ā-kār-āṇa+dN* (4.2.59) =
vaiy-ā-kar-anṭ-ā (8.4.148) = *vaiy-ā-kar-an-d-h* 'grammarian, linguist'.
śābh-āṇa-h dāvah = *sv-āśva-h*, *tā-sya dpatya-m* = *sv-asva+dN* = *sauv-āśva-d-h*
 'offspring of a good horse'.

7.3.4 dvāra=ādī-n-ām ca

[The substitute vfd-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not 3 replace the first vowel 2.117 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with dvāra- 'door' also (ca) [before 1.1.86 taddhitā affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or N 2.115 or K 2.118].

This is with reference to a situation where the phonemes y and v are not occurring at the end of the first padā.

dvār-e nī-yuk-ta-h = *dvāra+thaK* (4.4.69) = *dauvārṭ-ikd-* (8.4.148; 7.3.50) 'door-keeper'. *sphya-kṛt-aḥ dpatya-m* = *sphya-kṛt+dN* = *sphaiya-kṛt-d-* 'son or descendant of S.' (4.1.92).

7.3.5 nyag-ródha-sya ca kévala-sya

[The substitute vfd-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not 3 replace the first vowel 2.117 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] nyag-ródha- 'banyan tree, Ficus Indica' [preceded by phoneme y, and before it the increment ai (of aiC) is inserted before 1.1.86 taddhitā affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or N 2.115 or K 2.118] when occurring by itself (kévala-sya).

By using the expression (kévala-sya) here it is implied that in the case of 3 and 4 the operation indicated takes place even when the nominal stems indicated therein occur as prior members in composition: *dvāra-pālā-sya iddm dvāra-pāl-d+dN* (4.3.120) = *dauvāra-pālṭ-d-* etc.

nyag-ródha-sya vikārd-h = *nyag-ródh-a+dN* (4.3.134) = *nai-ya-g-rodhṭ-d* (6.4.148) 'made from the banyan tree', but *ndyag-rodh-a-māl-é bhāv-ā-h śālay-aḥ* = *nyag-rodh-a-māl+dN* (4.3.53) = *nyag-rodh-a-māl-d-h* 'rice growing at the roots of Ficus Indica'.

7.3.6 ná karma-vy-ati-hār-é

[The operations introduced by 3 above] do not take place (ná) when [the nominal stem 4.1.1] expresses a reciprocity of action (karma-vy-ati-hār-é).

vy-dva-kruś-ya-te a-syām = *vy-ava-kruś+NdC* (3.3.43) + *aN* (5.4.14) + *ÑIP* (4.1.15) = *vy-āva-kruś-I* 'mutual abuse'.

7.3.7 su=ā-ga-ta=ādī-n-ām ca

[The operations introduced by 3 above do not take place 6] also (ca) when it concerns [the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with svāgata- 'welcome'.

sv-ā-ga-tā-m ity āha = sv-ā-ga-tā+thāK (4.4.1 vārtt. 2) = svāgatθ-ikā-h 'one who welcomes'. vyāḍa-sya apatya-m = vyāḍa+iñ (4.1.95) = vyāḍθ-i-h.

7.3.8 śvā(n)=āde-r iñ-l

[The operations introduced in 3 above do not take place 6] when it concerns [an āṅga 6.4.1 with nominal stem 4.1.1] śvan- 'dog' as a prior member (ādā-h in composition) [before 1.1.88 the taddhitā 2.117 affix 3.1.1] iñ.

The nominal stem [śvan-] is included in the class of stems beginning with [dvāra-] (4 above); this rule is a further indication of the fact that the operations in 4 are applicable also to expressions which contain these words as first members in compounds, and the present constraint is only with respect to the item [śvan-] only. *śvā-bhastra-sya apatya-m = śvā-bhastra+iñ (4.1.95) = śvā-bhastr-i.*

The word [ādī-] in this sūtra is not indicative of a class as in the case of 4 above. By a vārttika this rule is extended to include the affix beginning with ik-: *śva-gaṇ-ēna car-a-ti = śva-gaṇā+thāñ/Ṣiṭhañ (4.4.11) = śvā-gaṇ-ika-h/ [śvā-gaṇ-ika-h/'-i-ka (4.1.41)] 'one who moves with a pack of hounds'.*

7.3.9 padā=anta-sya anya-tarā-syām

[The operations introduced in 3 above do not take place 6] variously (anya-tarā-syām) [when it concerns the āṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 śvan- 'dog' 9, co-occurring with] the final member padā- ('-anta-sya in composition).

*śūn-aḥ padā-m iva pad-d-m ya-sya = śvān+pada- = śvāθ-pada-m (6.3.137; 8.2.7),
id-sya śvā-pada-sya idām = śvā-pada+dñ = śvā-padθ-d-m/śauvā-pad-d-m
'pertaining to a wild beast'.*

7.3.10 uttara-padā-sya

(In the section beginning here and ending with 31 inclusive below) [the substitute vfd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117] of the posterior member (ut-tara-padā-sya: in composition).

This is a governing rule and the expression [ut-tara-padā-sya] will recur in each of the following rules up to 31 inclusive below.

7.3.11 *ava-yav-āt rtó-h*

[A *vfd-dhi* substitute phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member of a compound 10] indicating the name of a season (*rtó-h*), co-occurring with a first member marking an integral part (*ava-yav-āt*) [before 1.1.86 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker *Ñ* or *Ṇ* 2.115 or K 2.118].

pūrva-tā varṣā-ṇ-ām = *pūrva-varṣāḥ, tā-tra bhāva-ah* (4.3.53) = *pūrva-varṣā-tādhK* = *pūrvā-varṣikā-a-* (6.4.148) 'occurring in the early half of the rainy season'.

When the prior member does not denote an integral part or limb of the season, as in *pūrvā-su varṣā-su jā-tā-h pūrva-varṣā-tāhaN* (4.3.11) = *pūrvā-varṣā-ika-h*.

7.3.12 *śū-śarvā=śardh-āt jana-padā-sya*

[A substitute *vfd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1] denoting an inhabited region (*jana-padā-sya*), co-occurring with the prior members *śū-*, *śarvā-* 'all' and *ardhā-* 'half' [before 1.1.86 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT markers *Ñ* or *Ṇ* 2.115 or K 2.118].

śābhane-su pañcāle-su jā-tā-h = *su-pancāla-vuN* (4.2.125) = *śū-pancālā-aka-h*; similarly: *śarvā-pañcāl-aka-* (6.2.105), *ardhā-pancāl-akā-*.

7.3.13 *dīś-ah=ś-madrā-ṇ-ām*

[A substitute *vfd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1 denoting an inhabited region 12] excluding *madrā-*, co-occurring with direction words (*dīś-ah*) as prior members [before 1.1.86 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker *Ñ* or *Ṇ* 2.115 or K 2.118].

pūrva-pancāla-vuN (4.2.124-5) = *pūrvā-pancālā-aka-* (6.2.105; 4.148) 'belonging to eastern P.'; but *pūrvā-madrā-aka-*.

7.3.14 *prāc-ām grāma-nāgarā-ṇ-ām*

[A substitute *vfd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1 denoting] names of villages (*grāma-*) and townships in the eastern region (*-nagarā-ṇ-ām*) [co-occurring with direction words as prior members 13, before 1.1.86 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker *Ñ* or *Ṇ* 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *grāma-*: *pāru-e-ṣu-kāma-samy-ām bhāvu-a-h* = *pāru-e-ṣu-kāma-samf+ñā* (4.2.107) = *pāruvaṣu-kāma-samṭh-a-h* (6.2.105) 'born in or occurring in the eastern half of the village P'.
2. *ndgara-*: *pāruva-smin pāṭaliputre bhāvu-a-h* = *puṣṭvā-pāṭali-putrṭh-aka-* (*vuñ* 4.2.123). 'born in the eastern half of the P. township'.

7.3.15 *saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ* ¹*saṁ-vatsarā*-²*saṁkhyā-sya ca*

[A substitute *vṛd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 (*ā, ai, au* 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound *śāṅga* 6.4.1 consisting of the word] *saṁ-vatsarā*- 'year' or a number word (°-*saṁ-khyā-sya*) co-occurring with a number word (*saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ*) as a first member [before 1.1.66 a *taddhitā* 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker *ñ* or *ṇ* 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *dv-aś saṁ-vatsar-aś adh-i-ṣ-ṭā-h/bhṛ-ṭā-h/bhū-ṭā-h/bhāv-f* = *dvi-saṁvatsarā+ṭhāñ* (5.1.80) = *dvi-saṁvatsarṭh-ika-* 'of two years' duration'.
2. *dv-ē ṣaṣṭ-f adh-i-ṣ-ṭā-h dvi-ṣaṣṭf+ṭhāñ* (4.3.11) = *dvi-ṣaṣṭh-ika-* 'lasting for 62 days', but *dvi-māś+ṭhāñ* = *dvaś-māśh-ika-* 'of two months' duration'.

7.3.16 *varṣā-sya=ā-bhav-i-ṣy-at-i*

[A substitute *vṛd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 (*ā, ai, au* 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound *śāṅga* 6.4.1 consisting of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *varṣā*- 'year' [co-occurring with a number word 15 as a first member before 1.1.66 a *taddhitā* 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker *ñ* or *ṇ* 2.115 or K 2.118] except when denoting the future (*ā-bhav-i-sy-a-t-i*).

- dvi varṣ-ē adh-i-ṣ-ṭā-h/bhṛ-ṭā-h/bhū-ṭā-h* = *dvi-varṣā+ṭhāñ* = *dvi-vāśh-ika-h* 'of two years' duration', but *tri-ṇ-i varṣā-ṇ-i bhāv-f* = *tri-varṣā+ṭhāñ* = *traś-varṣh-ika-h* 'happening after three years (from now)'.

7.3.17 *pari-māṇa=anta-sya ā*-¹*saṁjñā*-²*śāṇay-oḥ*

[A substitute *vṛd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 (*ā, ai, au* 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound *śāṅga* 6.4.1] ending in (°-*anta-sya*) [a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting a measure (*pari-mā-ṇa-°*) [and co-occurring with a number word 15 as a first member before 1.1.66 a *taddhitā* 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker *ñ* or *ṇ* 2.115 or K 2.118] except when deriving a name (*saṁjñā*) or the word *śāṇa*- 'whetstone' occurs [as a posterior member 10].

dvā-bhyaṁ niṣkā-bhyaṁ kri-tā-m = *dvi-niṣka+ṭhāK* (5.1.18,20,37) = *dvi-naiṣkṭh-ikā-m* (6.4.148) 'bought for 2 niska-s'. *dvā-bhyaṁ su-varṇā-bhyaṁ kri-tā-m* = *dvi-suvārṇa+ṭhāN* (5.1.19,29) = *dvi-sauvarṇ-ika-m/adhy-ardha-su-varṇā-m* (5.1.29, var.) 'purchased for 2 gold pieces'; but *pāñca kalāpā-n-i pari-mā-na-m a-syā* = *pāñca-kalāpa+ṭhāK* = *pāñca-kalāpṭh-ikā-m* (5.1.19,57) 'n.pr.' *dvā-bhyaṁ sānā-bhyaṁ kri-tā-m* = *dvi-sāna+ṭhāN* (5.1.36) = *dvi-sānṭh-ām/dvi-sān-yā-m/dvi-sānd-m*.

7.3.18 j-e proṣṭha-padā-n-ām

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final 10 member of a compound ānga 6.4.1] *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā-n*.pr. of a lunar mansion or asterism' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitā 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] to denote 'born under' (j-e = jā-t-é).

pr-o-ṣṭha-padā-bhir yuk-tā-h kālā-h = *proṣṭha-padā+ṭhāN* (4.3.16) = *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā+ṭhāN→luP* (4.2.4) = *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā-su jā-tā-h* = *proṣṭha-padā+ṭhāN* (4.3.16) = *proṣṭha-pādṭh-ā* 'born at the time when the moon is in conjunction with the asterism P.'

7.3.19 ¹hṛd-²bhāga-³sīndhu=ante pūrva-padā-sya ca

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member] and also (ca) of the prior member [of a compound ānga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ¹-hṛd- 'heart', ²-bhāga- 'good fortune' and ³-sīndhu- 'river' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitā 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *su-hṛdayā-sya idām* = *su-hṛd* (6.3.50)+*ṭhāN* (4.3.120) = *sau-hṛd-ṭhā-m* 'belonging to a good person'; *su-hṛdayā-sya bhāva-d-h* = *su-hṛd+ṢyaN* (5.1.124) = *sau-hṛd-ya-m/sau-hṛday-ya-m* (6.3.51; 4.148) 'friendship, amity'.
2. *su-bhagā-sya bhāva-d-h* = *su-bhagā+ṢyaN* = *sau-bhagṭh-ya-m* (6.4.148) 'good fortune'; 3. *saktu-pradhānāḥ sīndhav-aḥ* = *saktu-sīndhā+ṭhāN* = *saktu-sīndhav-ṭhā* (6.4.146; 1.78) 'barley meal or groats produced on river banks'.

7.3.20 ānu-sat-ika=ādī-nām ca

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.177 of both the posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a com-

pound ánga 6.4.1 consisting of a member of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ánu-sat-ika- 'accompanied by a hundred' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

sat-éna kṛt-tá-h = *sata-táN* (5.1.21) = *satiθ-ika-h* (6.4.148); *ánu-ga-tá-h* *sati-ik-éna* = *ánu-sat-ika-h* (2.2.18), *tá-sya idám* = *ánu-sat-ika-táN* (4.3.120) - *ánu-sati-ikθ-d-m* 'belonging to one accompanied by a hundred'; *dev-énu* = *adhi-deva-d-m* (2.1.6), *tá-tra bhánu-a-h* (4.3.53, 60 vṛtt.) *adhi-deva-táN* = *ádhi-daiνθ-ika-m* 'relating to or proceeding from gods'; similarly *adhi-bhú-tá-táN* = *ádhi-bhauθ-ika-m* 'belonging or relating to created beings'; *ánu-hoḍ-éna cár-a-ti* = *ánu-hoḍa-táK* = *ánu-hauḍθ-iká-h* 'moves or sails in a boat'.

7.3.21 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

[A substitute vḥd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both the posterior 10 and prior 19 members of a compound ánga 6.4.1 consisting of] Dvaṁdva compounds comprising names of divinities (deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é) also (ca) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

agní-ś ca marút-ca = *agní-marú-au devá-t-e a-syá* = *agní-marút-táN* (4.2.24) = *āgni-māruṭ-d-*. By interpretation this usage is restricted to items denoting a Vedic hymn or an oblation offered in sacrifice to the divinities.

7.3.22 ná índra-sya párasya

[A substitute vḥd-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) [replace the first vowel 2.117] of the posterior (pára-sya) member índra- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [of a compound ánga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

sóma-ś ca índra-ś ca = *sóm-éndr-au devá-t-e āsyá* = *som-e-ndra-táN* (4.2.24) = *saum-endrθ-d-* 'dedicated to Soma and Indra'.

7.3.23 dīrgh-āt=ca váruṇa-sya

[A substitute vḥd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) does not 22 replace the final vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10] váruṇa- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [of a compound ánga 6.4.1 co-occurring with a prior member ending in 1.1.72] a long (dīrgh-āt vowel 1.2.28) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

īndra-ś ca vāruṇa-ś ca = *īndrā-vāruṇ-āu* (6.3.26) *devā-t-e a-syā* = *īndrā-vāruṇa+āN* (4.2.24) = *aindrā-varuṇθ-ā* 'consecrated to Indra and Vāruṇā, but *agnī-vāruṇa* (6.3.27)+*āN* (4.2.24) = **agni-varuṇa+āN* (6.3.28) = *āgni-vāruṇθ-ā* 'dedicated to Agnī and Vāruṇā'.

7.3.24 *prāc-āṁ nāgara=ant-e*

[A substitute *vfd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1] ending in (° *ant-e*) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *nāgara-* 'township, city' in the eastern region (*prāc-āṁ*) [before 1.1.66 a *taddhitā* 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

suhma-nagar-ś bhāu-a-h = *suhma-nagard+āN* (4.3.53) = *sauhma-nāg-arθ-ā-h* 'belonging to Suhma-nagara' but *madra-nagar-e bhāu-a-h* = *mādra-nagar-ā-h*.

7.3.25 ¹*jaṅgala-²dhenú-³vala-jā=anta-sya vībhāṣitam* *ūttaram*

[A substitute *vfd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both the posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1] ending in (° *anta*) [the nominal stems 4.1.1] *jaṅgala-* 'jungle, desert, arid land', *dhenú-* 'cow' and *valajā-* 'field', but optionally (*vī-bhāṣ-i-ta-m*) in the case of the posterior member (*ūt-tara-m*) [before 1.1.66 a *taddhitā* 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *kuru-jaṅgalé bhāu-am* = *kuru-jaṅgald+āN* (4.3.53) = *kauru-jaṅgalθ-ā-m* (6.4.148)/°-*jaṅgal-ā-m* 'arising in the Kuru-jaṅgala country'; similarly 2. *viśv-dhenu+āN* = *vaiśva-dhainav-ā-* (6.4.146; 1.78)/°-*dhenav-ā-*; 3. *su-varṇa-valajā+āN* = *sau-varṇa=vaḷaj-ā-/°-valaj-ā-*.

7.3.26 *ardh-āt pari-mā-ṇa-sya pīrva-sya tu vā*

[A substitute *vfd-dhi* phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1] denoting a measure (*pari-mā-ṇa-sya*), co-occurring with [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *ardhá-* 'half' as a first member, optionally (*vā*) [replacing its first vowel before 1.1.66 a *taddhitā* 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

ardha-dron-ēna krī-tā-m = *ardha-dronā+īhaN* (5.1.37) = *ārdha-draunθ-ika-/ārdha-draun-ika-* 'bought with half a drona'.

7.3.27 ná=aT-aḥ pára-sya

[A substitute vřd-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) replace the short vowel a(T) [of the first syllable 2.117 of the final member 10 denoting a measure, co-occurring with the nominal stem 4.1.1 ardhá-° 'half' as a first member and optionally replacing its first vowel 26 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

ardha-prasth-éna krī-tá-ḥ = ardha-prasthā+ṭhaÑ (5.1.37) =
ārdha-prasthṭ-ika-/ārdha-prasth-ika- 'bought with half a prastha' but
ardha-kudava+ṭhaÑ = ārdha-kudavṭ-ika-.

7.3.28 pra-vāhaṇa-sya ḍh-é

[A substitute vřd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 and optionally 26 of the first member 19 of the compound śṅga 6.4.1] pra-vāh-aṇa-° [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1] ḍhā (K 4.1.123).

pra-vāh-aṇa-sya āpatya-m = pra-vāh-aṇa+ḍhāK = pra-vāhaṇṭ-eyd-/
pra-vāh-aṇ-eyd- 'descendant of P.'

7.3.29 tát-praty-ay-a-sya ca

[A substitute vřd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound śṅga 6.4.1 pra-vāh-aṇa- 28 ending in 1.1.72] that affix [= ḍhāK 28] also (ca) [and optionally of the prior member 26 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

pra-vāh-aṇ-eyd-sya āpa-tya-m = pra-vāh-aṇ-eyd+iÑ (4.1.95) = pra-vāh-aṇ-eyṭ-i-/
pra-vāh-aṇ-ey-i-; pra-vāh-aṇ-eyd+vuÑ (4.3.126) = pra-vāh-aṇ-eyṭ-aka-/
pra-vāh-aṇ-ey-aka-.

7.3.30 náÑ-aḥ ¹śúc-i=²īś-vará-³kṣe-tra-jñá-⁴kúśa-la-⁵nīpuṇ-á-n-ām

[A substitute vřd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final members 10] °-śúc-i- 'pure', °-īś-vará- 'lord, ruler', °kṣetra-jñá- 'the Self', °-kúśa-la- 'competent, able' and °-nīpuṇ-á- 'clever, adroit' [and optionally of the first member 26] náÑ-° 'privative or negative particle' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. \bar{a} -śuce- \bar{r} \bar{a} -ga-lā-m = \bar{a} -śuc-i+ \bar{a} N (4.3.74) = \bar{a} -śaucθ- \bar{d} -m/ \bar{a} -śauc-a-m 'impurity'.
2. \bar{a} n-īś- \bar{v} ara-sya bhāvu- \bar{d} -h = \bar{a} n-īś- \bar{v} ara+ \bar{S} yaN̄ (5.1.124) = \bar{a} n-aiś- \bar{v} arθ-ya-m/ \bar{a} n-aiś- \bar{v} ar-ya-m 'absence of rulership'; similarly 3. \bar{a} -kṣe-tra-jñā+ \bar{S} yaN̄ = \bar{a} -kṣai-tra-jñ-ya-m/ \bar{a} -kṣai-tra-jñ-ya-m 'self-ignorance'; 4. \bar{a} -kuśa-l-āt \bar{a} -ga-lā-m = \bar{a} -kuśa-lā+ \bar{a} N (4.3.74) = \bar{a} -kau-śalθ- \bar{d} -m/ \bar{a} -kau-śal- \bar{d} -m 'incompetence'. Similarly 5. \bar{a} -nai-puṇ- \bar{d} -m/ \bar{a} -nai-puṇ- \bar{d} -m 'dullness'.

7.3.31 'yathā-tathā-²yathā-purāy-oḥ pary-āy-é

[A substitute vfd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ̄ 1.1.1)] alternately (pary-āy-é) replaces [the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 or the first member náN̄ 30 of a compound śnga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-yathā-tathā-m 'true, precise' and °-yathā-purā-m 'as before or formerly' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitā 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker N̄ or N 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. \bar{a} -yathā-tathā+ \bar{S} yaN̄ (5.1.124) = \bar{a} -yathā-tathθ-ya-m/ \bar{a} -yathā-tath-ya-m 'truth, precision'; similarly: 2. \bar{a} -yathā-pur-ya-m/ \bar{a} -yāthā-pur-ya-m 'the state or condition of not being so formerly'.

7.3.32 han-as ta-h̄ á-¹CiN̄-²NaL-oḥ

The substitute phoneme t replaces [the śnga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, injure, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with N̄ or N as IT marker 2.115] excluding CiN̄ and NaL.

From here on both the recurring items [taddhitā 2.117, K-IT 2.118] are no longer valid; only [N̄, N] recur as IT markers.

\bar{h} an+ \bar{N} iC+ \bar{S} aP+tiP = \bar{g} hāt-l-a-ti (54; 2.116) = \bar{g} hāt- \bar{d} -a-ti (84) = \bar{g} hāt-dy-a-ti 'causes to kill'; \bar{h} an+ \bar{N} vuL = \bar{g} hāt-aka- 'killer'; \bar{h} an+ \bar{G} HaN̄ = \bar{g} hāt- \bar{d} - 'killing, murder'; but \bar{h} an+ \bar{C} iN̄ = \bar{d} ī- \bar{g} hān-i (55; 6.4.71); \bar{h} an+ \bar{N} aL = \bar{j} a- \bar{g} hān-a (55).

7.3.33 ̄T-aḥ yuK ¹CiN̄-²kft-oḥ

[The final increment 1.1.46] yuK is inserted at the end of [verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ̄(T) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] CiN̄ and those denoted by the t.t. kft (3.1.93ff.) [with marker N̄ or N as IT 2.115].

1. \bar{d} ā+ \bar{C} iN̄ = \bar{d} - \bar{d} ā-yuK+ \bar{i} = \bar{d} - \bar{d} ā-y- \bar{i} .
2. \bar{d} ā+ \bar{N} vuL = \bar{d} ā-y-aka- 'donor'; \bar{d} ā+ \bar{G} HaN̄ = \bar{d} ā-y- \bar{d} - 'donation, gift'.

7.3.34 ná=udāṭṭa=upa-deś-á-sya mā=anta-sya ān-ā-came-ḥ

[The substitute vřd-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) replace [the penultimate phoneme short a(T) 2.116 of a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] *-m and is udāṭṭa 'high pitched' when first introduced (upa-deś-é in the Dhp.) excluding ā+cām- 'sip' (I 497, V 28) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 CiṆ and those denoted by the t.t. křt 33 with marker Ñ or Ṇ as IT 2.115].

śám+CiṆ = *ś-sam-i* 'has calmed down'; similarly *tám+CiṆ* = *ś-tam-i* 'has wearied'; *śám+ṆvuL* = *śám-aka-* 'pacifier'; *śám+GHañ* = *śám-a-* 'peace', but *yam+ṆvuL/GHañ* = *yám-aka-/yām-d-* 'restrainer, controller/restraint, control'; and similarly *ā-cām-aka-/ā-cām-d-* 'who sips/sipping'.

7.3.35 ¹ján]-²vadhyo-s=ca

[A substitute vřd-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not replace 34 the short penultimate phoneme a(T) 2.116 of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ján- 'be born' and vadh- 'kill' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 CiṆ and those denoted by the t.t. křt 33 with Ñ or Ṇ as IT marker 2.115].

1. *jan+CiṆ* = *ś-jan-i*; *jan+ṆvuL* = *ján-aka-* 'progenitor'; *pra-jan+GHañ* = *pra-jan-á-*.
2. *vadh+CiṆ* = *ś-vadh-i*; *vadh+ṆvuL* = *vádḥ-aka-* 'murderer'; *vadh+GHañ* = *vádḥ-a-* 'murder, death'. This stem is distinct from the replacement stem [vadhá-] of [han- 2.4.42] which, however, would normally yield the same results without this special rule.

7.3.36 ¹ár-ti-²hrī-³vř-⁴rī-⁵knūyī-⁶kṣmāyī=⁷āT-ām puK=Ṇ-aú

[The final increment 1.1.46] puK is inserted at the end of [the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] ř- (I 983, III 16) 'go', hrī- 'feel shy' (III 3), vř- 'crush, press', rī- 'flow, dry' (IX 30), knūy- 'be wet, make a creaky noise' (I 514), kṣmāy- 'tremble, shake' (I 515) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the long phoneme ā(T) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] ṆiC.

1. *ř+ṆiC* = *ř-puK+ṆiC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ar-p-á-a-ti* (84) = *ar-p-áy-a-ti* (86, 6.1.78); 2. *hrī-p+ṆiC+ŚaP+tiP* = *hre-p-áy-a-ti*; 3. *vř-p-áy-a-ti*; 4. *re-p-áy-a-ti*; 5. *knoṭh-p-áy-a-ti*; 6. *kṣmāy-p-áy-a-ti* = *kṣmāṭh-p-áy-a-ti* (6.1.66); 7. *dā-p-áy-a-ti*, *sthā-p-áy-a-ti*, *dhā-p-áy-a-ti*.

7.3.37 ¹śā-²chā-³sā-⁴hvā-⁵vyā-⁶ve-⁷p-ām yuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] yuK is inserted at the end of [the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1 of] śā- (= śo- IV 37) 'whet, sharpen', chā- (= cho IV 38) 'cut', sā- (= so- IV 39) 'end', hvā (= hve- I 1057) 'challenge', vyā (= vye- I 1056) 'wrap', ve- 'weave' (I 1055) and pā- 'drink' (I 972) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆIC 36].

1. śā+yuK+ṆIC+ŚaP+tiP = śā-y-dy-a-ti; 2. chā-y-dy-a-ti; 3. sā-y-dy-a-ti; 4. hvā-y-dy-a-ti; 5. vyā-y-dy-a-ti; 6. vā-y-dy-a-ti (6.1.45); 7. pā-y-dy-a-ti. All these are causative forms of the simplicia.

7.3.38 v-aḥ vi-dhū-n-ane juK

[The final increment 1.1.48] juK is inserted at the end of [verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] vā (= vai I 969) 'dry' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆIC 36] when signifying agitation, shaking (vi-dhū-n-an-e).

vā+juK+ṆIC+ŚaP+tiP = vā-j-dy-a-ti 'lans', but ā-vā-p-dy-a-ti (36) 'combs the hair'.

7.3.39 ¹lī-²l-or ¹nuK=²lyK-au=anya-tarā-syām sneha-vipātane

[The final increments 1.1.46] nuK and lyK (-1) are [respectively 1.3.10] inserted at the end [of the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1 of the stems] lī- 'cling, stick, adhere' (IV 31, IX 31) and lā- 'receive, get, obtain' (II 49) (and also lā-replacement of lī: 6.1.52) optionally (anya-tarā-syām) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆIC 36] when denoting melting of a fatty substance (sneha-vi-pāt-an-e).

1. vi-lī+nuK+ṆIC+ŚaP+tiP = vi-lī-n-dy-a-ti/vi-lai-dy-a-ti (2.115) = vi-lāy-dy-a-ti (6.1.78) ghṛ-tā-m 'causes the butter to melt'.
2. vi-lā+lyK+ṆIC+ŚaP+tiP = vi-lā-l-dy-a-ti/vi-lā-p-dy-a-ti (36).

7.3.40 bhī-aḥ hetu-bhay-é ṣuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] ṣuK is inserted at the end of [the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] bhī- 'fear' (III 3) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆIC 36] to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhay-é).

bhī+ṆIC+ŚaP+te = bhī-ṣuK+é-a-ti = bhī-ṣ-ay-a-te (1.3.68) 'causes fear' but kūñcikay-ā bhāy-dy-a-ti 'causes fear (= threatens) with a bamboo shoot'. By

6.1.56 the substitute phoneme long [ã(T)] optionally replaces the stem-final vowel when fear arises from the causative agent, yielding the alternative form *bhã-p-ã-a-te*.

7.3.41 sphāy-aḥ va-ḥ

The substitute phoneme v replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] sphāy- 'swell' (I 516) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NíC 36].

sphāy+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = *sphāv-áy-a-ti*.

7.3.42 śadḡ-r a-ga-t-au ta-ḥ

The substitute phoneme t replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] śad- 'fall, fall out' (I 908) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NíC 36] when not denoting the sense of driving (á-ga-t-au).

śad+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = *śāt-áy-a-ti* *phālā-n-i* 'causes the fruit to fall down', but *g-ā-ḥ śad-áy-a-ti* *ga-pāl-aka=ḥ* 'the cowherd drives the cattle'.

7.3.43 ruh-aḥ pa-ḥ anya-tará-syām

The substitute phoneme p replaces optionally (anya-tará-syām) [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] ruh- 'ascend, mount, grow, cultivate' (I 912) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NíC 36].

ruh+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = *roh-áy-a-ti/rop-áy-a-ti* *vrth-f-n* 'cultivates rice'.

7.3.44 praty-ay-a-sth-āt k-āt pūrva-sya=aT-aḥ iT āP-1 á-sUP-aḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces the short phoneme a(T) preceding the phoneme k of an affix (praty-ay-a-sth-āt) [before 1.1.66 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP), provided it does not occur after a sUP triplet (á-sUP-aḥ).

kṛ+NvUL = *kār-aka-* (1.1; 2.115)+*ṬāP* = *kār-ikṭh-ā* (6.4.148) 'agent, performer, doer', but *susṭhū śak-nó-ti* = *su-śak+KviP+ṬāP* = *su-śák-ā* 'practicable, easily done'; so also in: *bahav-āḥ pari-vrāj-ak-ā-ḥ a-syām nágary-ām* - *bahu-pari-vrāj-akā+ṬāP* = *bahu-pari-vrāj-akṭh-ā nagari* since the affix [āP] occurs after a θ^1 (2.4.71) of a sUP triplet (1.1.62).

7.3.45 na ¹yā-²say-oh

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 44] does not (ná) replace [the short phoneme a(T), preceded by the phoneme k of an affix 44 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yā 'which, who, what' and sā 'that' [before 1.1.66 the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44].

yad+ākaC (5.3.71)+*TāP* = *y-dk-ā*; *tad+ākaC*+*TāP* = *s-dk-ā* (2.106).

7.3.46 udīc-ām āT-ah sthān-e ¹ya-²kā-pūrvā-y-āḥ

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not 45 replace the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of] the phoneme long ā(T) preceded by y or k [before phoneme k of an affix 3.1.1 co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44] according to Northern Grammarians (udīc-ām).

The reference to Northern Grammarians is for the purpose of indicating that this rule is optional.

1. *ibhyā+kā+TāP* = *ibhya+kā+ā* (4.13) = *ibhya-k-ā/ibhy-i-k-ā* 'a rich woman; a female elephant'.
2. *caṭakā+kā+TāP* = *caṭaka-kā+ā* = *caṭaka-k-ā/caṭak-i-k-ā* 'female sparrow'; similarly *mūṣaka-k-ā/mūṣaki-k-ā* 'female mouse', but *śvā+kā+TāP* = *śvi-k-ā* 'mare'.

7.3.47 ¹bhāstrā=²eṣā=³a-jā-⁴jñā-⁵dvā-⁶svā nāñ-pūrvā-ṇ-ām āpi

[According to the Northern Grammarians 48 the substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not 45 replace the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of the phoneme long ā(T) 46 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhāstrā 'leather bag', eṣā 'she', a-jā 'goat', jñā 'knower', dvā 'two' (2.102) and svā 'one's self', even (āpi) when preceded by the negative or privative particle nāñ [followed by the phoneme k of an affix, co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44].

By the same device as in 46 above, the reference to Northern Grammarians indicates the optionality of this rule also.

1. *bhāstrā+kā+TāP* = *bhāstra-kā+ā* (4.13) = *bhāstra-k-ā/bhāstri-k-ā* 'a small leather bag'; similarly: 2. *eṣa-k-ā/eṣi-k-ā*; 3. *a-ja-k-ā/a-ji-k-ā*; 4. *jñā-k-ā/jñi-k-ā*; 5. *dva-k-ā/dvi-k-ā*; 6. *sva-k-ā/svi-k-ā*.

Also when preceded by [nāñ]: *a-bhāstra-k-ā/a-bhāstri-k-ā* etc. but *śv-ā/śvi-k-ā*.

If the affix were [kaP] in the place of [kā] the expected form is *bhāstrā-k-ā* etc.

The affix [kā] is either diminutive or pleonastic in meaning.

7.3.48 á-bhāṣ-i-ta-puṁs-k-āt=ca

[According to Northern Grammarians 46 the substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not replace 45 the phoneme short a(T) replacement of phoneme long ā(T) 46 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] which has no masculine counterpart (á-bhāṣ-i-ta-puṁs-k-āt) [preceding the phoneme k of an affix co-occurring with a feminine affix denoted by the cover term āP 44 even when preceded by the negative particle náÑ 47].

khaṭvā+ká+TāP = khaṭva-ká+ā (4.13) = khaṭva-kṭ-ā (6.4.148)/khaṭvi-k-ā 'a small cot'; similarly *a-khaṭva-k-ā/a-khaṭvi-k-ā*.

7.3.49 āT=ācāryā-ṇ-ām

According to (other) Grammarians (ā-cār-yā-ṇ-ām) the substitute phoneme long ā(T) replaces [the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of long ā(T) 46 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 which has no masculine counterpart 48, preceding phoneme k of an affix, co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44, even when preceded by the negative particle náÑ 47].

khaṭvā-k-ā/a-khaṭvā-k-ā.

7.3.50 ṭha-sya ikaḥ

The substitute element ik replaces the phoneme ṭh [of an affix 44 introduced after 3.1.2 an āṅa 6.4.1].

The following affixes contain [ṭh]: *Ñiṭha* (4.2.116), *ṭhāK* (4.4.1), *ṭhāC* (4.2.80), *ṭhāÑ* (5.1.18), *ṭhāN* (4.7.13), *ṭhāP* (4.3.26), *ṢiṭhāC* (4.4.31), *ṢiṭhāN* (4.3.70), *ṢiṭhāL* (4.4.9).

akṣ-aṣṭ dṣu-ya-ti = akṣā+ṭhāK = akṣṭ-ikā- (6.4.148; 2.118) 'gambler with dice'.

Though by 1.3.7 palatal and retroflex stops occurring in affixes are defined as IT markers when they occur as affix initials and disappear in actual grammatical surface forms, the aspirate stops [ch, jh] and [ṭh, ḍh] are not replaced by Ø (1.3.9), but by special rules provided by 7.1.2 for [ch, ḍh], 7.2.3 for [jh] and by the present rule for [ṭh]. Hence they have not been indicated by capital letters as required.

7.3.51 ¹is=²us=³uK-⁴ta=ant-āt ka-h

The substitute phoneme k replaces [the initial phoneme tʰ 50 of an affix 44 introduced after 3.1.2 an ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-is-, °-us-, or a vowel denoted by the siglum uK (= u, ʃ, ʝ) or °-t-.

1. °-is-: *sarpis pán-ya-m a-syd* = *sarpis+thdK* (4.4.51) = *sarpis-ká-h* 'dealer in clarified butter'.
2. °-us-: *dhánuh pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syd* = *dhánus+thdK* (4.4.57) = *dhánus-ká-h* 'archer'.
3. °-uK-: *niṣāda-karṣu-ān jā-tá-h* = *niṣāda-karṣú+thaN̄* (4.2.119) = *niṣāda-karṣú+kaN̄* (4.13) = *naṣāda-karṣu-ka-h* 'born in N.' *mātúr ā-ga-tá-m* = *mātṛ+thaN̄* (4.3.78) = *mātṛ-ka-m* 'maternal, coming from the mother'.
4. °-t-: *uda-śvīt-ā śāma-kṛ-ta-m bhāks-ya-m* = *uda-śvīt+thdK* (4.2.10) = *auda-śvīt-ká-m* 'mixed with buttermilk'.

7.3.52 ¹ca=²j-oḥ kU ¹GHIT=²NyàT-oḥ

A substitute velar stop (kU) replaces phoneme c or j [of an ánga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker GH and NyàT.

Affixes with GH as IT are: *GHaN̄*, *GHinuN̄*, *GHuráC*. It should be noted that only kft affixes operate this rule, with the exception of *GHa* (3.3.18ff., 125).

1. GHIT: *pac+GHaN̄* = *pāk-á-* (2.115; 6.1.159) 'cooking'; *tyaj+GHaN̄* = *tyā-gá-* 'renunciation'.
2. NyàT: *pac+NyaT* = *pāk-yá-* 'to be cooked'; *mṛj+NyaT* = *mārg-yá-* 'to be cleansed'.

7.3.53 ny-añkú=ādi-n-āñ ca

[A substitute velar phoneme stop (kU) replaces phonemes c or j of an ánga 6.4.1 in the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ny-añk-ú- 'antelope, deer'.

ni+anc+ú (uN̄. 1.17) = *ny-añk-ú-*; *masj+ú* = *masg-ú* = *madg-ú-* (8.4.53) 'a kind of aquatic bird'.

7.3.54 h-aḥ han-te-r ¹N̄-²N-IT-³ne-ṣu

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces] the phoneme h [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, injure, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with N̄ or N as IT marker or the phoneme n (of han- when the penultimate vowel is replaced by Ø 6.4.98).

1. N̄: *han+GHaN̄* = *ghāt-á-* (32) 'killing, murder'; 2. N: *han+NvuL* = *ghāt-aka-*

(32) 'murderer, killer'; 3. n: *han* (+*ŚaP-θ*¹ 2.4.72)+*jhi* = *hθn-ānti* (6.4.98) = *gh-n-ānti*.

7.3.55 *abhy-ās-āt=ca*

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52] also replaces [the phoneme h 54 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem *han-* 'kill' (II 2) after 1.1.67] the reduplicated syllable (*abhy-ās-āt*).

han+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *jī-han-sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.62,79) = *jī-ghān-s-a-ti* (6.1.16,97; 8.3.24) 'desires to kill'. *han+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *jan-han-yā-te* (4.85) = *jan-ghan-yā-te* 'repeatedly kills'. *han+IT* = *han+NaL* = *ja-han+NaL* = *ja-ghān-a* 'slayed, killed'.

7.3.56 *he-r a-CaÑ-i*

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces the phoneme h 54 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *hi-* 'incite' (V 11) [after 1.1.67 its reduplicated syllable 55] except [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] *CāÑ*.

hi+NaL = *jī-ghi+NaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.62) = *jī-ghaī+a* (2.115) = *jī-ghāy-a* (6.1.78). *hi+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jī-ghī-sa-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16). *pra+jī+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *pra-je-ghī-yā-te* (4.25,82); but *pra+jī+NīC+CāÑ+ti* = *pra+aT+jī+θ+aN+ti* = *prā-jī-hīy-a-ti* (6.4.77; 7.4.94).

7.3.57 *¹saN-²IT-or je-h*

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces the stop following 1.1.67 the reduplicated syllable 56 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *jī-* 'win, conquer' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] *saN* and *l*-substitutes of *IT*.

jī+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *jī-ḡī-sa-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16; 8.3.59). *jī+IT* = *jī+NaL* = *jī-gaī-a* (2.115) = *jī-gāy-a*.

7.3.58 *vibhāṣā ce-h*

[The substitute velar phoneme (kU) 52] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) replaces [the stop following 1.1.67 the reduplicated syllable 55 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *ci-* 'pile up, collect, gather, heap' (V 5) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 *saN* and *l*-substitutes of *IT* 57].

ci+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *cī-ci-sa-ti/cī-ki-sa-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16; 8.3.59). *ci+IT* = *ci+NaL* = *ci-cāy-a/ci-kāy-a*.

7.3.59 na kU=āde-ḥ

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52] does not (ná) replace [the palatal stops c or j 52 of an áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] beginning with a velar stop (kU-āde-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker GH as IT or NyàT 52].

kāj+GHaṆ = *kāj-a-* 'cry'; *kāj+NyāT* = *kāj-yā-* 'to be warbled'.

7.3.60 'ajjī-²vṛjy-os=ca

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not 59 replace the palatal stop c or j 52 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] *aj-* 'wander' (I 248) and *vṛj-* 'march' (I 272) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker GH as IT or NyàT 52].

aj+GHaṆ/NyāT = (*sam*)-*āj-ā-*/(*pari*)-*vṛāj-yā-* 'reunion, assembly'/'to be circumambulated'.

7.3.61 'bhúj-a-²ny-ubj-aú 'pāñí=²upa-tāp-áy-oḥ

The expressions *bhúj-a-* 'arm' and *ny-ubj-ā-* 'disease, pain' are introduced [without the velar replacement of the palatal stop j before affix GHaṆ] to denote respectively 'hand' and 'heat, pain'.

bhuj-yā-te an-éna = *bhuj+GHaṆ* (3.3.121) = *bhúj-a-ḥ* (absence of guṇa replacement as well as velar replacement); in other senses: *bhóg-a-*. *ni-ubj+GHaṆ* = *ny-ubj-ā-* (absence of velar replacement); in other meanings: *sam-udg-ā-*.

7.3.62 'pra-yāj-ā=²anu-yāj-aú yajña=aṅg-é

The expressions *pra-yāj-ā-* 'first part of a sacrifice' and *anu-yāj-ā-* 'second half of a sacrifice' (*yajña=aṅg-e*) are introduced [without velar replacement of palatal j before affix GHaṆ] when denoting a part of a sacrifice.

In other senses: *pra-yāg-ā-/anu-yāg-ā-*.

7.3.63 vānc-e-r ga-t-aú

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not 59 replace the palatal stop c 52 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *vānc-* 'go crookedly, cheat' (I 204) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker GH as IT or NyàT 52] to denote 'movement' (*ga-t-aú*).

vānc+NyāT = *vāñc-yā-* in the phrase *vāñc-yā-m vāñc-a-nti vāñj-ah* = *gan-tāvya-m*

vanfj-aḥ gācch-a-nti 'traders go in for what is easily disposed of in sales', but
vanc+GHaṇ = *vāṅk-a-m kāsṭha-m* 'flexible log'.

7.3.64 oká-ḥ=uc-aḥ K-é

The expression *oká-* 'house' is introduced [as derived from the verbal stem] *uc-* 'be suitable' (IV 114) [with affix 3.1.1] *Ká*.

uc+Ká (3.1.35) = *ok-á-* [with *guṇa* and velar replacements]; similarly: *nī+uc+Ká* = *ny-oká-* 'a bird'.

7.3.65 Ny-e á-vaś-ya-k-e

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stops *c* or *j* 52 of an *āṅga* 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] *Nyá(T)* to denote absolute necessity (*ā-vaś-ya-k-e*).

á-vaś-ya+pac+NyáT = *a-vaś-ya-pāc-yá-* 'necessarily to be cooked', but *pac+NyáT* (3.1.124) = *pāk-yá-* 'to be cooked'.

7.3.66 ¹yajA-²yāca-³rúca-⁴pra-vacÁ=⁵ḥc-as=ca

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stops *c* or *j* of the *āṅga-s* 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] *yaj-* 'sacrifice, worship' (I 1051), *yāc-* 'beg' (I 916), *rúc-* 'like, be agreeable', *pra+vac-* 'proclaim' (II 54) and *ḥc-* 'praise, adore' (VI 19) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 *NyáT* 65].

1. *yaj+NyáT* = *yāj-yá-* 'to be sacrificed'; similarly: 2. *yāc-yá-* 'to be sought or requested'; 3. *rúc-yá-* 'to be liked'; 4. *pra-vāc-yá-* 'to be proclaimed'; 5. *arc-yá-* 'to be praised'.

7.3.67 vac-aḥ á-śabda-saṁjnā-y-ām

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stop *c* 52 of the *āṅga* 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *vac-* 'speak' (II 54) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 *NyáT* 65] when not designating a linguistic technical term (*śabda-saṁ-jñā-y-ām*).

vac+NyáT = *vāc-yá-* 'to be uttered', but *vāk-yá-* 'sentence, minimum unit of discourse'.

7.3.68 ¹pra-yoj-yà-²ni-yoj-y-aù śak-ya=arth-e

The expressions pra-yoj-yà- 'suitable for use' and ni-yoj-yà- 'fit to be appointed' are introduced to denote the sense of 'competence' (śakya=arth-e) [without velar replacement of the palatal stop j 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NyàT 65].

In other senses: pra-yog-yà-/ni-yog-yà- 'to be used/to be appointed' respectively.

7.3.69 bhoj-yà-m bhakṣ-y-è

The expression bhoj-yà- is introduced in the sense of 'food' (bhakṣ-y-è) [without velar replacement of the palatal stop j 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NyàT 65].

In other senses: bhoj+*NyaT* = bho-gyà- 'to be enjoyed'.

7.3.70 GHo-r lópa-ḥ IEṬ-l vā

The substitute lópa (ḥ) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) optionally (vā) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IEṬ (Subjunctive Mood).

dā-dh-a-t rátna-n-i dāś-uṣ-e (RV 4.15.3) 'let him give jewels to the donor'. This form is derived thus: *dha+IEṬ* = *dha+Ślu+aT̄+tiP* (3.4.94) = *dā-dhḥ+aT̄+tiḥ* (3.4.97) = *dā-dh-a-t*. Alternately in the phrase *yád agní-r agnáy-e da-dā-t* there is no ḥ replacement of the stem-final.

7.3.71 oT̄-ah ŚyaN-i

[Substitute lópa (ḥ) replaces 70 the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme o(T̄) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] ŚyaN (3.1.69).

ni+śo+ŚyaN+tiP = *ni-śḥ-ya-ti* 'whets, hones, sharpens'; *dva+cho+ŚyaN+tiP* = *dva-ch-ya-ti* 'cuts'; *dva-d-ya-ti* 'divides'; *dva-s-ya-ti* 'terminates'.

7.3.72 Ksa-sya aC-i

[Substitute lópa (ḥ) 70 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the substitute Aorist marker] Ksa (3.1.45) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes (of IUN) beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

$duh+IU\dot{N} = dT \text{ (8.4.71)} + duh + Ol\ddot{i} + iT \text{ (3.1.43)} = d-duh + Ksa + iT \text{ (3.1.45)} =$
 $d-duh-s\theta + i = ddugh-s-i \text{ (8.2.32)} = ddhug-s-i \text{ (8.2.37)} = d-dhuk-s-i \text{ (8.3.59; 4.55)}$ 'I
 have milked'; similarly $d-dhuk-s-\ddot{a}-i\ddot{a}m / ^\circ \ddot{a}-i\ddot{a}m$ exceptions to 2.81 above.

7.3.73 $luK=\bar{v}\ddot{a}$ ¹*duhA*-²*dihA*-³*lihA*-⁴*gúh-ām ātman-e-pad-é* *dánt-y-e*

The substitute *luK* (\emptyset^1) optionally ($\bar{v}\ddot{a}$) replaces [the *āṅga* 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] *duh-* 'milk' (II 4), *dih-* 'smear' (II 5), *lih-* 'lick' (II 6) and *gúh-* 'hide' (I 944) [ending in 1.1.72 the substitute *IU\dot{N}* marker *Ksa* 72 before 1.1.66] *Ātmanepadā* [l-substitutes of *IU\dot{N}* beginning with] a dental phoneme (*dánt-y-e*).

1. $duh+IU\dot{N} = dT + duh + Ksa + ta = d-duh + sa + ta / d-duh-s\theta - ta =$
 $d-dhuk-sa-ta / d-duh-s\theta - ta \text{ (8.2.26)} = d-duh-dha \text{ (8.2.40)} = d-dug-dha \text{ (8.4.53);}$
 $d-dug-dhāh / d-dhuk-sa-thāh; d-dug-dhvam / d-dhuk-sa-dhvam; dduh-vahi /$
 $d-dhuk-sa-vahi.$ On similar lines: 2. $d-dig-dha / d-dhik-sa-ta$; 3. $a-li-dha /$
 $d-lik-sa-ta / d-lik + Ksa + ta = d-liqh + s\theta + ta \text{ (8.2.31)} = d-liqh-dha \text{ (8.2.40)} =$
 $d-liqh-dha \text{ (8.4.41)} = d-li\theta-dha \text{ (8.3.13); d-liqh-sa-ta} = d-lik-sa-ta \text{ (8.2.41). 4.}$
 $ny-\ddot{a}-gū-dha / ny-\ddot{a}-ghuk-sa-ta.$

7.3.74 *sām-ām aṣṭā-n-ām dīrghā-ḥ ŚyaN-i*

A substitute long (*dīrghā-ḥ*: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the *āṅga-s* 6.4.1] of eight (verbal stems: *aṣṭā-n-ām*) beginning with *sām-* 'become quiet' (IV 92-99) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] *ŚyaN*.

These eight verbal stems are: 92. *sāmŪ upa-sām-é*; 93. *tāmŪ kṛṇkṣā-y-ām* 'be weary' (*glā-naú*); 94. *dāmŪ upa-sām-é* 'subdue'; 95. *śrāmŪ tṛpas-i khéd-e ca* 'be fatigued'; 96. *bhrāmŪ an-ava-sthā-n-e* 'err, stray'; 97. *kṣāmŪ(Ṣ) sáh-an-e* 'bear, endure'; 98. *klāmŪ glā-naú* 'be tired'; 99. *mādŪ hara-é* 'be glad'

1. $sām+ŚyaN+tiP = sām-ya-ti$; 2. $tām-ya-ti$; 3. $dām-ya-ti$; 4. $śrām-ya-ti$; 5. $bhrām-ya-ti$; 6. $kṣām-ya-ti$; 7. $klām-ya-ti$; 8. $mād-ya-ti.$

7.3.75 ¹*ṣṭhívŪ*-²*klāmŷ*-³*ś-cām-ām Ś-IT-i*

[A substitute long vowel 74 replaces the vowel of the *āṅga-s* 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] *ṣṭhív-* 'spit out' (I 592, IV 4), *klām-* 'be tired' (IV 98) and *ś+cām-* 'sip' (I 497) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker *Ś* as *IT*.

1. $\dot{s}thív+ŚyaN+tiP = \dot{s}thív-ya-ti / \dot{s}thív-ŚaP+tiP \text{ (I 592); 2. } klām-ya-ti / klām-a-ti$; 3.
 $\ddot{a}-cam+ŚaP+tiP = \ddot{a}-cām-a-ti$, but $cām-a-ti / u\ddot{f}-cam-a-ti.$ While [*ṣṭhív-*] is a

member of both classes I and IV, the inclusion of [klam-] is to indicate that it can also belong to the ŚaP-class.

7.3.76 *krām-aḥ parasma-padé-ṣu*

[A substitute long vowel 74 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] *krām-* 'tread' (I 502) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75] co-occurring with l-substitutes of Parasmaipadā.

krām+ŚaP+tiP = krām-a-ti; á-krām+ŚaP+te = á-kram-a-te (1.3 40).

7.3.77 *¹[ṣÚ-²gam]-³yam-ām cha-ḥ*

The substitute phoneme *ch* replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] *ṣ-* 'desire, wish' (VI 59), *gam-* 'go' (I 1031) and *yam-* 'sustain, hold' (I 1033) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

ṣ+Śá+tiP = ich-d-ti = icch-d-ti (6.1.73). *gam+ŚaP+tiP = gáčch-a-ti*.
yam+ŚaP+tiP = yáčch-a-ti.

By citing the form [ṣÚ] this blocks out the two other homophonous terms [*ṣÁ* *gá-t-au* IV 19, *ṣÁ ábhikṣan-ye* IX 53].

7.3.78 *¹pā-²ghrā-³dhmā-⁴sthā-⁵mnā-⁶dāN-⁷dṛś-⁸arti-⁹sarti-¹⁰śada-¹¹sad-ām ¹piba-²jighra-³dhama-⁴tiṣṭha-⁵mana-⁶yaccha-⁷paśya-⁸ṛccha-⁹dhau-¹⁰śīya-¹¹sīd-ā-ḥ*

The eleven substitute morphemes beginning with *pib-a-* replace [respectively 1.3.10 the whole of 1.1.55 eleven ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] beginning with *pā-* 'drink' (I 972) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

There is some hesitation regarding the nature of the final vowel in the substitute morphemes: whether it is a part of the morpheme or is used for ease of pronunciation. [dhau-] indicates the first option. On the other hand [pib-a] poses the difficulty of non-application of 86 below in [pib-a-ti]. A special metarule of exegesis provides for this situation or an alternate suggestion in the case of the first option above is to provide for udātta accent on the first syllable. In the case of the first option 6.1.97 provides for the correct surface forms: (I 974-77):

1. *pā+ŚaP+tiP = pib-a-ti*; 2. *ghrā: jighr-a-ti*; 3. *dhmā: dhām-a-ti*; 4. *sthā: tiṣṭh-a-ti*; 5. *mnā: mán-a-ti*; 6. *dāN: yáčch-a-ti*; 7. *dṛś- (I 1017): pāśy-a-ti*; 8. *ṛ (I 983, III 17): ṛcch-a-ti*; 9. *ṛj- (I 983, III 17): dhāv-a-ti*; 10. *śad- (I 908, VI 134): śīy-a-te*; 11. *sad- (I 907, VI 113): sīd-a-ti/sī-dá-ti*.

The respective meanings are: 1. 'drinks'; 2. 'smells'; 3. 'blows, inflates'; 4. 'remains,

stands'; 5. 'thinks, meditates'; 6. 'gives'; 7. 'sees, perceives'; 8. 'goes, moves'; 9. 'runs'; in other meanings like 'flows' *sār-a-ti*; 10. 'falls'; 11. 'sits, settles down'. In view of affixes with marker *Ś* as it, *pā rakṣ-aṇ-e* II 47 is not covered by this rule since Ø¹ replaces [*ŚaP*] and 1.1.63 blocks any operation relating to the āṅga.

7.3.79 ¹jñā-²jān-or jā

The substitute morpheme *jā* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] *jñā-* 'know' (IX 16) and *jān-* 'be born' (IV 41) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

1. *jñā+Snā+tiP* = *jā-nā-ti* 'knows, cognizes'. 2. *jān+ŚyaN+te* = *jā-ya-te* 'is born'.

7.3.80 pū-ādī-n-ām hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the āṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the class of verbal stems] beginning with *pū-* 'purify' (IX 12) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

This group consists of IX 12-32 in the Dhatu-pāṭha. *pū+Snā+tiP* = *pu-nā-ti/pu-nī-té*; similarly: *lā:* *lu-nā-ti/lu-nī-té*; *stṛ:* *stṛ-nā-ti/-nī-té*; *vṛ:* *vṛ-nā-ti/-nī-té*; *pū+Ktā* = *pā-tā*; *pū+KtiN* = *pū-ti-* 'purity, cleanliness'.

7.3.81 mī-nā-te-r ni-gam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) [the substitute short vowel 80 replaces the āṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] *mī*(*Ñ* IX 4) 'injure, destroy' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

prā-mi-ṇ-anti vratā-n-i 'they infringe laws', but in the spoken language *prā-mī-nā-ti*.

7.3.82 mīd-er guṇá-ḥ

The substitute Guṇá vowel (e 1.1.2) replaces [the āṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] *mīd-* (IV 133) 'be unctuous' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

mīd+ŚyaN+tiP/tas/jhi = *mēd-ya-ti/tas mēd-y-a-nti* (6.1.97). By 1.2.4 [*ŚyaN*] is regarded as a *Ñ-IT* and consequently blocks the operation of 86 below. This rule provides for guṇá replacement before it. [*mid-*] also occurs in the *bhū-* class, but since [*ŚaP*] is not *Ñ-IT*, 86 operates: *mid+ŚaP+tiP* = *mēd-a-ti*.

7.3.83 Jus-i ca

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (a, e, o) 82 replaces the áṅga 8.4.1 final vowel 1.1.52 (iK 1.1.3) of verbal stems before 1.1.86] the l-substitute Jus (3.4.109-11).

$bhT+LAN = dT+bhT+Stu+Jus$ (3.4.109) = $d-bi-bhT+\emptyset^2+us$ (6.1.10; 7.4.49; 8.4.54) = $d-bi-bhay-uh$ (84; 6.1.78) 'they feared'. But in $su+IN = su+Snu+yásuT+Jus = su-nu-yá\emptyset-us$ (2.79) there is no Guṇá replacement of [nu-] final since the initial increment [yásuT.] of [Jus] is a N-IT (3.4.103) = $su-nu-y-u-h$ (6.1.96). $kT+IUN = dT+kT+siC+Jus$ (3.4.109) = $d-kār-ṣ-uh$ (2.1) where V{ddhi replacement blocks this rule, contra 1.4.2.

7.3.84 sārva-dhātu-ka=ārdha-dhātu-kay-oḥ

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (= a, e, o 1.1.2) 82 replaces the áṅga 8.4.1 final 1.1.52 of verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72 a vowel denoted by the siglum iK = i, u, ṛ, ḷ 1.1.3) before 1.1.86] sārva-dhātu-ka (3.4.113) and ārdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.114) [affixes 3.1.1].

$jī+ŚaP+tiP = jē-a-ti = jāy-a-ti$ (6.1.78) 'conquers, wins'. Similarly $nf+ŚaP+tiP = nāy-a-ti$ 'leads'; $su+Śnu+tiP = su-nō-ti$ 'extracts, distils'; since [Śnu] is deemed a N-IT by 1.2.4 Guṇa replacement does not take place before it.

$kT+tumuN = kār-tum$ 'to make'; $kT+ú+tiP = kar-ō-ti$ 'makes' where the present class marker [ú] is ārdha-dhātu-ka, not being Ś-IT or tiN and itself undergoes Guṇa replacement before the sārva-dhātu-ka [tiP].

7.3.85 jāgr-aḥ á-¹vi-²CiN-³NaL-⁴N-IT-su

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (a 1.1.2) 82 replaces the áṅga 8.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] jāgr- 'wake up' [before 1.1.66 sārva-dhātuka and ārdha-dhātuka 84 affixes] excluding vi(uNādi), CiN, NaL and those with marker N as IT.

$jāgr+NiC+ŚaP+tiP = jāgar-ī+a-ti = jāgar-ē-a-ti$ (84) = $jāgar-āy-a-ti$ 'wakes (someone) up'; here this rule blocks the operation of 2.115 which would have resulted in a V{ddhi replacement. Similarly: $jāgr+NvuL = jāgar-aka-$ 'one who wakes.'

Exceptions: $jāgr+vi-$ 'watchful'; $+NaL = ja-jāgr+NaL$ (6.1.8; 7.4.59-60) = $ja-jāgar-a$ 'woke up'; $+CiN = á-jāgr+CiN = á-jāgar-ā$; $+N-IT = jāgr+(ŚaP-\emptyset^1)+tás = jāgr-tás$ (1.2.4).

7.3.86 ¹puK=anta-²laghú=upa-dha-sya ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (= a, e, o 1.1.1) 82 replaces] the penultimate (° upa-dha-sya) vowel [of an áṅga 6.4.1 which ends 1.1.72 in the final increment 1.1.46] puK or contains a light (laghu-°) [penultimate iK 1.1.3 before 1.1.66 sārva dhātuka and ārdha dhātuka 84 affix 3.1.1].

1. *puK=anta: hrI+puK+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* (36) = *hrep-áy-a-ti* 'causes (someone) to feel ashamed'. 2. *vid+θ¹+tiP* = *ved+ti* = *vet-ti* 'knows'; *bhid+tumyN* = *bhéd+tum* = *bhét-tum* (8.4.55), but *nind+ŚaP+tiP* = *nínd-a-ti* 'blames, censures', *káj+ŚaP+tiP* = *káj-a-ti* 'hums, warbles'.

7.3.87 ná=abhy-āsta-sya=aC-i P-IT-i sārva dhātuk-e

[A substitute Guṇá (= a, e, o) 82] does not (ná) replace [the light penultimate 86 vowel iK 1.1.3] of a reduplicated [áṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66] a sārva dhātuka [affix 3.1.1] with marker P as IT, beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

- nij+IoT* = *nij+Ślu+miP* (2.4.75) = *ni-nij+θ²+mi* (3.4.89) = *ni-nij-aT+ni* (3.4.87, 92 P-IT) = *ne-nij-a-ni* (4.75) 'I will wash or cleanse'. But *ne-nij+tiP* = *ne-nak-ti* (8.2.30).

7.3.88 ¹bhū-²sūv-os tiÑ-i

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (o) 82 does not 87 replace the vowel iK 1.1.3 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] bhū- 'become' (I 1) and sū- 'give birth to' (II 21) [before 1.1.66 sārva dhātuka 84 l-substitutes 3.4.78] tiÑ.

- bhū+UÑ* = *bhū+Olí* (3.1.43) = *bhū+aíC* (3.1.44) = *bhū+θ¹+ti* (2.4.77) = *aT+bhū-i* (6.4.71) = *a-bhū-i/a-bhū-a/a-bhūv-am*.
sū+IoT = *sū(+ŚaP-θ¹)+ti* (2.4.72) = *sū+aT+ai* (3.4.92-3) = *sū+ai* (6.1.88) = *suv-as* (6.4.77), *suv-a-vahai/°-a-mahai*.

7.3.89 uT-aḥ vḥd-dhi-r luk-i haL-i

A substitute vḥd-dhi vowel (au) replaces [the final vowel 1.1.52 of an áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel u(T) [before 1.1.66] luk (θ²) [co-occurring with a sārva dhātuka affix 3.1.1 with P as IT marker 87, beginning with] a consonant (haL-i).

- yu+θ¹+tiP* = *yau-ti* 'mixes', but *yu+lds* = *yu-táh* (8.3.15); but *i+θ¹+tiP* = *é-ti* 'goes'.

7.3.90 ūṛṇ-ḥ-te-r vibhāṣā

[A substitute vṛd-dhi vowel (au) 90] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the āṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.72 vowel (u) of the verbal stem] ūṛṇu- 'cover' (II 30) [before a sārvaadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87, beginning with a consonant 89].

$prā + āṛṇu + \theta^1 + tiP = ^\circ - āṛṇo - ti / ^\circ - urṇau - ti$ but $prōrṇu - taḥ$. $prōrṇu + IOT = prorṇu + āT + ni = prorṇav - ā - ni$ (84; 6.1.78).

7.3.91 guṇā-ḥ ā-prk-t-e

A substitute Guṇā vowel (o 1.1.2) replaces [the āṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel iK 1.1.3 (= u) of the verbal stem] ūṛṇu- 'cover' (II 30) before 1.1.66] a single phoneme (ā-prk-t-e 1.2.41) [sārvaadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 97 consisting of a consonant 89].

$prā + āṛṇu + IAN = praūrṇu + \theta^1 + t = praūrṇo - t / ^\circ - ḥ$ (6.1.9; 4.72).

7.3.92 tṛṇāh-ah iM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] iM is inserted after the last vowel [of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] tṛḥ- 'crush, bruise' (VII 18) [before 1.1.66 a sārvaadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89].

$tṛḥ + ŚnāM + tiP = tṛ - ṇā - h + tiP = tṛ - ṇā - i - h + ti = tṛ - ṇē - h + ti$ (6.1.87) = $tṛ - ṇē - dh + dhi$ (8.2.31, 40; 4.41) = $tṛ - ṇē - \theta - dhi$ (8.3.13) / $tṛ - ṇē - k - si$ (8.2.41) / $tṛ - ṇē - h - mi$. $tṛḥ + IAN = tṛḥ + ŚnāM + t = āT + tṛ - ṇa - i - h + t$ (6.4.71) = $ā - tṛ - ṇa - dh + dḥ = ā - tṛ - ṇe - \theta - d = ā - tṛ - ṇe - t$ (8.4.58), but before such affixes beginning with a vowel: $tṛḥ + IOT = tṛ - ṇā - h + āT - ni / va / ma = tṛ - ṇā - h + āni / āva / āma$.

7.3.93 bruv-ah IT

[The initial increment 1.1.48] IT is inserted at the head of [a sārvaadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] brū- 'speak' (II 35).

$brū + \theta^1 + tiP = bro - t - ti$ (84) = $brav - t - ti$ (6.1.78) / $- t - si$ (8.3.59) / $- t - mi$ but $brāv - āni / āva / āma$ and $brū - tās / thās / vās / mās$.

7.3.94 yáÑ-ah vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long ṛṭ 93] is optionally (vā) inserted [at the head of a sārvaadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 an ānga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the intensive/frequentative marker yáÑ (3.1.22).

lap+yáÑ+ŚaP+te = la-lap-yá-a-te (6.1.9) = la-lap-y-á-te (6.1.97) = lá-lap-y-á-te (4.83)/lá-lap-0¹+ṛṭ-ti (2.4.74) = lá-lap-ṛ-ti; bhā+yáÑ-luK (2.4.74)+tiP = bō-bho-ti/bō-bho-ṛ-ti = bō-bhav-ṛ-ti (6.1.78); vṛ+yáÑ-luK+ti = vdr-var-ti (4.92)/vdr-ṛ-var-ti (4.92).

7.3.95 ¹tu-²rú-³stu-⁴śamj=⁶ám-ah sārvaadhātuk-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long ṛṭ 93 is optionally 94 inserted at the head of] sārvaadhātuka [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] tu- 'be strong', rú- 'cry' (II 24), stu- 'praise, laud' (II 34), śam- 'be calm' (IV 92) and ám- 'go' (I 493).

The repetition of the word [sārvaadhātuka] in this rule when it was already recurring from 87 above is to block out the qualifying marker [P-ṛṭ] associated with it in 87.

1. *ud+tu+0¹ (2.4.73)+tiP = út-tau-ti (89)/út-tauṛ-ti.*
2. *úpa+ru+0¹+ti = úpa-rau-ti/úpa-rav-ṛ-ti;*
3. *úpa-stau-ti/úpa-stau-ṛ-ti;*
4. *śam+ŚyaN+dhvam = śám-ya-dhvam (74)/śám-ṛ-dhvam (2.4.73);*
5. *abhy-ām-a-ti/abhy-ām-ṛ-ti.*

7.3.96 ¹ás-ti-²sjC-ah=⁴pṛk-t-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long ṛṭ 93 is inserted at the head of a sārvaadhātuka 95 affix 3.1.1] consisting of a single phoneme (á-pṛk-t-e 1.2.41) [consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] as- 'be' (II 56) and the substitute Aorist (IUN) marker sjC.

1. *as+IAÑ = áṭ+as+0¹+t (3.4.110; 6.4.72) = ás+ṛ-t/s (= ḥ 8.3.15).*
 2. *kṛ+IUN = kṛ+sjC+t (3.4.100) = áṭ+kār-s+ṛ-t (2.1; 6.4.71; 8.3.59);*
- ás-mi, á-kār-s-am.*

7.3.97 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the initial increment 1.1.46 long ṛṭ 93 is inserted] variously (bahu-lá-m) at the head of [a single phoneme 96 sārvaadhātuka affix 95 consisting of a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the ānga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) and one ending in 1.1.72 the Aorist substitute marker sjC 96].

1. $\check{d}T+as+\theta^1+t = \check{d}s-t = \check{d}s+\theta$ (6.1.68) = as (8.3.15), 2. $k\check{s}ar+UN = \check{d}T+k\check{s}ar+siC+t = \check{d}-k\check{s}ar-s-\theta = \check{d}-k\check{s}ar+\theta$ (8.2.24) = $\check{d}-ksa-h$ (8.3.15)/ $\check{d}-k\check{s}ar-t$.

7.3.98 rúd-as ca pañcā-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long \check{T} 93 is inserted at the head of a sārva dhātuka 95 affix consisting of a single phoneme 96 consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the ānga-s 6.4.1 of the group of] five verbal stems beginning with rud- 'cry, shed tears, weep' (II 58).

These five stems are: 58. $rād-IR$ $aśru-vi-móc-an-e$, 59. NI - $śvap-Ā$ $nidrā-kṣay-e$ 'sleep, lie down', 60. $śvas-Ā$ $prāṇ-an-e$, 61. $an-Ā$ ca ($prāṇ-an-e$), 62 $jakṣ-Ā$ $bhakṣā-hāś-anay-aḥ$.

1. $rud+IAN = \check{d}T+rud+\theta^1+t = \check{d}-rod-r-t/-ts = -th$ (8.2.68; 3.15); similarly: 2. $\check{d}-śvap-Ṛ/-th$; 3. $\check{d}-śvas-Ṛ/-th$; 4. $prāṇ-Ṛ/-th$ 'breathed'; 5. $\check{d}-jakṣ-Ṛ/-th$ but $rod-i-mi/-si/-ti$ (2.76).

7.3.99 aT gārg-ya-gālavay-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] short a(\check{T}) is inserted at the head of [a sārva dhātuka 95 single phoneme 96 consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the ānga-s 6.4.1 of the group of five verbal stems beginning with rud- 'cry, weep, shed tears' (II 58) 98] according to the grammarians Gārg-ya and Gālava.

$rud+IAN = \check{d}-rud+\theta^1+t = \check{d}-rod-at/-aḥ$ (84); $\check{d}-śvap-at/-aḥ$; $\check{d}-śvas-at/-aḥ$; $prāṇ-at/-aḥ$; $\check{d}-jakṣ-at/-aḥ$.

7.3.100 ad-aḥ sārve-ṣām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 a \check{T} is inserted at the head of a sārva dhātuka 95 single phoneme 96 affix 3.1.1 consisting of a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the ānga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ad- 'eat' (II 1) according to all grammarians.

$ad+IAN = \check{d}T+ad+\theta^1+t = \check{d}d-at/-aḥ$ but $ad+tiP = dt-ti$ (8.4.55)/ $si/dd-mi$.

7.3.101 aT-aḥ dīrghá-ḥ yaÑ-i

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [before 1.1.66 a sārvaḥātuka 95 affix 3.1.1] beginning with a consonant denoted by the siglum yaÑ (= semivowels, nasals or bh).

The siglum [yaÑ] here stands primarily for v and m only, since [jh] is always replaced by [a(n)t 1.3ff.]. Its fuller use in relation to a succeeding rule extends it to include the consonants [y, bh].

pác+ŚaP+mi/vas/mas = pác-ā+mi/vas/-mas; édh+ŚaP+vahe/mahe = édh-ā+vahe/mahe but ei-nu-vāḥ/-māḥ; pác-a-ta/tha.

7.3.102 sUP-i ca

[A substitute long vowel 101 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 short vowel a(T) 101 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets [beginning with a consonant denoted by the siglum yaÑ (semivowels, nasals or bh) 101].

devā+ñe = devā+ya (1.13) = devā-ya; devā+bhyām = devā-bhyām, but agnī-bhyām, devā-sya.

7.3.103 bahu-vacan-é jhaL-i eT

The substitute phoneme e(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short vowel a(T) 101 before 1.1.66] a plural [sUP triplet 102] beginning with a non-nasal consonant denoted by the siglum jhaL (= all consonants other than nasals).

devā+bhyas = devā-bhyaḥ (8.2.66; 3.15); devā+su = devā-su (8.3.59). In the deep structure situation [devā+bhyas] both 102 and 103 are applicable, but by metarule 1.4.2, 103 blocks 102. Exception to 102 above.

7.3.104 os-i ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103] also (ca) [replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short a(T) 102 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] os (= gen. loc. dual).

devā+os = devā+os = devāy-oh (6.1.78; 8.2.66; 3.15).

7.3.105 āN-i ca=āP-aḥ

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103] also (ca) [replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) [before 1.1.86 the sUP triplet] āN (= instr. sing.) as well as (ca) [os 104].

[āN] is deemed as a Pre-Pāinian technical term for his [Ṭ]. *māla+āN/os* = *māla+ā/os* = *mālay-a* (6.1.72)/*mālay-oh* (8.2.86; 8.15).

7.3.106 sam-bud-dh-au ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.51 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the cover term āP 105 before 1.1.86] the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au) sUP triplet.

māla+sU (voc.) = *māla+θ* (6.1.69).

7.3.107 'ambā=artha-'nady-ór hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting the sense of ambā 'mother' as well as stems denoted by the t.t. nadí (1.4.3ff.) [before 1.1.86 the vocative singular sUP triplet 106].

ambā/akkā/allā+sU (voc.) = *āmba/dikka/dlla+θ* (6.1.69). *nadī/vadhā+sU* (voc.) = *nādi/vādhu+θ*.

7.3.108 hrasvá-sya guṇá-ḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short (hrasvá-sya: vowel 1.2.28: iK) [before 1.1.86 the vocative singular sUP triplet 106].

agnī/vāyā/pitṛ+sU (voc.) = *āgne/vāyo/pītar+sU* = *āgne/vāyo+θ* (6.1.69)/*pītar+θ* (6.1.68) = *pītaḥ* (8.3.15).

7.3.109 Jas-i ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (a, e, o 1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel (iK 1.1.3 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a short vowel 108 (iK) before 1.1.88 sUP triplet] Jas also (ca).

hāri/vāyri/pitf+Jas = hāre/vāyō/pitdr+as = hāroy-ah/vāydv-ah/pitdr-ah (6.1.78; 8.2.66; 3.15).

7.3.110 ṛT-ah ¹Ñi-²sarvanāmasthānáy-oh

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel (iK 1.1.3) of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel ṛT [before 1.1.88 the sUP triplets] Ñi (loc. sing.) and the strong triplets denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthānáy (= sUT).

pitf+Ñi = pitdr-i; pitf+au/am = pitdr-au/-am. +Jas = pitdr-ah (109 above).

Though [Śi] is a strong case affix (1.1.42) the present rule does not apply to neuter stems as by 1.72 above the stem gets an infixed increment [nuM] whereby *kartf+Śi = kartf-n+Śi* thus making the áṅga not ending in [r] and by 6.4.8 the surface form becomes *kartf-ñ-i*.

7.3.111 GHE-r Ñ-IT-i

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel (iK 1.1.3) of nominal stems 4.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) [before sUP triplets] with marker Ñ as IT.

agní/vāyri+Ñe/Ñas(I) = agné/vāyō+e/as = agndy-e/vāydv-e; agn-ē-h/vāy-ō-h (6.4.110; 8.2.66; 3.15). For *agní/vāyri+Ñi* see 119 below.

7.3.112 āT=nady-āh

[The initial increment 1.1.46] āT is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets with marker Ñ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] nadf (1.4.3ff.).

nadf/vadhā+Ñe/Ñas(I)/Ñi = nadf/vadhā+āT-e/as/ām (116) = *nady-af/vadhv-āú, nady-āh/vadhv-āh; nady-ām/vadhv-ām*.

7.3.113 yāṭ āP-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yāṭ is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets having marker Ñ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by] the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP).

$$māla + Ñe / Ñas(I) / Ñi = māla + yāṭ - e / as / am \text{ (116)} = māla - yai / yās / yām.$$

7.3.114 sarva-nāmn-aḥ syāṭ hrasvá-s=h ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] syāṭ is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets having marker Ñ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1] of pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) 113] and the short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga final 1.1.52 vowel].

$$sarvá + Ñe / Ñas(I) / Ñi = sárva + syāṭ - e / as / am \text{ (116)} = sárva - syai / syās / syām.$$

7.3.115 vibhāṣā ¹dvi-tīyā-²tr-tīyā-bhyām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 syāṭ 114] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [at the head of sUP triplets with marker Ñ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of pronominal stems 114] dvi-tīy-ā 'second' and tr-tīy-ā 'third' [and the short vowel replaces their ánga- final phoneme before 1.1.66 these triplets].

$$\begin{aligned} dvi - tīy - ā / tr - tīy - ā + Ñe / Ñas(I) / Ñi &= dvi - tīya / tr - tīya + syāṭ - e / as / am = dvi - tīya - syai / \\ &syās / syām // dvi - tīyā + yai / yās / yām \text{ (113)}. \quad tr - tīya + syai / syās / syām // \\ &tr - tīyā - yai / yās / yām \text{ (113)}. \end{aligned}$$

7.3.116 Ñe-r ām ¹nadf=²āP=³nf-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme ām replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Ñi (loc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] nadf (1.4.3ff.) or by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) and the [nominal stem] nf- 'leader'.

$$\begin{aligned} 1. \text{ vadhā} + Ñi &= \text{vadhā} + am = \text{vadhā} + āṭ - am \text{ (112)} = \text{vadhv - ām}. \quad 2. \text{ māla} + Ñi \\ \text{māla} + yāṭ + am \text{ (113)} &= \text{māla - yām}. \quad 3. \text{ senā - nf} + Ñi = \text{senā - nf} + am = \text{senāny - ām}. \end{aligned}$$

7.3.117 $\text{ṛiṭ}=\text{ṛuṭ}=\text{bhyām}$

[The substitute morpheme ām replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet Ṇi 116, introduced after 3.1.2 the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short iṭ or uṭ [belonging to nadf-type 116].

The recurrence of [nadf] here is for the purpose of denoting feminine stems ending in short [i, u] which are covered by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) and share the characteristics of masculine stems ending in short [i, u] but are not subject to this operation. Cf. 1.4.6 for their being nadf before Ṇ-IT .

$\text{ma-ti/dhe-nū+Ṇi} = \text{ma-ti/dhe-nū+ām} = \text{ma-ti/dhe-nū+āṭ+ām}$ (112; 1.4.6) = maty-ām/dhe-nu-ām . For alternative forms cf. 119 below.

7.3.118 auṭ

The substitute morpheme auṭ replaces [the sUP triplet Ṇi 116 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 short iṭ or uṭ 117].

The examples here are constituted by stems which are neither denoted by the t.t. nadf (1.4.3,6) nor by GHI (1.4.7).

$\text{sákhi/pā-ti+Ṇi} = \text{sákhi/pā-ti+au} = \text{sákhy-au/paty-au}$ (1.4.7-8).

7.3.119 $\text{aṭ}=\text{ca GHE-h}$

[The substitute morpheme auṭ 118 replaces the sUP triplet Ṇi 116 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga-s 6.4.1 denoted by the t.t.] GHI (1.4.7) and (ca) the substitute phoneme short a(T) replaces [the āṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of these stems before 1.1.66 that sUp triplet].

$\text{agní/vāyá/ma-ti/dhe-nū+Ṇi} = \text{agní/vāyá/matí/dhená+au} = \text{agná/vāyá/matá/dhend+au} = \text{agn-aṭ/vāy-aṭ/mat-aṭ/dhen-aṭ}$.

7.3.120 $\text{āṆ-aḥ nā á-strīy-ām}$

The substitute morpheme nā replaces the sUP triplet āṆ (inst. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of GHI stems (1.4.7)] excluding feminine stems (á-strīy-ām).

$\text{agní/vāyá+āṆ} = \text{agní/vāyá+nā} = \text{agní-nā/vāyá-nā}$; similarly from neuter stems: vāri-nā/mádhu-nā , but from fem. stems: maty-ā/dhenu-ā .

7.4.1 N-au CaÑ-i upa-dhā-y-āḥ hrasvā-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvā-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ānga 6.4.1] penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) vowel [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] CaÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC.

$kṛ+NíC+CaÑ+t$ (3.1.48) = $kār-i-OaÑ+t$ (2.115) = $kār+Ø+CaÑ+t$ (6.4.51) = $kar+CaÑ+t$ = $ka-kar-d-t$ (6.1.11) = $ca-kar-d-t$ (4.62) = $ci-kar-d-t$ (4.93-4) = $dT+ci-kar-a-t$ (6.4.71) = $d-ci-kar-a-t$. Similarly from the verbal stems *gaṇ-*, *śri-*, *nī-*, *dru-*, *pā-*: $d-jī-gaṇ-a-t/d-śi-śriy-a-t$ (6.1.77)/ $d-nī-nay-a-t/d-du-dru-a-t/a-pī-pav-a-t$ (4.80, 93-4).

7.4.2 ná ¹aC=lopí(n)=²śāsÚ=³ṛT=IT-ām

[A substitute short vowel 1] does not (ná) replace [the ānga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1] which undergoes a lópa (Ø) replacement of [its final 1.1.52] vowel (aC-°), of śās- 'teach, instruct, command' (II 66) or those (verbal stems) with marker Ṛ as IT (when introduced in the Dhp.) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CaÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

$rāj-an-am$ *ati-krān-lāvān* = $ati+rāj+Ø+NíC+CaÑ+t$ (6.4.144) = $aty-d-ra-rāj-at$ 'has overcome the king'. $śās+NíC+CaÑ+t$ = $d-śa-śās-a-t$. $bādh-Ṛ+NíC+CaÑ+t$ = $d-ba-bādh-a-t$ 'has oppressed'.

7.4.3 ¹bhrāja-²bhāsa-³bhāṣA-⁴dīpa-⁵jīvÁ-⁶mīlÁ-⁷pīḍ-ām anya-tará-syām

[A substitute short vowel 1] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the penultimate vowel 1 of the ānga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] bhrāj- 'shine' (I 875), bhās- 'shine' (I 685), bhāṣ- 'speak' (I 643), dīp- 'shine' (IV 42), jīv- 'live' (I 594), mīl- 'shut the eye' (I 550) and pīḍ- 'torment' (X 11) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CaÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

1. $bhrāj+NíC+CaÑ+t$ = $d-bi-bhraj-a-t$ (93)/ $d-ba-bhrāj-a-t$. Similarly: 2. $d-bī-bhas-a-t$ (93-4)/ $d-ba-bhās-a-t$; 3. $d-bī-bhas-a-t/d-ba-bhāṣ-a-t$; 4. $d-dī-dip-a-t/d-dī-dīp-a-t$; 5. $d-jī-jīv-a-t/d-jī-jīv-a-t$; 6. $d-mī-mil-a-t/d-mi-mīl-a-t$; 7. $d-pī-pīḍ-a-t/d-pi-pīḍ-a-t$.

The short vowel of the reduplicated syllable is replaced by the long one when the penultimate vowel of the stem is replaced by the short one by 94 below.

7.4.4 lópa-ḥ pfb-a-te-r iT=ca abhy-ās-á-sya

A substitute lópa (ḥ) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] pā- (I 972) 'drink' [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CāÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1] and the substitute long I replaces the vowel of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya).

$$pā+NíC+CāÑ+t = pāy-f+CāÑ+t \text{ (3.37)} = p(\bar{h})yi+CāÑ+t = pi-py-\bar{h}+a-t \text{ (6.4.51)} = \\ \bar{a}-pi-py-a-t/\bar{t}ām/an.$$

7.4.5 tī-ṣṭh-a-te-r IT

The substitute short vowel i(T) replaces [the penultimate vowel 1 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] sthā- 'stand, stay, abide' (I 975) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CāÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

$$sthā+NíC+CāÑ+t = sthā-p-f \text{ (3.36)}+CāÑ+t = sthā-p-\bar{h}+CāÑ+t \text{ (6.4.51)} = \\ \bar{a}-ti-ṣṭhip-a-t/\bar{t}ām/an.$$

7.4.6 ji-ghr-a-te-r vā

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 5] optionally (vā) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 penultimate 1 vowel of the verbal stem] ghrā- (= ji-ghra- 3.38) 'smell' (I 973) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CāÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

$$ghrā+NíC+CāÑ+t = ghrā-p-f+CāÑ+t = ghrā-p-\bar{h}+CāÑ+t = \\ \bar{a}-ji-ghrip-a-t/\bar{a}-ji-ghrap-a-t.$$

7.4.7 ur ṛT

The substitute short vowel ṛ(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1] ṛ [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CāÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

This rule blocks out substitutes ir (1.101), ar (3.86), ar (2.114).

$$kṛt+NíC+CāÑ+t = \bar{a}-ci-kṛt-a-t/\bar{a}-ci-kṛt-at \text{ (93-4)}; \text{ } vṛt+NíC+CāÑ+t = \\ \bar{a}-va-varī-a-t/\bar{a}-vī-vṛt-at; \text{ } mṛj+NíC+CāÑ+t = \bar{a}-ma-māṛj-a-t/\bar{a}-mī-mṛj-at.$$

7.4.8 nftya-m chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute short vowel ɾ(T) 7] necessarily (nftya-m) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1 ɾ 7 before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CÁN co-occurring after the causative marker N(C 1].

vɾdh+N(C+OáN+e = d-vɾ-vɾdh-a-t/-tām/-an.

7.4.9 dáy-a-te-r digi IIṬ-i

The substitute morpheme digi replaces [the whole of 1.1.52 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] de(N) 'protect, guard' (1011) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] IIṬ.

The verbal stem *dáyA dāna-gāti-rāksaṇa-himsā-d-dāne-su* (I 510) is not coming under this rule as it is covered by 3.1.37. *deN+IIṬ = digi+eS = digy-e*. By interpretation the substitute replaces the whole reduplicated theme of the original stem.

7.4.10 ɾT-as ca saṁ-yogá=āde-r guṇá-h

A substitute guṇá (1.1.2) vowel replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final vowel] 1.1.52 of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ɾ(T) with an initial conjunct consonant (saṁ-yog-á=āde-h) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of IIṬ 9].

smɾ+IIṬ = sa-smɾ+dtus/ús (6.1.8; 7.4.60,66)k = *sa-smar-dtus/ús* 'remembered, recollected', but *kɾ+dtus/us = ca-kɾ-dtus/ús*.

7.4.11 ɾcch-á-ti=ɾ²ɾ³T-ām

[A substitute Guṇá (1.1.2) vowel replaces the ánga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stems] ɾch- 'go, move' (VI 15), ɾ- 'go, move' (I 983) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ɾ(T) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of IIṬ 9].

1. *ɾch+IIṬ = ɾch+NaL = a-ɾch+NaL* (66) = *a-ɾch+NaL* (70) = *a+nuTɾch+NaL* (71) = *a-nāroch-a/dtus/ús*; 2. *ɾ+IIṬ = ɾ+dtus/ús = a+ɾ+dtus/ús = a-ɾ+dtus/ús = a-r-dtus/ús*; 3. *kɾ+dtus/ús = ca-kɾ-dtus/ús* (62,66) = *ca-kar-dtus/ús* 'scattered'.

7.4.12 ${}^1\acute{s}\bar{r}$ - ${}^2d\bar{r}$ - ${}^3p\bar{r}$ - $\bar{a}m$ hrasvá-ḥ vā

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) optionally (vā) replaces [the ánga 8.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stems] $\acute{s}\bar{r}$ - 'injure' (IX 18), $d\bar{r}$ - 'break or split open' (IX 23) and $p\bar{r}$ - 'protect, fill up' (IX 19) [before 1.1.86 l-substitutes of IIṬ 9].

The option is with reference to the operation of 11 above.

1. $vi-\acute{s}\bar{r}+átus/sús = vi-\acute{s}a-\acute{s}\bar{r}+atus/us = vi-\acute{s}a-\acute{s}r-atus/us; vi-\acute{s}a-\acute{s}ar-atus/us$ (11); 2. $vi-da-dr-atus/us; vi-da-dar-atus/us$; 3. $ní-pa-pr-atus/us; ní-pa-par-atus/us$.

7.4.13 k-e=aN-ah

[A substitute short vowel 12 replaces a (long) vowel denoted by the siglum] aN^1 (= a, i, u) [before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1] ka.

$jā-nā-ti = jñā+Kd$ (3.1.135)+ $\bar{T}āP = jñā+d+\bar{T}āP$ (8.4.64) = $jñā$; $jñā+kā+\bar{T}āP$ (5.3.70)/ $jñā+kaN+\bar{T}āP$ (5.3.76) = $jñā-k-ā/jñā-k-ā$. (3.47). $kumārī+kā+\bar{T}āP = kumārī-k-ā$ (5.3.76), but $ga+kā+\bar{T}āP = ga-k-ā, nau-k-ā$ 'small boat', (+uN-ādi affix).

7.4.14 ná kaP-i

[A substitute short vowel 12] does not (ná) replace [a long vowel denoted by the siglum] aN^1 (d= a, i, u) 13 before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1] kaP (5.4.151ff.).

$bahvy-āḥ kumāry-āḥ a-syā = bahu=ā^1+kumārī+kaP = bahu-kumārī-ka-$ (8.2.175 for accent); similarly $bahu-vadhā-ka-$ 'having many daughters-in-law'.

7.4.15 āP-ah anyā-tará-syām

[A substitute short vowel 12 does not 14] optionally (anyā-tará-syām) replace [the final phoneme (long vowel) of an ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, DāP) [before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1 kaP 14].

$bahvy-āḥ mālāḥ a-syā = bahu=ā^1+mālā+kaP$ (5.4.151) = $bahu-mālā-ka-ḥ$ $bahu-mālā-ka-ḥ$ 'possessing many garlands'.

7.4.16 ${}^1\text{ṛ}^2\text{ḍṛś-aḥ aṅ-i guṇá-ḥ}$

A substitute Guṇá replaces [ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short ṛ and [the ánga 6.4.1 vowel ṛ of the verbal stem] ḍṛś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] aṅ (contra 1.1.5).

By 3.1.59 this affix is introduced in the domain of Chándas after the verbal stems kṛ- , mṛ- , ḍṛ- , ruh- which implies that the sonant vowel $[\text{ṛ}]$ is short and thus blocks out its allophones which would otherwise be implied by 1.1.69, not being marked by T as IT.

1. $\text{kṛ} + \text{IUṅ} = \text{kṛ} + \text{Ch} \text{ (3.1.48)} = \text{kṛ} + \text{aṅ} \text{ (3.1.59)} = \text{d}T + \text{kṛ} + \text{a-t} = \text{d-kar-a-t} \text{ (6.4.71);}$
 $\text{d-mar-a-t; d-dar-a-t.}$
2. $\text{ḍṛś} + \text{aṅ} \text{ (3.1.57)} = \text{d-darś-a-t.}$

7.4.17 ás-ya-te-s thyK

[The final increment 1.1.46] thyK is inserted at the end of [the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ás- 'throw, cast, shoot at' (IV 100) [before 1.1.66 the substitute Aorist marker aṅ 16].

$$\text{as} + \text{IUṅ} = \text{as} + \text{aṅ} \text{ (3.1.52)} = \text{d}T + \text{as} + \text{thyK} + \text{a-t} \text{ (6.4.72)} = \text{d-s-th-a-t.}$$

7.4.18 śváy-a-te-r a-ḥ

The substitute phoneme short $/\text{a}/$ replaces [ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] śvi- 'swell' (I 1059) [before the substitute Aorist marker aṅ 16].

$$\text{śvi} + \text{IUṅ} = \text{śvi} + \text{aṅ} + \text{t} \text{ (3.1.58)} = \text{d-śva-a-t} = \text{d-śv-a-t} \text{ (6.1.97).}$$

7.4.19 pát-aḥ pyM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] pyM is inserted after the last vowel [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] $\text{pát}(\text{ṛ})$ 'fall, fly' (I 898) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker aṅ 16].

$$\text{pat}(\text{ṛ}) + \text{IUṅ} = \text{pat} + \text{aṅ} + \text{t} \text{ (3.1.55)} = \text{d-pa-p-t-a-t} / \text{-tām} / \text{-an.}$$

7.4.20 vac-aḥ uM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] uM is inserted after the last vowel [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] vac- 'speak' (II 54) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker aṅ 16].

$vac+IU\dot{N} = vac+a\dot{N}+t$ (3.1.52) = $d-va-u-c+a+t = d-vac-a-t$ (6.1.87).

7.4.21 $\acute{s}\acute{i}\dot{N}$ -aḥ sārva-dhātu-ke guṇá-ḥ

A substitute guṇá vowel (= e 1.1.2) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] $\acute{s}\acute{i}\dot{N}$ - 'lie down' (II 22) [before 1.1.66] sārva-dhātuka [affixes 3.1.1]. (3.4.113).

$\acute{s}\acute{i}+t\theta^1+te/dte = \acute{s}\acute{e}-te/\acute{s}\acute{a}y-dte$ (6.1.78)/ $\acute{s}\acute{e}-r-ate$ (1.6). [6.1.186].

7.4.22 ayaṅ y-i K- \dot{N} -IT-i

The substitute element ayaṅ replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme of the verbal stem $\acute{s}\acute{i}\dot{N}$ - 'lie down' (II 22) 21 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the semivowel y-^o and having marker K or \dot{N} as IT.

$\acute{s}\acute{i}+yáK+te(bhāu-é) = \acute{s}\acute{a}y-yá-te$ 'lying down takes place' (Impersonal construction);
 $pra+\acute{s}\acute{i}+Ktvā = pra-\acute{s}\acute{i}+LyaP = pra-\acute{s}\acute{a}y-ya$ 'having lain down upon'.

7.4.23 upa-sarg-āt hrasvá-ḥ ūh-a-te-ḥ

A substitute short (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] ūh- 'guess, suspect' (I 679), co-occurring after a preverb [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-^o and marked with K or \dot{N} as IT 22].

$sām+ūh+yáK+te = sām-uh-ya-te$, but $ūh-yá-te$.

7.4.24 é-te-r IIN-i

[A substitute short (vowel 1.2.28) 23 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] i- 'go' (II 36) [co-occurring after a preverb 23, before i-substitutes of] IIN [beginning with y-^o and marked by K or \dot{N} as IT 22].

Exception to 25 below. $\acute{u}d/sām/dnu+i+yāsuT+ouT+t$ (3.4.103,107) = $\acute{u}d/sām/dnu+i-yā\theta-\theta-t$ (2.79) since [yāsuT] here is $\dot{N}IT$ by 3.4.103. In the case of the Precative/Benedictive it is K-IT (3.4.104) and the resulting forms are: $\acute{u}d/sām/dnu+i-yā\theta t$ (8.2.29)/ $-i-yās-tām/i-yās-uh$.

7.4.25 á-¹kṛt-²sārva-dhātu-kay-oḥ dīrghá-ḥ

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of a verbal stem ending in a vowel (denoted by the siglum aC 1.2.28), before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-^{*} and marked by K or Ñ as IT 22] excluding kṛt (3.1.93ff.) and sārva dhātuka (3.4.113).

bhṛśa+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te = *bhṛśa-yá-te* (3.1.12; 6.1.97); *ci+yáK+te* = *ci-yá-te* 'is piled or heaped up'. *stu+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *to-ṣṭa-ya-te* (3.1.22; 6.1.9; 7.4.82) 'constantly praises'. But *pra+kṛ+LyaP* = *pra-kṛ-t-ya*; *ci+IIÑ* = *ci-nu+yáṣuT+ṣuT+ti* = *ci-nu-yá+ṭ+ṭ-t* = *ci-nu-yá-t*; however for the Precative/Benedictive which is ārdhadhātuka: *ci+yáṣuT+ṣuT+ti* = *ci-yáṭṭ-t* (3.2.29).

7.4.26 Cv-AU ca

[A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) 26 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme (aC 1.2.28)] also (ca) [before 1.1.68 the affix 3.1.1] Cvī (5.4.50).

śuci+Cvī+bhā+ŚaP+ti = *śucf-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes purified'; *paṭā+Cvī+kṛ+u+ti* = *paṭā-kar-o-ti* 'makes skillful'.

7.4.27 riÑ ṛT-aḥ

The substitute element riÑ replaces [ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53] short vowel ṛ(T) [before 1.1.68 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-^{*} 22 excluding kṛt and sārva dhātuka affixes 25, and before Cvī 26].

mātr+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP (3.1.8) = *mātri-yá-ti* 'desires a mother for oneself'; *mātr+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *mātri-yá-te* (3.1.11) 'acts like a mother'; *kṛ+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* (3.1.22) = *ce-kṛ-yá-te* (82); *mātr+Cvī+bhā+ŚaP+ti* = *mātrf-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes a mother'. But *kṛ+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *kir+yáÑ+a-te* (1.100) = *ce-kṛ-yá-te* (82) 'repeatedly scatters'.

7.4.28 riÑ ¹Śsa-²yáK-³IIÑ-k-ṣu

The substitute element riÑ replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme short ṛ(T) 27 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] Śa (3.1.77), yáK (3.1.67) and l-substitutes of IIÑ [beginning with y-^{*}, excluding sārva dhātuka affixes 25].

1. *ā-dṛÑ+Śa+te* = *ā-dri-y-a-te* (6.4.77) 'honors, waits upon'; 2. *kṛ+yáK+te* = *kriyá-te* 'is being done'; 3. *kṛ+IIÑ (āḍiṣ-i)* = *kṛ+yáṣuT+ṣuT+t/tām/us* =

kri-yāṭṭ+ṭ+t (8.2.29) = *kri-yā-t/kri-yās-tām/us*; *bhṛ+Śtu+yāsēuT+suT+t* = *bi-bhṛ-yāṭṭ+ṭ+t/tām/us* (2.79) = *bi-bhṛ-yā-t/tām/bi-bhṛ-y-ās* (6.1.96).

7.4.29 guṇá-h ¹arti-²sam-yog-á-ādy-oh

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel ṛT 27 of the verbal stem] ṛ 'go' (I 983) and those with an initial conjunct consonant (²sam-yog-á=ādy-oh) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáK and l-substitutes of lIṆ 28 excluding sárvadhatuka affixes 25].

1. *ṛ+yāK+te* = *ar-yā-te* (contra 1.1.5); *smṛ+yāK+te* = *smar-yā-te* 'is remembered'; but *kṛ+yāK+te* = *kriy-ā-te*. 2. *ṛ+yās+e+t/tām/us* = *ar-yāṭṭ+ṭ+t* (8.2.29) = *ar-yā-t/ar-yās-tām/us*; *smar-yā-t/smar-yās-tām/us*.

7.4.30 yāN-i ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme short ṛT 27 of the verbal stems ṛ- 'go' (I 983) and those with an initial conjunct consonant 29] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yāN (3.1.22).

1. *ṛ+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *ar+yāN+a+te* = *ar-ar-yā-te* (6.1.2,9; 7.4.60) = *ar-ār-yā-te* (83).
2. *svṛ+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *svar+yāN+a+te* = *sa-svar-yā-te* = *sā-svar-yā-te* (83).

7.4.31 I ¹ghrā-²dhm-oh

The substitute long vowel I replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] ghrā- 'smell' (I 973) and dhmā 'blow, inflate' (I 974) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yāN 30].

1. *ghrā+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *ghrī+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *je-ghrī-yā-te* (6.1.97, 7.4.82). 2. *dhmā+yāN* = *dhmī+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *de-dhmī-yā-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.60,82; 8.4.54).

7.4.32 a-sya Cv-au

[The substitute long vowel I 31 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme class] a [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Cvī (5.4.50).

- śukla/khaṭvā+Cvī+bhā+ŚaP+tiP* = *śuklī-bhāv-a-ti* 'becomes white';
khaṭvī-bhāv-a-ti 'becomes a cot'.

7.4.33 KháC-i ca

[The substitute long vowel ɪ 31] also (ca) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme class /a/ 32 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KyáC.

ātmán-ah putrá-m icch-á-ti = *putrá+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *putrī-yá-a-ti* = *putrī-yá-ti* (6.1.97) 'desires a son for one's self'. Exception to 25 above.

7.4.34 ¹aś-anā-yá=²udan-yá=³dhanā-y-āḥ ¹bu-bhuk-ṣā- ²pī-pā-sā-³gardhé-ṣu

The verbal stems [as derived with affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33] are introduced as *aś-anā-yá-*, *udan-yá-* and *dhanā-yá-* to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'be hungry' (*bu-bhuk-ṣā*), 'be thirsty' (*°-pī-pā-sā-°*) and 'covet' (*°-gardhé-ṣu*).

Exception to 33 above. In other senses: *aś-anī-yá-* 'to be greedy for food without being hungry'; *udakī-yá-* 'to wish for water (without being thirsty)'; *dhanī-yá-* 'to wish for riches (without being greedy or covetous)'.

7.4.35 ná=chándas-i á-putra-sya

In the Chándas [the substitute long vowel ɪ 31] does not (ná) replace [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme a 32] excluding that of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *putrá-* 'son' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

Exception to 33. *mitra+KyáC+ú* (3.2.170) = *mitra-y-ú-* (6.4.149) 'friendly, affectionate, amicable' but *putra+KyaC+ŚatP* = *putra+KyáC+ŚaP+ŚatP+Jas* = *putrī-y-ánt-ah* 'desiring sons for themselves'.

7.4.36 ¹duras-y-ú-r=²draviṇas-y-ú-r=³vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti-⁴riṣaṇ-yá-ti

[In the domain of Chándas 35] the expressions *duras-y-ú-* 'wishing to do harm', *draviṇas-y-ú-* 'desiring or bestowing goods', *vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti* 'be in heat, desire the male' and *riṣaṇ-yá-ti* 'fails, miscarries' are introduced [as derived with the affix 3.1.1, KyáC 33].

1. *duṣṭa+KyáC* = *duras+ya+ú-* (3.2.170) = *duras-y-ú-* (6.4.148) = *duṣṭī-yá-ti*. 2. *draviṇa+KyaC+ú* = *draviṇas-y-ú-* = *draviṇī-yá-ti*. 3. *vṛṣa+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti* = *vṛṣī-yá-ti*. 4. *riṣṭa+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *riṣaṇ-yá-ti* = *riṣṭī-yá-ti*.

7.4.37 ¹ásva=²aghá-sya āT

[In the Chándas 35] the substitute phoneme long āT replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of nominal stems 4.1.1] ásva- 'horse' and aghá- 'evil' [before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

Exception to 33. 1. *ásva+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *aśvā-yá-ti* (6.1.97); 2. *aghā-yá-ti*; *aśvā-yá+ŚaP+ŚatR+Jas* = *aśvā-y-ánt-aḥ*; *aghā-ya+á* (3.2.170)+*Jas* = *aghā-y-áv-aḥ*.

7.4.38 ¹devá-²sumná-y-or yájuṣ-i káṭhak-e

In the ritual formulae of the Káṭhaka school [the substitute phoneme long ā(T) 37 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] devá- 'divinity' and sumná- 'grace, favor' [before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

devā+KyáC+ŚaP+ŚatR+Jas = *devā-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming divine'; similarly *sumnā-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming gracious'.

7.4.39 ¹kaví=²adhvará-³pṛtana-sya=rc-í lópa-ḥ

In the domain of the Ṛg-Veda the substitute lópa (ḥ) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] kaví- 'poet, wise man', adhvará- 'sacrifice' and pṛtanā 'army, adversaries' [before 1.1.86 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

1. *kavi+KyáC+ŚaP+ŚatR+Jas* = *kavḥ-y-ánt-aḥ* (6.1.97) 'becoming wise'; similarly:
2. *adhvar-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming engaged in sacrifices'; 3. *pṛtan-y-ánt-aḥ* 'fighting against'.

7.4.40 ¹dya-ti-²sya-ti-³mā-⁴sth-ām iT t-i K-IT-i

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] do- 'cut' (IV 40), so- 'end, terminate' (IV 39), mā- 'measure' (IV 34) and sthā- 'stay, remain' (I 975) [before 1.1.86 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the phoneme t-, with marker K as IT.

1. *do+Kíd* = *di-tá-*, *nṛ-di-ta(-vat)-* 'cut off'; 2. *ava-so+Kta-* = *dva-si-ta(-vat)-* 'terminated'; 3. *mā+Kíd(-vatU)* = *mī-tá(-vat)-* 'measured'; 4. *sthā+Kíd(-vatU)* = *sthi-tá(-vat)-* 'remaining, standing'.

7.4.41 ¹śā-²ch-or *anya-tará-syām*

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 30] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] śo- (= śā-) 'sharpen, whet, hone' (II 37) and cho- (= chā) 'cut' (IV 38) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme t-° with marker K as IT 40].

1. *ni+śo+Ktā(vatU)* = *nī-śi-ta-(vat)-* 'sharpened'/*nī-śā-ta(vat)-*. 2.
áva+cho+Kta(vatU) = *áva-cchi-ta-(vat)-/áva-cchā-ta(vat)-* 'cut'.

7.4.42 *dā-dhā-te-r hi-h*

The substitute morpheme *hi* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1] of the verbal stem *dhā-* 'bear, support' (III 10) [before an affix 3.1.1 with initial t-° and marker K as IT 40].

dhā+Ktā(vatU) = *hi-tā-(vat)-*; *dhā+Ktvā* = *hi-tvā*, but *pra+ni+dhā+Ktā* = *pra-ni+dhā+LyaP* (1.37) = *pra-ni-dhā-ya*.

7.4.43 *jā-hā-te-ś ca Ktv-i*

[The substitute morpheme *hi* 42] also replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *hā-* 'abandon, renounce' (III 8) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] *Ktvā*.

hā+Ktvā = *hi-tvā* 'having abandoned or renounced', but from the verbal stem *O-hā-N ga-t-au* (III 7)+*Ktvā* = *hā-tvā*.

7.4.44 *vibhāṣā chāndas-i*

In the domain of *Chāndas* [the substitute morpheme *hi* 42] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *hā-* 'abandon' (III 8) before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 *Ktvā* 43].

hi-tvā/hā-tvā.

7.4.45 ¹sú-dhi-ta-²vásu-dhi-ta-³nemá-dhi-ta-⁴dhi-ṣvā-⁵dhi-ṣīy-á *ca*

[In the domain of *Chāndas* 44] the expressions *sú-dhi-ta-* 'well placed', *vásu-dhi-ta-* 'possession of wealth', *nemá-dhi-ta-* 'half-supported', *dhi-ṣvā* 'bear!', *dhi-ṣīy-a* 'may I place' are introduced.

1-3. In the expressions ending in *-dhi-ta-*, *dhā* is not replaced by *hi-* before *Kid(vatU)*, an exception to 42 above. In the remaining two forms: 4. *dhā+IoT* = *dhā+Ślu+sva* = *da-dhā+sva* (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54); Ø replaces the reduplicated syllable, and short vowel [i] replaces the *āṅga*-final before the *l*-substitute [svá]: *dhi+svd* = *dhi-ṣvd* (8.3.59) corresponding to the non-Chandas speech *da-dhṭ+svá* (6.4.112) = *dhad+svd* (8.2.37) = *dhat-svd* (8.4.55). 5. *dhā+liñ* (*āśis-i*) - *dhā+ślyuT+a* = *dhi-śly-a* = *dhi-śly-d* (8.3.59) for non-Chandas *dhā-śly-d*.

7.4.46 d-aḥ dad GHU-ḥ

The substitute morpheme *dad-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the *āṅga* 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *dā-* 'give' (III 9) belonging to the class of stems defined by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial phoneme *t-* with marker K as IT 40].

dā+Kid(vatU) = *dad+td(vat)-* = *dat-td(vat)-* (8.4.55), but from *dāP lāu-an-e* (II 50)+*Kid(vatU)* = *dā-tā(vat)-* and *dva+daiP śódh-an-e* (I 971)+*Kid(vatU)* = *dva-dā-ta(vat)-* 'purified' and *dheT pā-n-e* (I 951)+*Kid(vatU)* = *dhā-tā(vat)-* 'drunk'.

7.4.47 aC-aḥ upa-sarg-āt ta-ḥ

The substitute phoneme *t* replaces [the *āṅga* 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem *dā-* 'give' (III 9), belonging to the class of stems defined by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) 46] co-occurring after a pre-verb [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial *t-*, with marker K as IT 40].

The interpretation of this rule requires some finesse. If [aC-aḥ] as qualifying [upa-sarg-āt] is considered as an ablative, the substituendum for [t] is the initial of what follows the ablative (1.1.54), viz. [d]; in order to avoid this interpreters either take [aC-aḥ] as repeated, one in the ablative qualifying the preverb, the other in the genitive to indicate the substituendum which yields the correct result; or in the alternative consider the substitute as [tt] when by 1.1.53 it replaces the whole of the substituendum.

prā+dā+Kta(vatU) = *prā-di+ta(vat)* = *prā-tt-ta(vat)* (8.4.55) 'donated', but *nir-dai-ta(vat)*.

7.4.48 ap-aḥ bh-i

[The substitute phoneme *t* 47 replaces the *āṅga* 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem] *āp-* 'water' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets with initial] *bh-*.

Since this stem usually takes only the plural sUP triplets, these are [bhis, bhyas].
ap+bbhis/bhyas = *at+bbhis/bhyas* = *ad-bhḥ/bhyádḥ* (8.2.66; 3.15; 4.55); accent by
 (8.1.68).

7.4.49 s-aḥ s-i ārdha-dhātu-k-e

[The substitute phoneme t 47 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] dental sibilant °-s [before 1.1.66] an ārdhadhātuka [affix 3.1.1 beginning with] s-°.

vas+syá+tiP = *vat-syd-ti* 'will abide or reside'; *ad+saN* = *ghas+saN* (2.4.37) = *jí-ghas+saN* (6.1.9; 7.4.62,79; 8.4.54) = *jí-ghat-sa-* 'wish to eat', but *á-se* 'dost sit' (sārvadhātuka).

7.4.50 'tās=²as-ty-or lópa-ḥ

The substitute lópa (ḥ) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.55 phoneme of themes of verbal stems ending in the non-sigmatic future marker] *tās* (3.1.33) and the verbal stem *as-* 'be' (II 56) [before an affix 3.1.1 with] initial s-°.

1. *kṛ+IUT* = *kṛ+tās+siP* (3.1.33) = *kar-tāṭ-si* = *kar-tā-si*. 2. *ás+ḥ¹+siP* = *aḥ-si* = *á-si*.

7.4.51 r-i ca

[The substitute lópa (ḥ) 50 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal themes ending in 1.1.72 the non-sigmatic future marker *tās* and the verbal stem *as-* 'be' (II 56) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] r-°.

kṛ+tās+rau/ras (2.4.85) = *kar-tāṭ+rau/rah*. With reference to the verbal stem [as], except for a single form cited by commentaries from the domain of Chāndas, no such affix is found in non-Chāndas: *vy-ati+as+IIT*. = *vy-ati+as+re* (8.4.76) *vy-ati+ḥs+re* (8.4.111) = *vy-ati-ḥ-re* without reduplication.

7.4.52 ḥa eT-i

The substitute phoneme h replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal themes ending in 1.1.72 the non-sigmatic future marker *tās* and the verbal stem *as-* 'be' (II 56) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] e-°.

$kṛ+tdā+e$ (3.4.79) = $kar-tāh-e$; $vy-dti-as+e$ = $vy-ati+θs+e$ (8.4.111) = $vy-dti-h-e$.

7.4.53 ${}^1y-i=^2i$ -varṇay-or ${}^1dīdhī-{}^2vevy-oḥ$

[The substitute lópa (θ) 50 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the śāṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] $dīdhī(N)$ 'shine' (II 67) and $vevī(N)$ 'go' (II 58) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme] $y-^{\circ}$ or $i-^{\circ}$.

1. before $y-^{\circ}$: $\bar{a}-dīdhī+Ktvā = \bar{a}-dīdhī-LyaP$ (1.37) = $\bar{a}-dfdhθ-ya = \bar{a}-df-dh-ya$; similarly $\bar{a}-vev-ya$.
2. before $i-/i-^{\circ}$: $\bar{a}-dīdhī+iT+iC = \bar{a}-dīdhθ-i-īf- = \bar{a}-dī-dh-i-īf-/\bar{a}-vev-i-īf-$.
 $\bar{a}-dīdhī+IIN = \bar{a}-dīdhī+θ^1+eṇyēT+eṇT+ta$ (3.4.102,107) = $d\bar{a}-dīdhθ+θīy+θ+ta$ (2.79) = $\acute{a}-dīdh-θ-ta$ (6.1.66) = $\acute{a}-dīdh-i-ta/\bar{a}-vev-i-ta$.

7.4.54 $saN-i$ ${}^1mī-{}^2mā-{}^3GHU-{}^4rabhA-{}^5labhA-{}^6śakā-{}^7pātā-$ ${}^8pad-ām$ $aC-aḥ$ is

The substitute element /is/ replaces [the śāṅga 6.4.1] vowel (aC-aḥ) phoneme [of the verbal stems] $mī(N)$ 'destroy' (IX 4), $mīN$ (V 4 → $mī-$ 6.4.16) 'toss, fling', $mā-$ 'measure' (II 53, IV 34), meN 'barter, exchange' (I 1010), those denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), $rabh-$ 'grasp, seize' (I 1023), $labh-$ 'take, seize, catch, gain' (I 1024), $śak-$ 'be able' (V 15), $pāt-$ 'fall, fly' (I 898) and $pad-$ 'go' (IV 60) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN (3.1.7) [beginning with $s-^{\circ}$ 49].

1. $mī/mī+saN = m-is+saN = mīt-saN$ (49); $prā-mit-saN$ (58).
2. $mā/me+saN = m-is+saN = mīt-saN/āpa-mit-saN$ (58).
3. $dā/dhā+saN = d-is/dh-is+saN = dīt-saN/dhīt-saN$ (58).
4. $\bar{a}-rabh+saN = \acute{a}-riebh+saN = \acute{a}-riḥbh+saN$ (8.2.29) = $\acute{a}-rip-saN$ (8.4.53).
5. $\acute{a}-labh+saN = \acute{a}-lip-saN$ (58).
6. $śak+saN = śisk+saN = śīk-saN$ (58; 8.3.59).
7. $pat+saN = pist+saN = piṭt-saN = pīt-saN$ (58).
8. $pad+saN = piśd+saN = pi-d+saN = pīt-saN$ (58; 8.4.55).

In all these cases θ also replaces the reduplicated syllable generated by 6.1.9 (cf. 58 below). When saN is preceded by initial increment iT.: $pat+saN = pi-pat+iT-saN+ŚaP+tiP = pi-pat-i-ṣa-ti$ (6.1.9; 7.4.60,79; 8.3.59) since by a vārttika $pat-$ is optionally seT .

7.4.55 ${}^1āp-{}^2jñapi=^3ṛdh-ām$ IT

The substitute phoneme long I(T) replaces [the śāṅga 6.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stems] $āp-$ 'reach, attain' (V 14), $jñap-$ 'make known, announce, proclaim' (X 81) and $ṛdh-$ 'prosper' (IV 135, V 24) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 beginning with $s-^{\circ}$ 49].

1. $\dot{a}p+saN = \dot{f}p+saN$; 2. $j\ddot{a}p+saN = j\ddot{n}\dot{f}p+saN$; 3. $\dot{r}dh+saN = \ddot{r}-dh+saN$ (1.1.51) = $\dot{f}rt+saN$ (8.4.55). Ø replacement of reduplicated syllable by 58 below.

7.4.56 dambh-aḥ iT=ca

The substitute phoneme short i(T) as well as (ca) [long ɪ(T)] replace the āṅga 8.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stem] dambh- (danbhU V 23) 'hurt, injure' [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 with initial s-° 49].

$dambh+saN = da\emptyset bh+saN$ (1.2.10; 8.4.24) = $dibh/d\ddot{r}bh+saN = dhib/dh\ddot{r}b+saN$ (8.2.37) = $dh\dot{f}p/dh\dot{f}p+saN$ (8.4.55), but $d\dot{f}-dambh-i-qa-ti$ (6.1.9,97; 7.4.60,79; 8.3.59).

7.4.57 muc-aḥ á-karma-ka-sya guṇá-ḥ=vā

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) optionally (vā) replaces [the āṅga 8.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stem] muc- 'release, set free' (VI 136) when having an intransitive meaning (á-karma-ka-sya) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 with initial s-° 49].

By 1.2.10 [saN] occurring after this stem would normally be K-rt, but by prescribing Guṇá replacement here 1.1.5 is blocked. $muc+saN = moc+saN = mok+saN$ (8.2.30) = $m\ddot{o}k+saN$ (8.3.59)/ $m\ddot{u}-muc+saN = mu-muk+saN$ (6.1.9; 7.4.60; 8.3.59): $m\ddot{o}k+sa-te/m\ddot{u}-muk+sa-te$ $v\ddot{a}tsa-\dot{h}$ $avay\ddot{a}-m$ eva 'the calf frees itself' (reflexive). The marker [yáK] is not required here by a vart. on 3.1.78. When not intransitive: $m\ddot{u}muk+sa-ti$ $v\ddot{a}tsa-r\ddot{h}$ $devadattd\ddot{h}$ 'D. releases the calf'.

7.4.58 á-tra lópa-ḥ abhy-ās-á-sya

In this section (á-tra) [beginning with 54 above] the substitute lópa (Ø) replaces the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya).

54. (a) $m\dot{f}t+sa-ti/pr\ddot{d}-m\dot{f}t+sa-ti$; (b) $\dot{d}pa+mit+sa-ti$; (c) $d\dot{f}t+sa-ti/dh\dot{f}t+sa-ti$; (d) $\dot{d}-rip+sa-ti$; (e) $\dot{d}-lip+sa-ti$; (f) $\dot{d}f\dot{k}+sa-ti$; (g) $p\dot{f}t+sa-ti$; (h) $p\dot{f}t+sa-te$.

55. (a) $\dot{f}p+sa-ti$; (b) $j\ddot{n}\dot{f}-p+sa-ti$; (c) $\dot{f}rt+sa-ti$.

56. $dh\dot{f}p+sa-ti/dh\dot{f}p+sa-ti$.

57. $m\ddot{o}k+sa-ti/m\ddot{u}-muk+sa-ti$.

The expression [abhy-ās-á-sya] will now recur up to the end of this pāḍā, as a governing expression

7.4.59 hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel 54 of the reduplicated syllable 58].

$$nī+II\tilde{T} = nī-nī+NaL \text{ (6.1.8) } = nī-nī+NaL = nī-nāy-a \text{ (2.115; 6.1.78); } ḍhauk+II\tilde{T} = ḍhauk+ē\tilde{S} = ḍu-ḍhauk+ē \text{ (60; 1.1.48) } = ḍu-ḍhauk-ē.$$

7.4.60 hāL-ādī-ḥ śéṣa-ḥ

The first consonant (hāL-ādī-ḥ) [of the reduplicated syllable] remains [and all the remaining are replaced by \emptyset].

$$\begin{aligned} glai+II\tilde{T} &= glā-glā+II\tilde{T} \text{ (6.1.8,45) } = gā-glā+au = ga-glā+au \text{ (59) } = ja-glā+au \text{ (82; 7.1.34) } = ja-gl-a\tilde{d} \text{ 'had become tired'.} \\ pat+NaL &= pat-pat+NaL = pa\emptyset-pāt+a \text{ (2.116) } = pa-pāt-a. \\ aṭ+NaL &= aṭ-aṭ+NaL = a\emptyset-aṭ+NaL = ā-aṭ+NaL \text{ (70) } = āṭ-a. \end{aligned}$$

7.4.61 śāR-pūrv-ā-ḥ khaY-aḥ

Unvoiced stops (khaY-aḥ), co-occurring after sibilants (śāR-pūrvāḥ) [of the reduplicated syllable 58] remain [and the sibilants are replaced by \emptyset].

$$\begin{aligned} sthā+saN &= sthā-sthā+saN = tha-sthā+saN \text{ (59,60) } = thī-sthā-sa- \text{ (79) } = ti-sthā-sa \text{ (8.3.59; 4.41,54). But } enā+II\tilde{T} = sa-enā+au \text{ (60) } = sa-en-a\tilde{d}; \\ śru+NaL &= śu-śrāv-ā; syand+NaL = sa-syānd-a \text{ since they are voiced consonants preceded by sibilants.} \end{aligned}$$

7.4.62 ¹kU-²h-os=cU-ḥ

A substitute palatal stop (cU 1.1.69) replaces (the corresponding 1.1.50) velar stop (kU) or the phoneme /h/ [of the reduplicated syllable 58].

$$\begin{aligned} kṛ+II\tilde{T} &= kṛ-kṛ+NaL = kar-kṛ+NaL \text{ (66; 1.1.51) } = ka-kār-a \text{ (2.115) } = ca-kār-a; gam+II\tilde{T} = gam-gam+NaL = ga\emptyset-gām-a \text{ (80) } = ja-gām-a. \text{ Similarly } kha+NaL = ca-khān-a \text{ (60; 8.4.54); } gha+NaL = ja-ghā-sa. \end{aligned}$$

7.4.63 na kāv-a-te-r yāÑ-I

[The substitute palatal stop (=c) 62] does not (ná) replace [the velar phoneme (k) of the verbal stem 62] ku(Ñ) 'make a sound' (I 999) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker] yāÑ.

$ku+yāN+ŚaP+te = ku-ku+yā+a+te$ (6.1.9) = $ko-ka-yā-a-te$ (25, 82) = $ko-ka-yā-te$ (6.1.97) 'sounds repeatedly or intensively' but $ku+lIT' = ku+ēŚ = ou-kuv-d$ (62; 6.1.77).

This rule is not applicable to $ku śabd-e$ (II 23), $kuN śabd-e$ (VI 108).

7.4.64 $kṛṣe-ś chāndas-i$

In the Chāndas [a palatal stop (c) 62 does not 63 replace the velar stop (k) 62 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the verbal stem] $kṛṣ-$ 'draw, drag, plough' (I 1039) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker $yāN$ 63].

$kṛṣ+yāN+ŚaP+te = kari-kṛṣ-yā-te$ (66.90; 1.1.51) 'ploughs repeatedly or intensively' for current $carī-kṛṣ-yā-te$.

7.4.65 $^1dā-dhar-ti-^2dār-dhar-ti-^3dār-dhar-ṣi-^4bō-bhū-tu-^5tē-tik-te=^6āl-ar-ṣi-^7ā-pānī-phan-at-^8sām-sāni-ṣyad-at-^9kāri-kr-at-^{10}kāni-krad-at-^{11}bhāri-bhr-at-^{12}dāvi-dhv-at-aḥ=^{13}dāvi-dyut-at-^{14}tāri-tr-at-aḥ=^{15}sārī-sṛp-at-am-^{16}vārī-vṛj-at-^{17}mar-mṛjy-a=^{18}ā-ganī-gan-ti iti ca$

[In the Chāndas 64] the eighteen expressions (denoting irregular forms) beginning with $dā-dhar-ti$ and ending with $ā-ganī-gan-ti$ are introduced (as current therein).

The irregularities are in not being subject to the rules framed in the Aṣṭ.

Expressions 1-3 are derived either from the causative stem $dhār-f-$ (= $dhṛ+NIC$) or from $dhṛ+Ślu$ with Ø replacement of both markers [$yāN$] and [NIC] for the first form and augment [ruK 91] for the other two.

4. $bhā+yāN-luK+tu = bō-bhā-tu$ (= $bō-bho-tu/bō-bhav-i-tu$).

5. $tij+yāN-luK+te = tē-tik-te$ (= $tē-tik-ti$).

6. $ṛ+Ślu+eiP = āl-ar-ṣi/ṛ+yāN-luK+eiP$ with l-replacement in the reduplicated syllable.

7. $ā-pānī=phan-at$ is the present participle of $ā-phan+yāN-luK$ with [niK] increment of the reduplicated syllable (RV 4.40.4).

8. $som+syand+yāN-luK+ŚatṚ = sām-sāni-ṣyad-at-$ ($sāni-ṣyad-at-$ RV 9.110.4) with [niK] increment of the reduplicated syllable.

9. Similarly $kṛ+yāN-luK+ŚatṚ = kāri-kr-at-$ (RV 3.58.9) with [riK] increment of the reduplicated syllable.

10. $kṛand+yāN-luK+ŚatṚ = kāni-krad-at-$ with augment [niK], or as commentaries indicate $kṛand+aN+t$ with reduplication, and non-replacement of the velar by palatal (RV 1.152.5).

11. $bhṛ+yāN-luK+ŚatṚ = bhāri-bhr-at-$ with final augment [riK], non-replacement of the reduplicated syllable by iT (contra 76) and non-replacement of the voiced aspirate by the non-aspirate therein (RV 2.4.4).

12. *dhvṛ+yaN-luK+ŚatR-* with final increment [riK] of the reduplicated syllable and Ø replacement of stem vowel (RV 7.10.1).
13. *dyut+yaN-luK+ŚatR-* with absence of vocalization and replacement of reduplicated syllabic vowel by [a] with final increment [vuK] (RV 8.16.45).
14. *tṛ+yaN-luK+ŚatR-* or *tṛ+Ślu+ŚatR-* (according to commentaries) with final increment [riK] (RV 4.40.3)+*Ñas*.
15. *ṣṛj+yaN-luK+ŚatR+am* with final increment [riK].
16. *vṛj+yaN-luK/Ślu+ŚatR-* with final increment [riK] (RV 7.24.4).
17. *mṛj+IIṚ = mṛj+NaL* with final increment [ryK] of the reduplicated syllable and of [yuK] of the verbal stem.
18. *ā-gam+Ślu+tiP* with final increment [niK] and non-replacement of the velar stop by the palatal. (RV 6.75.3).

7.4.66 u-r aṚ

The substitute short vowel a(T) replaces the phoneme-class *r* [of the reduplicated syllable 58].

vṛt+IIṚ = vṛ-vṛ+eŚ = va-vṛ+eŚ = va-vr-e; kṛ+NaL = ca-kār-a (2.115; 4.62).

7.4.67 ¹dyúti-²svāpy-óḥ sam-pra-sār-āṇa-m

A substitute sam-pra-sār-āṇa (vocalization 1.1.45) replaces [the semi-vowel 1.1.45 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of verbal stems] dyút- 'shine' (I 777) and svāp-í- 'cause to lie down' (= svap- II 59+*ÑiC*).

Exception to 60 above. *vi-dyut+saN+ŚaP+te = vi-diut-dyut+iṚ+saN+a-te* (60; 2.35) = *vi-di-dyot-i-sa-te* (6.1.97,108; 7.3.84; 8.3.59). *svap+ÑiC+iṚ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = svāp-i+i-sa+a-ti = svap-svāp-i+i-sa-a-ti* (60; 1.1.59) = *suaḥ-svāp-e-i-sa-a-ti* (59) = *su-svāp-e-i-sa-ti* (6.1.97,108; 7.3.84; 8.3.59) = *su-svāp-ay-i-sa-ti*.

7.4.68 vyáth-aḥ IIṚ-i

[A substitute sam-pra-sār-āṇa vowel (iK 1.1.45) replaces the semivowel (yaN) of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the verbal stem] vyáth- 'tremble' (I 801) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes] of IIṚ.

vyath+IIṚ = vyath-vyath+eŚ - viḥ-vyath+eŚ (60; 6.1.108) = *vi-vyath-e*.

7.4.69 *dirghá-h* iN-aḥ K-IT-1

A substitute long (*dirghá-h*: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga 5.4.1 of the verbal stem] iN 'go' (II 38) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IIṬ with marker K as IT.

$i+dtus/ús$ (1.2.5) = $y+dtus/ús$ = $i+y+dtus/ús$ (1.1.59; 6.1.8) = $iy-dtus/ús$; but $i+NaL$ = $af+a$ (2.115) = $i-āy+a$ (1.1.59; 6.1.78) = $iy-āy-a$; $i+thaL$ = $ē+thaL/ē+iṬ+tha$ (2.63) = $i-ē+tha/i-ē-i-tha$ (1.1.59) = $iy-ē-tha/iy-āy-i-tha$ (6.1.78) since these affixes are not K=IT. It may be noted that saṁdhi replacement takes place prior to reduplication by the meta-rule 1.1.59.

7.4.70 aT-aḥ ādē-h

[A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) 69] replaces the short vowel a(T) occurring as the initial (*ādē-h*) [of a reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 68].

$aṭ+IIṬ$ = $aṭ+dtus/ús$ = $aḥ+aṭ+dtus/ús$ = $ā-aṭ-dtus/ús$ = $āṭ-dtus/āṭ-ús$. Without this replacement 6.1.97 would have yielded $*aṭ-dtus/ús$.

7.4.71 *tá-smāt* *nyṬ* *dvī-haL-aḥ*

[The initial increment 1.1.46] *nyṬ* is inserted at the head of [an ánga 6.4.1] containing two consonants (*dvī-haL-aḥ*) after (*tá-smāt*) [a substitute long vowel has replaced the initial short vowel a(T) 70 of the reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 68].

$aṅg+IIṬ$ = $aṅg+NaL/dtus/ús$ = $ā-aṅg+NaL/dtus/ús$ (60,70) = $ā-n-aṅg+NaL/dtus/ús$ = $ā-naṅg-a/ā-naṅg-dtus/ús$ 'had gone'.

7.4.72 *aś-nó-te-s=ca*

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *nyṬ* 71 is inserted at the head of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *aś* 'reach, attain' (V 18) [after a substitute long vowel 69 has replaced 71 the initial short a(T) 70 of the reduplicated syllable 69 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 68].

$aś+IIṬ$ = $aś+dtus/ús$ = $aḥ-aś+dtus/ús$ (60) = $ā-naś+dtus/ús$ (70). In classical usage this verbal stem, being marked with anudātta as IT takes Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: $aś+eś$ = $a-aś+ē$ = $a-aś+ē$ (60) = $ā-naś-ē$ (70). But $āśā bhāṣj-an-e$ IX 51+*IIṬ* = $ā-aś-NaL/dtus/ús$ = $āś-a/āś-dtus/ús$.

7.4.73 bhāv-a-te-r a-ḥ

The substitute phoneme /a/ replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ānga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] bhū 'become' (I 1) [before l-substitutes of Iṭ 79].

$bhā+Iṭ = bhā-v+Iṭ$ (6.4.88) = $bhāv+NaL/ātus/ús = ba-bhāv-a/ba-bhāv-ātus/ús$ (60; 8.4.54).

7.4.74 sa-sūv-a iti nigam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) the expression sa-sūv-a is introduced [as derived from the verbal stem sū- 'give birth to' (II 21) before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of Iṭ 68].

This stem with a \tilde{N} as Iṭ-marker normally takes Ātmanepadā l-substitutes in the current speech (bhāṣā-y-ām).

$sā+\tilde{N}+Iṭ = sā+NaL = sā-v+NaL = su-sāv+NaL = sa-sāv-a$ beside $sā+éŚ = su-suv-é$ (6.4.77; 8.3.59).

7.4.75 nij-ām trayā-ṇ-ām guṇá-ḥ Śl-au

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the vowel denoted by the siglum iK 1.1.3 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ānga 6.4.1] of three verbal stems beginning with nij- 'wash, bathe' (III 11) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] Ślu (2.4.74).

The other two stems are: $vij-īR$ *prthag-bhāv-é* (12) 'separate' and $viṣ-ḷ$ *vy-āp-t-au* (13) 'pervade'.

1. $nij+Ślu+tiP = niṭ-nij+ti$ (80) = $ne-nij+ti = né-nek-ti$ (3.86; 8.2.30). 2. $ve-vek-ti$. 3. $ve-ves-ti$. $nij+Iṭ = nij+NaL/ātus/ús = ni-néj-a$, $ni-nij-ātus/ús$.

7.4.76 bhr̥Ñ-ām iṬ

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ānga-s 6.4.1 of three verbal stems 75] beginning with bhr̥Ñ- 'bear, sustain' (III 5) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker Ślu 75].

The other two stems are: 6 $māÑ$ *mān-e śābd-e ca* 'measure, sound' and 7 $O-hā-Ñ$ *gá-t-au* 'go, depart'.

$bhr̥+Ślu+tiP = bhr̥-bhr̥+ṭ^2+ti = bhir-bhr̥+tiP$ (1.1.51) = $bi-bhar-ti$ (3.84; 4.60; 8.4.54). $mā+Ślu = mā-mī-te$ (6.4.113). $hā+Ślu+te = ji-hī-te$.

7.4.77 ¹arti-³pí-par-ty-oś ca

[The substitute short phoneme i(T) 76] also replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] ṛ- 'go' (III 16) and pṛ- 'fill up, sustain' (III 4) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker ślu 75].

$\dot{r}+\acute{ś}lu = ar+\acute{ś}lu+tiP = a-ar-ti$ (60) $i-ar-ti = \dot{r}y-ar-ti$ (6.4.78). $p\dot{r}+\acute{ś}lu+tiP = par+\emptyset^2+tiP = pa-par-ti$ (60) = $p\dot{r}-par-ti$.

7.4.78 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute phoneme short i(T) 76] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem].

vaśÁ kán-t-au (II 70) replaces class marker \emptyset^1 by \emptyset^2 with [i] replacing the vowel of the reduplicated syllable: $vaś+\acute{ś}lu+tiP = v\dot{f}-vaś-ti$ (8.2.38; 4.41); *vac-* (II 54): $vac+\acute{ś}lu$ (2.4.78)+ $tiP = v\dot{f}-vak-ti$ (8.2.30); *sac-* (I 1046)+ $\acute{ś}lu+tiP = s\dot{f}-śak-ti$ (8.3.59); *ghṛ* (I 985)+ $\acute{ś}lu=j\dot{l}-ghar-ti$ contra $dā-dā-ti$; *ja-ján-at=índra-m* (Mait. 1.9.1); *mātá yád vṛd-m da-dhán-at dhánisṭha* (RV 10.73.1).

7.4.79 saN-i aT-ah

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 76] replaces the short vowel a(T) [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an āṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN (3.1.7).

$pa\dot{t}h+saN+\acute{ś}aP+tiP = p\dot{a}-pa\dot{t}h-i\dot{T}-sa-a-ti$ (2.34; 4.60) $p\dot{f}-pa\dot{t}h-i-śa-ti$ (8.1.97; 8.3.59) 'wishes to recite/read/study'.

7.4.80 o-ḥ ¹pU-²yaN=³j-[-á-par-e

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 76] replaces the phoneme /u/ [of the reduplicated syllable 58] occurring before (^o-par-e) a labial stop (pU-^o), a semivowel (^o-yaN-^o) or the phoneme /j/ when followed by the phoneme class /a/ [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 79].

1. pU: $p\dot{u}(\acute{N})+saN+\acute{ś}aP+te = pu-p\dot{u}+i\dot{T}+saN+a-te = p\dot{f}-pav-i-śa-te$ (2.35; 3.84; 8.1.78,97; 8.3.59) 'desires to purify'.
2. yaN: $y\dot{u}+saN+\acute{ś}aP+tiP = y\dot{u}-y\dot{u}+i\dot{T}-saN+a-ti = y\dot{f}-yav-i-śa-ti$ 'desires to mix'; similarly from $ru/\dot{u}+saN+\acute{ś}aP+tiP = -r\dot{f}-rav-i-śa-ti$ 'desires to cry'/ $l\dot{f}-lav-i-śa-ti$ 'desires to reap' and from their causative stems: $r\dot{f}-r\dot{u}-ay-i-śa-ti/l\dot{f}-l\dot{u}-ay-i-śa-ti$.

3. j: $ju + NiC + saN + \acute{S}aP + tiP = j\acute{a}v - i + i\acute{T} + sa - a - ti = ju - j\acute{a}vi + i - sa - a - ti$ (1.1.59; 7.4.60) = $j\acute{i} - j\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti$ (3.84; 6.1.78,97; 8.3.59) 'desires to cause (someone) to go'. But $b\acute{u} - b\acute{h}\acute{a} - sa - ti$.

7.4.81 ¹sráv-a-ti-²śṛ-ṇó-ti-³dráv-a-ti-⁴práv-a-ti-⁵pláv-a-ti ⁶cyáv-a-ti-n-āṁ vā

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 76] optionally (vā) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ānga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] srú- 'flow, run' (I 487), śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989), dru- 'run' (I 992), pru- (I 1006) and plu- (I 1007) 'flow' and cyu- 'shake about' (I 1004) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 79, when followed by the phoneme-class /a/ 80].

1. $sru + NiC + saN + \acute{S}aP + tiP = sr\acute{a}v - i + i\acute{T} - saN - a - ti$ (2.35, 115) = $s\acute{u} - sr\acute{a}v - e - i - sa - a - ti$ (3.84; 1.1.59) = $s\acute{u} - sr\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti / \acute{s}i - sr\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti$ (6.1.78,97; 8.3.59)
Similarly: 2. $\acute{s}ú - \acute{s}r\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti / \acute{s}i - \acute{s}r\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti$; 3. $d\acute{u} - dr\acute{a}v - ay - i - sa - ti / d\acute{i} - dr\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti$; 4. $p\acute{u} - pr\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti / p\acute{i} - pr\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti$; 5. $p\acute{u} - pl\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti / p\acute{i} - pl\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti$; 6. $cu - cy\acute{a}v - ay - i - sa - ti / c\acute{i} - cy\acute{a}v - ay - i - \acute{s}a - ti$ but $s\acute{u} - sr\acute{a} - \acute{s}a - ti / \acute{s}ú - \acute{s}r\acute{a} - \acute{s}a - ti$.

7.4.82 guṇá-ḥ yáÑ-luK-oḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the vowel (iK 1.1.3) of the reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] yáÑ and yáÑ-luK.

- hu (III 1) + $y\acute{a}Ñ + \acute{S}aP + te = ju - hu - y\acute{a} - a - te$ (6.1.9; 7.4.62) = $j\acute{o} - h\acute{a} - y\acute{a} - te$ (25; 6.1.97) 'sacrifices continuously or intensively'.
 $hu + y\acute{a}Ñ - luK + \acute{S}aP + tiP = ju - hu + \theta^1 + \theta^1 + tiP$ (Dhp II 71) = $j\acute{o} - ho - i\acute{T} + tiP$ (3.84,94) = $j\acute{o} - hau - i - ti$ (6.1.190).

7.4.83 dīrghá-ḥ a-K-IT-aḥ

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58,] not containing a final increment with marker K as IT [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

- $pac + y\acute{a}Ñ + \acute{S}aP + te = pa\theta - pac - y\acute{a} - a - te$ (60) = $p\acute{a} - pac - y\acute{a} - te$ (6.1.97) 'cooks repeatedly';
 $pac + y\acute{a}Ñ - luK + i\acute{T} + tiP$ (3.94) = $p\acute{a} - pac - i - ti$. For counter-examples see the next four sūtra-s 84-7 and 90-92 below.

7.4.84 nīK ¹vancU-²sránsU-³dhvánsU-⁴bhránsU-⁵kásÁ-⁶páta-⁷padA-⁸skand-ām

[The final increment 1.1.46] nīK is inserted after [the reduplicated syllable 58 of verbal stems] vanc- 'go crookedly' (X 136), sráns- 'fall' (I 790), dhváns- 'fall to pieces' (I 791), bhráns- 'fall down' (I 792), kás- 'go' (I 913), páta- 'fall, fly' (I 898), pad- 'go, tread' (IV 60) and skand- 'leap' (I 1028) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

1. *vanc+yaÑ+ŚaP+te* = *vañc-vañc-yá-a-te* (6.1.9) = *vañc-vañc-yá-te* (60; 6.1.97) = *vanI-vañc-yá-te* (6.4.24); *vanc+yáÑ-luK+IT+tiP* = *vanI-vañc-I-ti* (3.94).

Similarly: 2. *srans*: *sanI-sras-yá-te/dánI-sras-I-ti* (6.3.24). 3. *dhvans*: *danI-dhvas-yá-te/dánI-dhvas-I-ti*. 4. *bhrans*: *banI-bhraś-yá-te/bánI-bhraś-I-ti*. 5. *kas*: *canI-kas-yá-te/cánI-kas-I-ti*. 6. *pat*: *panI-pat-yá-te/pánI-pat-I-ti*. 7. *pad*: *panI-pad-yá-te/pánI-pad-I-ti*. 8. *skand*: *canI-skad-yá-te/cánI-skand-I-ti*.

7.4.85 nuK aT-ah ānu-nāsika=anta-sya

[The final increment 1.1.46] nuK is inserted at the end of the short vowel a(T) [of a reduplicated syllable 58 of an ānga 6.4.1] ending in (°-anta-sya) a nasal stop [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

- tan+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ta+nuK+tan-yá-a-te* (60) = *tan-tan-yá-te* (6.1.97); *tan+yáÑ-luK+I-ti* (3.94) = *tán-tan-I-ti* 'stretches continuously'; similarly *jan-gam-yá-te/ján-gam-I-ti*.

7.4.86 ¹jápÁ-²jábhÁ-³dahÁ-⁴daśÁ-⁵bhanj₂-⁶pás-sām ca

[The final increment 1.1.46 nuK 85] is also (ca) inserted [at the end of a short a(T) 85 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ānga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] jáp- 'mutter' (I 424), jábh- 'yawn' (I 415), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), daś- 'bite' (I 1038), bhanj- 'smash' (VII 16) and pás- 'fasten, tie, bind' (I 936) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

1. *jap+yaÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ja-nuK+jap-yá-a-te* (60) = *jan-jap-yá-te* (6.2.97); *jap+yáÑ-luK+I-ti* = *ján-jap-I-ti*. 2. *jabh*: *jan-jabh-yá-te/ján-jabh-I-ti*. 3. *dan-dah-yá-te/dán-dah-I-ti*. 4. *dan-daś-yá-te/dén-daś-I-ti*. The stem form [daśÁ] in this rule is to indicate that both before yáÑ and yáÑ-luK, Ø replaces the nasal of the original stem [danśÁ I 1038 *daś-ane*]. 5. *ban-bhaj-yá-te/bám-bhañj-I-ti*. 6. *pam-pas-yá-te/pám-pas-I-ti*.

7.4.87 ¹cárÁ-²phál-os=ca

[The final increment 1.1.46 nyK 85] is also inserted (ca) [at the end of the short vowel a(T) 85 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) [before 1.1.86 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

1. *cañ-cār-yāte/cāñ-cur-ti* (88, 8.2.77). 2. *pam-phul-yāte/pām-phul-ti*.

7.4.88 uT pára-sya aT-aḥ

The substitute short vowel u(T) replaces the short vowel a(T) occurring after [the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) before 1.1.86 the affixes yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

Exx. cited under 87 above. For meaning cf. 3.1.24 above.

7.4.89 t-i ca

[The substitute phoneme u(T) replaces the phoneme short a(T) 88 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) before 1.1.86 an affix] with initial t-°.

1. *car+KtiN* = *cār+ti-* - *cār-ti-* (8.2.77) 'moving, grazing'; 2. *prā+phul+KtiN* = *prā-phul-ti-* 'blossoming, blooming'.

7.4.90 rīK ḡT=upa-dha-sya ca

[The final increment 1.1.46] rīK is inserted at the end [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1] with penultimate (°-upa-dha-sya) short vowel ṛ(T) [before 1.1.86 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 58] also (ca).

The implication of [ca] here is to extend the operation to other verbal stems where phoneme short [ṛT] is neither penultimate nor final. *ṛt+yāN+ŚaP+te* = *va-rīK-ḡ-ṛt-yā-a-te* (80) = *var-t-ṛt-yā-te* (8.1.97), *+yāN-luK* = *vārī=ṛt-ti/vār-var-ti/vāri-var-ti* (91); *ṛśc+yāN/yāÑ-luK* = *var-t-ṛśc-yā-te/vārī-ṛśc-ti; parī-prcch-yā-te/pārī-prcch-ti*.

7.4.91 ¹ryK=²riK-au ca luK-i

[The final increments 1.1.46] ryK and riK, as well as (ca) [riK 90 are inserted at the end of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1 with penultimate short vowel ɾT 90 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yáÑ-luK.

$$\begin{aligned} nɾt+yáÑ-luK+ɾT+tiP &= nárɪ-nar-ti/nár-nar-ti/náɾi-nar-ti/náɾɪ-nɾt-ɾ-ti \quad (3.94), \\ &nár-nɾt-ɾ-ti/náɾi-nɾt-ɾ-ti. \end{aligned}$$

7.4.92 ɾT-as ca

[The final increments 1.1.46 ryK, riK 91 and riK 90] are also (ca) inserted at the end [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel ɾ(T) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yáÑ-luK 91].

$$\begin{aligned} vɾt+yáÑ-luK &= vár-var-ti/váɾi-var-ti/varɪ-var-ti; var-vɾt-ɾ-ti \quad (3.87)/váɾi-vɾt-ɾ-ti/ \\ &várɪ-vɾt-ɾ-ti \quad (3.94). \end{aligned}$$

7.4.93 saN-vát laghú-n-i CāÑpare áN-aC=lop-e

When there is no lopa (Ø) replacement [of the final 1.1.52] vowel (áN-aC-lop-e) [of the ánga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] containing a light vowel (laghú-n-i) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NíC 3.1.48 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker] CāÑ [its reduplicated syllable 58 is] treated like [the one before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN.

$$\begin{aligned} 79. kɾ+NíC+CaÑ+t &= kār-i+CaÑ+t \quad (2.115) = kaØ-kār-i+a+t \quad (6.1.11; 7.4.59,60) = \\ &ca-kār-i-a-t \quad (62) = ci-kar-Ø-t \quad (6.4.51; 7.4.1,79) = cɪ-kar-a-t \quad (94) = dɪ-cɪ-kar-a-t \\ &(6.4.71) = d-cɪ-kar-a-t. \end{aligned}$$

$$80. pu+NíC+CaÑ+t = d-pɪ-pau-a-t; 81. d-si/su+erav-a-t.$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{But } takṣ+NíC+CaÑ+t &= d-ta-takṣ-at; jāgɾ+NíC+CaÑ+t = d-jā-jāgɾ-a-t \text{ since} \\ &\text{they contain a metrically heavy vowel. Similarly } katha \text{ (X 37)+NíC+CaÑ+t =} \\ &kathØ-i+CaÑ+t \quad (6.4.48) = d-ca-kath-a-t. \end{aligned}$$

7.4.94 dīrghá-ḥ laghó-ḥ

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces the light (vowel) [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] containing a light vowel [before the causative marker NíC co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CāÑ 1, without Ø replacement of its final vowel (before NíC) 93].

Exx. cited under 93 above.

7.4.95 aT ¹smġ-²dġ²-³tvár-⁴práthA-⁵mrádA-⁶stġ²-⁷spás-ām

The substitute short vowel a(T) replaces the vowel of [the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] smġ- 'remember' (I 845), dġ²- 'tear up' (IX 23), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812), práth- 'extend' (I 802), mrád- 'crush, pound' (I 804), stġ²- 'strew, scatter' (IX 14) and spás- 'perceive, observe, espy' (I 936) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NġC 1 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CádN 93].

Exception to 93 and 94. 1. smġ+NġC+CádN+t = a-sa-smar-a-t 'caused (someone) to remember'; similarly: 2. dġ²: d-da-dar-a-t; 3. tvár: d-ta-tvar-a-t; 4. práth: d-pa-prath-a-t; 5. mrád: d-ma-mrad-a-t; 6. stġ²: d-ta-star-a-t; spás: d-pa-spas-a-t.

7.4.96 vibhāsā ¹véstġ-²céstġ-oh

[The substitute short vowel a(T) 95] optionally (vibhāsā) replaces the vowel [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] véstġ- 'wind or twist round' (I 274) and céstġ- 'move' (I 275) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NġC 1 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CádN 93].

1. véstġ+NġC+CádN+t = d-va-vestġ-a-t/d-vi-vestġ-a-t. Similarly: 2. dca-céstġ-a-t/d-ci-céstġ-a-t.

7.4.97 I ca gaṇ-ah

The substitute long vowel I as well as (ca) [the short vowel a(T) 95] replace the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] gaṇa- 'count' (X 309) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NġC co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CádN 93].

gaṇa+NġC+CádN+t = gaṇθ+I+CádN+t (6.4.48) = d-jġ-gaṇ-θ-a-t (9.4.51) = d-jġ-gaṇ-a-t/d-ja-gaṇ-a-t.

8.1.1 *sārva-sya dv-é*

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 15 below, the operations introduced state) two expressions occur in the place of a whole (*sārva-sya dv-é*) sequence.

This is a governing rule [*adhi-kār-ā*] and the present heading recurs in the subsequent fourteen rules.

8.1.2 *tá-sya pára-m ā-mreḍ-i-ta-m*

The technical term (t.t.) *āmredita* denotes the second (*pára-m* = following) expression of the doublet (doubled sequence).

As a t.t. occurs at 6.1.99,100; 8.1.57; 2.95,103; 3.12,49. *caúra caúra* 'O thief, O thief!' and *bhunk-té bhunk-te* 'eats and eats'; items in bold are *āmredita-s*.

8.1.3 *ánudattā-m ca*

[The *āmredita* 2] is low-pitched (*ánudatta-m*).

pác-a-ti pac-a-ti 'cooks and cooks' (i.e., goes on cooking).

8.1.4 *¹nít-ya-²vīpsáy-oḥ*

[Two expressions occur in the place of a whole sequence 1] to denote a repetition of an action (*nít-ya-°*) or pervasion of a thing by a property or action (*°vīpsáy-oḥ*).

1. repetition (*nít-ya-°*): *pác-a-ti pac-a-ti* (3); *jálp-a-ti jalp-a-ti* 'constantly prattling'; *bhóḍ-am bhoj-am vrdj-a-ti* 'each one goes out after eating'.
2. pervasion (*vīpsáy-*): *grām-aḥ grāma-h ram-aṇīya-h* '(village after village =) each village is pleasant'; *púruṣa-h puruṣa-h ni-dhána-m úp-ai-ti* 'every person goes unto death'.

8.1.5 *páre-r várj-an-e*

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] of the particle *pári* to denote 'exclusion' (*várj-an-e*).

pári pari trī-garte-bhyaḥ vṛṣ-tá-h devá-h 'It rained all around Trīgarta' (excluding it).

8.1.6 ¹prá-²sám=³úpa=⁴úd-aḥ pāda-pūr-aṇ-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] the particles *prá-*, *sám-*, *úpa-* and *úd-* to fill up a verse quarter line (*pāda- pūr-aṇ-e*).

prá prāyām agni-r bharaśa-sya śṛṇ-u-e (RV 7.8.4); *sám sam id yuv-a-se vṛṣan* (RV 10.101.1); *úpa me pára-myś-a* (RV 1.126.7); *kīm nód-ud u harṣ-a-se dá-tavá u* (RV 4.21.9).

8.1.7 ¹upári-²ádhi-³adhás-aḥ sām-I-py-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] the particles *upári-*, *ádhi-* and *adhás-* respectively denoting 'above/on, upon/below' to indicate proximity (*sām-Ip-y-e*: in time or space).

upáry upari grāma-m 'very near the village'; *ádhy adhi grāma-m* 'in the vicinity of the village'; *adháh adhaḥ nágara-m* 'in the vicinity of the city'.

8.1.8 *vāk-ya=āde-r ā-mantr-i-ta-sya* ¹asūyā-²sam-má-ti-³kóp-a-⁴kúts-ana-⁵bhárts-an-e-ṣu

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] a sentence initial (*vāk-ya=āde-ḥ*) vocative (*ā-mantr-i-ta-sya*) to denote jealousy (*asūyā-°*), honoring (*°-sam-má-ti-°*), anger (*°-kópa-°*), scorn (*°-kúts-ana-°*) or threatening (*°-bhárts-ane-ṣu*).

1. *asūyā: sūndara sundara! vṛthā te saūndar-ya-m* 'O handsome one! your beauty is in vain'.
2. *sam-má-ti: deva deva! vand-yāḥ d-si* 'Lord, you are adorable'.
3. *kópa: dūr-vi-nī-ta dūr-vi-nī-ta, idānīm jñā-syā-si* 'O ill-mannered wretch, you will soon learn'.
4. *kúts-ana: dhānuṣka dhānuṣka vṛthā te dhānuḥ* 'O archer, your bow is useless'.
5. *bhárts-ana: cora cora ghat-ay-i-sya-mi tvá* 'O thief, I will have you punished'.

8.1.9 *éka-m bahuvrīhi-vát*

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of] the number word *éka-* 'one' (and the resulting sequence) is treated like a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The object of this is to indicate that the sUP triplets introduced after the prior member are replaced by θ^1 (2.4.71) and it is treated like a masculine (6.3.34) and is accented according to 6.2.1.

ekam ekam = éka+ θ^1 +eka-m akṣára-m pāṭh-a-ti 'recites each (and every syllable)'; *ekay-ā ekay-ā á-hu-ty-ā ju-hó-ti = ékaikay-ā* 'offers each (and every) oblation'. Though it functions like a Bahuvrīhi, it still retains its character as a pronominal stem: *ekaika-amai/ekaika-syai*, etc.

8.1.10 ā-bādh-é ca

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of an expression 1] to denote torment (ā-bādh-é) [and the resulting sequence is treated like a Bahuvrīhi compound 9].

ga-tā-h ga-ta-h = ga-tā-ga-ta-h 'Alas! he has gone'; similarly *ga-tā ga-tā = ga-tā-ga-tā* f.

8.1.11 karma-dhār-aya-vāt úttare-ṣu

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 15 below : úttare-ṣu) [two expressions occur in the place of the whole of an expression 1 and the sequence resulting] is treated like a Karmadhārayá compound.

This results in the θ^1 replacement of sUP triplets introduced after the prior member (2.4.71) and the whole sequence is accented according to 6.2.223 on the final syllable of the compound.

8.1.12 pra-kār-é guṇa-vāc-ana-sya

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] an expression denoting a property (guṇa-vāc-ana-sya) to indicate that the thing possessed of that property has it only to a limited extent (pra-kār-é) [and the sequence resulting is treated like a Karmadhārayá compound 11].

paṭu-paṭu- 'kind of sharp or clever or intelligent'; *paṭu-paṭu-ī f. = paṭu-+ θ^1 -paṭu-ī*.

8.1.13 á-kṛcchr-e ¹priy-á-²sukháy-or anya-tará-syām

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole 1] optionally (anya-tará-syām) of priy-á- 'dear' and sukhá- 'happiness' to denote that something is done without difficulty or hardship (á-kṛcchr-e).

priy-a-priy-éna/sukha-sukh-éna dá-dā-ti 'donates easily, gives without any hardship' = *priy-e-ṇa/sukh-e-na dá-dā-ti*.

8.1.14 ya-thā-sv-é ya-thā-ya-thá-m

The expression ya-thā-ya-thá-m is introduced to denote 'respectively' (ya-thā-svám = individually, properly).

yá-h ya-h ātmá yád yad atm-īya-m = ya-thā-svám (2.1.7) = *yá-thā ya-thā = ya-thā-yathá-m*.

8.1.15 dvañ-dvá-m 'rahas-yà-'²maryādā-vacanā-

³vy-ut-kram-aṇa-'yajña-pātra-pra-yog-ā=⁵abhi-vyāk-ti-ṣu

The expression dvañ-dvá- is introduced to denote 'a secret' (rahasyà-°), 'a limit' (°maryādā-vac-anā-°), 'a separation' (°vy-ut-kram-aṇa-°) 'an employment of a ritual vessel' (°-yajña-pātra-pra-yog-a-°) and 'manifestation' (°-abhi-vyāk-ti-ṣu).

1. *du-ad du-au bhā-tvā mantr-āy-ante = dvamdvā-m mantr-āy-ante* 'they consult secretly (in pairs)'; 2. *ā-caturd-ñ hí im-ē paśdv-aḥ dvañ-dvā-m mithunā-y-ānte* 'up to the fourth generation animals co-habit'. 3. *dvañdvā-m vy-ut-kram-tāḥ* 'they separated into two parties'. 4. *dvañ-dvā-m ny-añc-i yajña-pātrā-ṇ-i prā-yu-na-k-ti* 'he employs the sacrificial vessels two by two, face downwards'. *dvañ-dvā-m sam-karṣ-aṇa-vāsu-dev-āu* 'the pair S. and V.'

8.1.16 padá-sya

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 3.54 below, all operations introduced are) of the padá (1.4.14ff.).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-ā] and the expression 'of the padá' will recur in each subsequent rule of this section.

8.1.17 pad-āt

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 68 inclusive below all operations introduced are) after the padá (pad-āt 1.1.67).

This also a governing rule within the major governing rule above, and the word (pad-āt) 'after a padá' will recur in each rule of this sub-section.

8.1.18 ānudātta-m sārva-m ā-pada-ād-au

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 74 below) an entire (sārva-m) [padá 16] is low-pitched (ānudātta-m) [when it occurs after 1.1.67 another padá 17] unless it occurs at the beginning of a quarter verse (ā-pada=ād-au).

The word [padá-] in the compound expression [a-pada=ād-au] is not used in its technical sense (1.4.14ff.) as in 16-17 above.

This is also a governing rule and will recur in all subsequent rules up to 74 below.

8.1.19 ā-mantr-i-ta-sya ca

[The entire 18] vocative (ā-mantr-i-ta- 2.3.48) [occurring after a padá 17 is low-pitched (ánudātta-m) unless it occurs at the head of a quarter verse 18].

ágne yám yajñá-m adhvarám víśvā-taḥ pari-bhū-asi (RV 1.1.3) but *úpa tu-á-gne divé-dive* (RV 1.1.7); *pác-a-si deva-datta?* 'Devadattá, are you cooking', but *déva-datta pac-a-si?*

8.1.20 ¹yusmád-²asmád-oh ¹ṣaṣṭhí-²caturthí- ³dvi-tīyā-sthāy-or ¹vām-²nāv-au

The substitute morphemes vām and nau [respectively 1.3.10] replace the pronominal stems yusmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth, fourth or second sUP triplets [and are low-pitched 18 when occurring after a padá 17].

By inference these enclitics are replacements for the dual personal (first and second) pronominal stems, since in the following two sūtras special substitutes are introduced for the plural and the singular.

grāma-ḥ vām/(yuvā-bhyām) dī-yá-te 'a village is given to both of you'; *jana-padā-ḥ nau/(avā-bhyām) dī-yá-te* 'an inhabited region is given to both of us'.

8.1.21 bahu-vac-an-é ¹vas-²nas-su

The substitute morphemes vas and nas [respectively 1.3.10] replace the whole of 1.1.55 of the second and first personal pronominal stems yusmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth, fourth and second sUP triplets 20, occurring after a padá 17 and are low-pitched 18] when denoting the plural (bahu-vac-an-é).

Exx. cited under 23 below.

8.1.22 te-may-au=eka-vac-aná-sya

The substitute morphemes te and me [respectively 1.3.10] replace the whole of 1.1.55 the personal pronouns yusmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth or fourth triplets 20 and are low-pitched 18, occurring after a padá 17] when denoting the singular.

Exx. cited under 23 below.

8.1.23 ¹tvā-²m-au dvi-tīyā-y-āḥ

The substitute morphemes tvā and mā [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of the personal pronouns yuṣmād- 'you' and asmād- 'we' 20] co-occurring with the second sUP triplet [when denoting the singular 22, and are low-pitched 18, occurring after a padā 17].

These four rules 20-23 introduce the enclitics [te], [me], [tvā], [mā] (sing.), [vām, nau] (dual) and [vas, nas] (plural), as replacements for the second and first personal pronominal padās respectively. The following verse illustrates this usage as quoted in the Siddhānta-Kaumudī:

1. *śrīśā-s tvā-v-a-tu mā-dpi-hā* (acc. sing.) 'May Viṣṇu protect you and me'.
2. *dad-yā-t te me=dpi śā hāri-h* (dat. sing.) 'May He grant umbrage to you and me'.
3. *svāmī te me=dpi śā hāri-h* (gen. sing.) 'Hari is your lord and mine'.
4. *pā-tu vām dpi nau vi-bhū-h* (acc. dual) 'May the mighty Lord protect the two of you and the two of us'.
5. *sukhā-m vām nau da-dā-tv śāśā-h* (dat. dual) 'May the Lord grant happiness to the two of you and the two of us'.
6. *pātir-vām dpi nau hāri-h* (gen. dual) 'Hari is the protector of you two and us two'.
7. *śā-uyāḍ vo naḥ* (acc. plur.) 'May He protect you and us'.
8. *śivā-m vo no dad-yā-t* (dat. plur.) 'May He grant you and us happiness'.
9. *sev-yō-tra vaḥ śā naḥ* (gen. plur. 2.3.71) 'He is to be worshipped by all of you and us'.

8.1.24 ná ¹ca-²vā-³ha=⁴āha=⁵evā-yuk-t-e

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23] do not replace (ná) [the second and first personal pronouns yuṣmād- 'you' and asmād- 'we' 20] when co-occurring [before 1.1.66] the particles ca 'and', vā 'or', ha, āha 'indeed, certainly' and evā 'only'.

1. *hāri-s tvām mām ca rakṣ-a-tu* 'May Hari protect you and me'.
2. *grāma-s tāva vā svām māmā vā svām* 'the village is either your property or mine'. Similarly with the other particles and with dual and plural forms of pronominal stems.

8.1.25 paśyā=arth-aiś=ca=ān-ā-loc-an-e

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23 do not replace 24 the personal pronouns yuṣmād- 'you' and asmād- 'we' 20] also (ca) when co-occurring with verbal stems denoting the sense of 'perceive' (paśyā=arth-aiḥ) excluding those which indicate perception by sight (ān-ā-loc-an-e),

cetas-ā tvām sām-ikṣ-a-te 'perceives you with the mind'; *bhak-tā-s tāva rūpā-m mánas-ā dhyáy-a-ti* 'the devotee mentally visualizes your form', but *bhak-tā-s tvā paśy-a-ti cakṣus-ā* 'the devotee sees you (sg.) with (his) eyes'.

8.1.26 *sá-pūrvā-y-āḥ prathamā-y-āḥ vibhāṣā*

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23 do not 24] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) replace [the personal pronouns *yusmád-* 'you' and *asmád-* 'we' 20 after 1.1.67 a *padá* 17 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet, co-occurring after [another *padá* 17] (*sá-pūrvā-y-āḥ*).

bhak-tā-s tvām āpy ahám i-éna hári-s tvám trāy-a-te sá mām 'You and I are devotees of Hari; therefore He protects you and me'; alternately *i-éna hári-s tvā trāy-a-te sá mā*.

8.1.27 *tiŃ-ah gotrá-ādī-n-ī 'kúts-ana=²ābhīkṣṇ-yay-oh*

[After 1.1.67 a *padá* 17 ending in 1.1.72] l-substitutes *tiŃ* (3.4.78) the class of words beginning with *go-trá-* (is all low-pitched 18) when denoting a pejorative (*kuts-ána-°*) or frequentative (*°ābhīkṣṇ-yay-oh*) sense.

1. *kúts-an-e: pác-a-ti go-tra-m* 'makes a livelihood by announcing his *gotrá* (family name or descent)'; 2. *ābhīkṣṇ-y-e: pác-a-ti pác-a-ti go-tram* 'repeatedly proclaims (one's) *go-trá*'.

8.1.28 *tiŃ á-tiŃ-ah*

[After 17] a non-verbal [*padá* 17 (*á-tiŃ-ah*), a *padá* ending in 1.1.72] l-substitutes (*tiŃ*) [is all *anudātta* 18].

deva-dat-tā-h pác-a-ti 'Devadattā is cooking', but *bhāu-a-ti pác-a-ti* 'cooking is taking place'.

8.1.29 *ná IUṬ*

[After 1.1.67 a non-verbal 28 *padá* 17, a *padá* ending in 1.1.72] the l-substitutes of IUṬ (non-sigmatic Future) is not (*na*') [all *anudātta* 18].

śvāḥ kar-tā 'will do tomorrow' / *kar-tā-rau* / *kar-tā-rah*.

8.1.30 ni-pāt-aīr ¹yād-²yādi-³hānta-⁴kuvid-⁵néd-⁶céd-⁷caṇ-⁸kāccid-⁹yā-tra-yuk-ta-m

[A padā ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18] when co-occurring with the particles yād 'that', yādi 'if', hānta 'oh, well', kuvid 'perhaps', néd 'not indeed', céd, caṇ 'if', kác-cid 'I hope that' and yā-tra 'where'.

1. *yāi kar-ō-ti* 'that he does'; 2. *yādi kar-ō-ti* 'if he does'; 3. *hānta kar-ō-ti* 'well, he does'; 4. *kuvid kar-ō-ti* 'perhaps he does'; 5. *nēi kar-ō-ti* 'does not indeed do'; 6. *ed céd bhuk-tē* 'if he eats'; 7. *ayām ca (= céd) mar-i-syā-ti* 'if he dies'; 8. *kāccid adh-ī-tē* 'hope he studies'; 9. *yā-tra bhuk-tē* 'where he eats'.

8.1.31 náha praty-ā-rambh-é

[A padā ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle ná-ha 'not indeed' to denote prohibition (praty-ārambh-é).

nā-ha bhok-syā-se 'certainly you will eat'. The prohibition is of the repeated denial by the responsee of the request to eat; but when prohibition is not implied: *nā ha vaś tāsmin=ca deś-ē dakṣiṇām icoh-a-nti* 'not indeed in that country people desire a sacrificial fee'.

8.1.32 satyā-m praśn-é

[A padā ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] satyā-m 'truly' to imply a question (praśn-é).

satyā-m bhok-syā-se 'truly you will eat?'; but when a question is not implied: *satyā-m vak-syā-mi nā an-ṛta-m* 'I speak the truth, not untruth'.

8.1.33 aṅgā á-prāti-lom-y-e

[A padā ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 18 is not 29 all ānudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle aṅgā 'true, indeed' to denote an amicable assertion (á-prāti-lom-y-e).

aṅgā pác-a 'indeed you may cook', but *aṅgā kūj-a, idānīm jñā-sya-si* 'go on, cry, you will know now'.

8.1.34 hí ca

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 18 is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle hí 'for, because' also (ca) [to denote an amicable assertion 33].

śā hí pāth-a 'for certainly, you may recite', but *śā hí kūj-a vṛśala!* *iddānm jñā-sya-si* 'go on, O wretch, cry, you will know now'.

8.1.35 chāndas-i ān-eka-m āpi śā=ā-kāṅkṣa-am

In the domain of Chāndas more than one (ānekam āpi) [padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 28 does not 29 all become ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30 the particle hí 'for, because' 34] and are dependent (śākāṅkṣa-m) [on the first verbal padá].

The force of the indeclinable [āpi] is to indicate that there may be one or even more than one verbal padá.

ān-ṛta-m hí mat-tā-h vād-a-ti, *pāpmā ena-m vi-pu-nā-ti* 'If the drunkard tells a lie, sin will make him impure'.

8.1.36 yā-vad-²yā-thā-bhyām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the indeclinables yā-vat 'as much' and yā-thā 'in which manner'.

yā-vad bhunk-tē 'as long as he eats'; *yā-thā bhunk-tē* 'in whatever manner he eats'.

This rule applies even when the indeclinables do not precede the verb: *deva-dat-tā-h pāc-a-ti yā-thā/yā-vat* 'in whatever manner/so long as Devadattā cooks'.

8.1.37 pūjā-y-ām ná=ān-antara-m

[A verbal padá 28, co-occurring with 39 the indeclinables yā-vat 'as much' and yā-thā 'in which manner'] immediately after them (ān-antara-m) is [all ánudatta 18] to denote praise or honor.

The negative particle [ná] in this rule negatives the recurring [ná] from 29 above, restoring the position stated in 18 above.

yā-vat pāc-a-ti śóbh-ana-m 'as long as he cooks well'; similarly *yā-thā pāc-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'in whatever manner he cooks well'; but *yā-vad/yā-thā bhunk-tē*; and with intervention: *yā-vad deva-dat-tā-h pāc-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'as long as Devadatta cooks well'.

8.1.38 upa-sarg-a-vy-ap-e-tām ca

[A verbal padā 28, co-occurring with 30 the particles yā-vat 'as much' and yā-thā 'in which manner' 36, but] separated from them by a preverb (upa-sarg-a-vy-ap-e-tā-m) [is all ānudātta 18] also (ca) [to denote praise 37].

yā-vat prā-pac-a-ti deva-dat-tā-ḥ śobh-ana-m; but yā-vad deva-dat-tā-ḥ prā-pāc-a-ti.

8.1.39 ¹tú-²pāśya-pāśya-ta=³āh-aiḥ pūjā-y-ām

[A verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] tú 'but', pāśy-a/pāśy-a-ta 'see' and āha 'surely, certainly' to indicate praise [pūjā-y-ām].

1. māṇavaka-s tū bhukṣ-tē śobh-ana-m 'but the lad eats well'.
2. pāśy-a/pāśy-a-ta māṇavaka-ḥ bhukṣ-tē śobh-ana-m.
3. āha māṇavaka-ḥ bhukṣ-tē śobh-ana-m.

8.1.40 aho ca

[A verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18] also (ca) [when co-occurring with 30] the particle aho 'bravo!, ah!' [to denote praise 39].

aho deva-dat-tā-ḥ pāc-a-ti śobh-ana-m 'bravo! D. cooks well'.

8.1.41 śeṣ-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with 30 the particle aho 'ah! bravo!' 40] to denote senses other than (śeṣ-e) [praise, honor 39].

kāṭa-m aho kar-i-ṣyā-si/kar-i-ṣya-si (said in envy).

8.1.42 purā ca par-ī-psā-y-ām

[A verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18 optionally 41 when co-occurring with 30] the particle purā 'before, prior to' to denote the sense of 'haste' (par-ī-psā-y-ām).

ādḥ-i-ṣva māṇavaka purā vi-dyot-a-te/vi-dyot-a-te vi-dyūt 'Study, O lad, before the lightning flashes' but *naḍ-ena sma purā ādh-i-ṣya-te* 'formerly study was being done by Nada'. The urgency or haste in the first case is because of the tabu on conducting study during lightning.

8.1.43 nanú iti anu-jñā=eṣa-aṇ-ā-y-ām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle na-nú 'certainly, surely' to denote the seeking of permission (anu-jñā=eṣa-aṇ-ā-y-ām).

na-nú gdech-ā-mi bhoh 'May I go?', but in the expression d-kār-ṣ-ṭ-ḥ kṛta-m deva-datta? na-nú kar-o-mi bhoh 'Devadatta! have you made the mat? I will certainly make it', it is all ánudatta.

8.1.44 kīm kriyā-pras-n-é án-upa-sarg-am á-prati-ṣid-dha-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle kīm used interrogatively (kriyā-pras-n-é) and the verbal padá is not preceded by a preverb (án-upa-sarg-a-m) or the negative particle (á-prati-ṣid-dha-m).

kīm deva-dat-tā-ḥ pāc-a-ti āho-svit bhuk-te 'Is Devadattā cooking or eating?' According to some grammarians the second verb also is not all ánudatta (= bhuk-te).

kīm deva-dat-tā-ḥ prā-pac-a-ti āho-svit prā-kar-o-ti/na paṭh-a-ti āhosvit na kar-o-ti 'Is D. beginning to eat or beginning to make?' or 'Is D. not reading or making?'

8.1.45 lóp-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudatta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) when the substitute lópa (Ø) [replaces the particle kīm 45 co-occurring with it, used interrogatively and not preceded by a preverb or the negative particle 44].

The situation is identical with 44 above, without actually using the particle kīm.
deva-dat-tā-ḥ pāc-a-ti?/pac-a-ti? āhosvit pāṭh-a-ti/paṭh-a-ti.

8.1.46 é-hi-mán-y-e pra-hāṣ-é lṛṭ

[A verbal padá 28 ending in the l-substitutes of] l-member lṛṭ (Sigmatic Future) [is not all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the expression é-hi mán-y-e 'Come, I think' to denote irony (pra-hāṣ-é).

é-hi mán-y-e odand-m bhok-syā-se 'Come, I believe you will be eating rice?' (implying: 'you will not, since it has already been eaten by guests'). Similarly é-hi mán-y-e ráth-ena yā-syā-si? ná hi yāṣ-ya-si, yā-tā-s i-éna pitā 'Come, I

believe you will be travelling by chariot?" (implying 'you will not, father has gone with it').

8.1.47 jātu á-pūrva-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle jātu 'ever, certainly, positively' when it is not preceded [by another padá] (á-pūrva-m).

jātu bhok-ṣyá-se 'you will certainly eat'; *jātu kar-i-ṣyá-mi* 'I will positively do', but *kāta-m jātu kar-i-ṣya-si* 'you will certainly make a mat'.

8.1.48 kim-vṛt-tá-m ca cid-ut-tara-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the declensional forms of the interrogative pronoun kím 'who, what, which' followed by (°uttara-m) the particle cid [and not preceded by another padá 47].

kás-cid bhaj-āy-a-ti/bhuk-té 'someone feeds/eats'; *k-éna cid kar-ó-ti* 'makes with someone', *ká-smai cid dá-dā-ti* 'gives to someone', *ka-taráś cid kar-ó-ti*, *ka-tamás cid bhuk-té* but *deva-dat-tá-h kím cid paṭh-a-ti* 'Devadattá recites something'.

8.1.49 ¹āho=²utāho ca=án-antara-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particles āho 'is it so?' or utāho 'is that so?' [not preceded by another padá 47] and without intervention (án-antaram).

āho/utāho bhuk-té 'is he eating?' but *deva-dat-tá-h āho/utāho bhuk-te?* 'Is Devadattá eating?'

8.1.50 śéṣ-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 29 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with 30 the particles āho, utāho 'is it so?' 49] in the remaining (śéṣ-e) context (: when the verbal padá does not follow immediately, i.e., there is intervention).

āho/utāho deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti/pac-a-ti 'Does D. cook?'

8.1.51 gaty-artha-lÓṭ-ā IRṭ ná cét kār-aka-m sarva=anyat

[A verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of the l-member] IRṭ (Sigmatic Future) [is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] (another) [verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of the l-member] lÓṭ (Imperative) of verbs of movement (gaty-ártha- °), provided the case relationship (kār-aka-m) is not wholly (sarvá- °) different (°-anyat).

The kār-aka-s involved here are the agent and object only.

ā-gacch-a deva-dat-ta! grāma-m, drak-śya-si ena-m 'Come to the village, D., you will see him'; but *pāc-a devadatta odanā-m, bhok-śya-se ena-m* 'Cook (some) rice, you will feed him' where the verb is not of movement. *ā-gacch-eḥ devadatta grāma-m, drak-śya-si enam* where the verb is in the Optative Mood (IIṆ); *ā-gacch-a devadatta grāma-m, pitā te odanā-m bhok-śya-te* 'Come to the village, D., your father will eat rice there' where the agents of the verbs are different.

8.1.52 lÓṭ ca

[A verbal padá ending in the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member] lÓṭ (Imperative) also (ca) [is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30 another padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of lÓṭ of verbs of movement, provided the case relationship is not all different 51].

ā-gacch-a devadatta! grāma-m pśy-a 'Come, Devadatta! see the village', but *ā-gacch-eḥ devadatta grāma-m, pśy-a ena-m* (optative); *pāc-a devadatta odanā-m, bhukṣ-va ena-m* 'Cook rice, Devadatta and eat it', the verb is not one of motion.

8.1.53 ví-bhāṣ-i-taṁ sá=upa-sarg-am án-uttama-m

[A verbal padá ending in the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member] lÓṭ 52] optionally (ví-bhāṣ-t-tam) [is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30 another verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of lÓṭ of verbs of motion, provided the case relationship is not wholly different 51] if it is co-occurring with a preverb (s-ó-pa-sargam) and is not in the first person (án-uttaman 1.4.107).

ā-gacch-a deva-dat-ta! grāma-m pra-viś-a/prā-viś-a 'Come, D., enter the village', but *ā-gacch-ā-ni grāma-m pra-viś-āni* 'I will go and enter the village'.

8.1.54 hánta ca

[A verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member lOT 52 co-occurring with a preverb is optionally 53 not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle hánta 'well'.

hánta prá-viś-a/pra-viś-d but *hánta kur-ú/pra-bhu-ná-j-āva-hai* the first without a preverb and the second with a preverb and first person [constraints implied by *ca* from 53 above].

8.1.55 ām-aḥ éka=antara-m ā-mantr-i-tam án-antik-e

A vocative (ā-mantr-i-ta-m 2.3.48) [is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the interjection ām, but separated from it by a single [padá 17] (ék-ā-ntara-m) except when following it (án-antik-e).

ām pac-a-si déva-dat-táś (6.1.198; 8.2.84 for accent) 'well, are you cooking, Devadatta?', but *ām prá-pac-a-si deva-dat-táś* (2 padás)/*ām deva-dat-ta* (no padá).

8.1.56 ¹yád=²hí=³tú-para-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [a verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudatta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particles yád 'which (relative)', hí 'for' and tú 'but'.

1. *gáu-ām go-trám ud-á-śj-ah yád angira-h* 'O Angiras! in that thou hast released the cattle shed' (RV 2.23.18).
2. *śndav-aḥ vām uś-ānti hí* (RV 1.2.4) 'the Soma-drops like you'.
3. *ā-khyā-syā-mi tu te* 'but I will tell you'. Normally the accent would have been on the preverb (28) but in this case the preverb loses its accent when the verb is accented (71 below).

8.1.57 ¹caná=²cid=³iva=⁴go-trá=⁵ādi=⁶taddhitá=⁷ā-mreḍ-i-te-ḡu=⁸gate-h

[A verbal padá 28 is not all ánudatta 19 when co-occurring with 30] the particles caná-, cid, iva, and the word-class beginning with go-trá-, a taddhitá affix (5.3.66-67) or an ā-mreḍ-i-ta(2) and is not preceded by a member denoted by the t.t. gáti (1.4.60).

1. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti caná* 'D. does not even cook'.
2. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti cid* 'D. also cooks'.
3. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti iva* 'D. cooks, as it were'.

4. *deva-dat-tā-h pāc-a-ti gotrā-m* 'D. cooks badly/repeatedly'.
5. *deva-dat-tā-h pāc-a-ti-kalpa-m/pāc-a-ti-rūpa-m* 'D. has not finished cooking/is cooking well'.
6. *deva-dat-tā-h pāc-a-ti pac-a-ti* 'D cooks assiduously' but *deva-dat-tā-h prā-pac-a-ti cañā*.

8.1.58 *ca=ādi-ṣu ca*

[A verbal *padā* 28 is not 29 all *ānudātta* 18 before 1.1.66] the class of particles beginning with *ca* (24) 'and' [and is not preceded by a member denoted by the t.t. *gāti* (1.4.60) 57].

This class consists of *ca*, *vā*, *ha*, *āha*, and *evā* (24).

1. *deva-dat-tā-h pāc-a-ti khād-a-ti ca* 'D. is cooking and eating'; 2. *deva-dat-tā-h pāc-a-ti vā khād-a-ti vā / pāc-a-ty āha khād-a-ty āha / pāc-a-ty evā khād-a-ty evā* 'Devadattā either cooks or eats / certainly cooks and eats / only cooks and eats' respectively, but *deva-dat-tā-h prā-pac-a-ti/ca/vā/āha/evā prā-khād-a-ti/ca/vā/āha/evā*.

8.1.59 ¹*ca*-²*vā*-yog-e prathamā

The first [verbal *padā* 28 is not 29 all *ānudātta* 18] when co-occurring with the particles *ca* 'and' and *vā* 'or'.

gardabhān=ca kāl-āy-a-ti vñā-m ca vād-āy-a-ti 'drives the donkeys and plays on the *Vñā* also'; similarly with [*vā*].

8.1.60 *ha=iti kṣi-yā-y-ām*

[The first verbal *padā* 28 is not 29 all *ānudātta* 18] when co-occurring after the particle *ha* to denote an offence against customary behavior (*kṣi-yā-y-ām*).

svayā-m rāth-ena yā-tiṣ up-ā-dhy-āyā-m pad-āna gam-āy-a-ti (2.104) 'oneself goes by a chariot and makes the instructor walk (lit. go by foot)'.

8.1.61 *āha iti vi-ni-yog-é ca*

[The first 59 verbal *padā* 28 is not 29 all *ānudātta* 18, co-occurring with 30] the particle *āha* when denoting various commissions (*vi-ni-yog-é*) as well as (*ca*) [an offence against customary behavior 60].

tvām āha grāma-m gacch-a, tvām āha āraṇya-m gacch-a 'go to the village and also

go to the forest'; *evayā-m dha rāth-ena yā-ti*, *upādhyāyā-m padāt-m gam-ay-a-ti* (2.104).

8.1.62 ¹ca=²āha-lop-e evā iti ava-dhār-aṇa-m

[The first 59 verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudatta 18, co-occurring with 30] a substitute lópa (Ø) replacement of particles ca and āha, and the particle evā is employed (in their place) to denote restriction (ava-dhār-aṇa-m).

1. *deva-dat-tā-h evā grāma-m gacch-a-tu/d-* 'D. alone should go to the village and also to the forest'; 2. *deva-dat-tā evā grāma-m gacch-a-tu/yañā-dat-tā evā dranyā-m gacch-a-tu* 'D. alone should go to the village and Y. alone should go to the forest'.

8.1.63 ca=ādi-lop-e vibhāṣā

[The first 59 verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudatta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [co-occurring with 30] a substitute Ø replacement of the class of particles beginning with ca (= ca, vā, ha, āha and evā 24).

śuk-tā-h vṛthāy-aḥ bhāv-a-nti, *śvet-ā-h gāḥ ājyā-ya duh-anti* 'the grains of rice are white and they milk white cows for butter' alternating with *bhāv-a-nti*. *vṛth-bhir yāje-ta/ya-j-e-ta*, *yāv-air ya-j-e-ta* 'should sacrifice with rice or with barley'. And similarly for the other particles.

8.1.64 vaí-vāvā iti ca=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the first 59 verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudatta 18 optionally 63 when co-occurring with 30] the particles vaí and vāvā.

dhar vaí devā-n-ām ās-i-t/āś-n, *rātri-r d-surā-n-ām* 'The day was for the gods, the night for the Asura-s'.

ayám vāvā hāsta āś-i-t/āś-n na=f-tara āś-i-t 'This was the hand, not the other'.

8.1.65 ¹éka=²anyā-bhyām sám-arthā-bhyām

[The first 59 verbal padā 29 is not 29 all ānudatta 18 optionally 63 when co-occurring with 30 the nominal stems 4.1.1] éka- 'one' and anyā- 'another, the other' when they have the same significance (sám-arthā-bhyām) [in the domain of Chāndas 64].

prajā-m ekā jīnu-ati/jīnu-ati ūrj-am ekā 'one quickens the progeny, the other gains strength'. *tāy-or anyā-h pīppala-m svādu dt-ti ān-aśnan anyo abhi-cā-kaś-ti* (RV 1.164.20) 'Of those two one eats the sweet fruit of the Ficus Indica and the other, not eating, looks on intently'.

8.1.66 yād-vṛt-t-āt nītya-m

[The first 59 verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18] necessarily (nītya-m) [when co-occurring with 30] the declensional forms of the pronominal stem yād 'which (relative)'.

yā-h/y-ēna bhunk-tē, yā-m bhoj-āy-a-ti, yā-smai dā-dā-ti 'who eats/with whom or what one eats/whom one feeds / to whom one gives'; *yāt-kāmā-s te ju-hu-māś* 'with which desire we sacrifice to thee' (RV 10.121.10).

8.1.67 pūj-an-āt pūj-i-tā-m ānudāttam (kāṣṭha=ādi-bhyaḥ)

(The posterior member of a compound which is being) praised (pūj-i-tā-m) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member] belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1 beginning with kāṣṭhā- 'excellent' denoting praise (pūj-an-āt) becomes all ānudātta.

[The expression [kāṣṭha-ādi-bhyaḥ] has been interpolated from a vārttika in the original sūtra by Kāśikā and Siddhānta Kaumudī. This class denotes adverbs ending in '-m, and by another vārttika introduces a Ø replacement of this in composition.]

There are two views regarding the interpretation of this rule. Most commentators take the rule as pointing to the formation of compounds and an exception to 6.1.223 for accentuation read with 2.1.72. On the other hand Kāṭyāyana and Patañjali indicate that the adverbial forms [kāṣṭha-m] etc. have the sUP triplet [am] replaced by Ø in this collocation.

kāṣṭha-m adhy-āy-aka-h = kāṣṭh-ā-dhy-āy-aka-h 'an excellent scholar'; similarly

kāṣṭh-m adhy-āp-aka-h = kāṣṭh-ā-dhy-āp-aka-h 'excellent teacher'.

The repetition of the expression (ānudātta-m) in this rule when it was already recurring from 18 above is to block out the privative particle [ná].

8.1.68 śā-ga-ti-r āpi tiñ

A verbal padā (tiñ), co-occurring or not with an item denoted by the t.t. gā-ti (1.4.60: śā-ga-ti-r āpi) expressing excellence' [and after the class of words beginning with kāṣṭha-m denoting praise becomes ānudātta 67].

yāt kāṣṭh-m pac-a-ti/pa-pac-a-ti 'inasmuch as he cooks excellently'; *yād dāruṇā-m pac-a-ti/pa-pac-a-ti* 'that he cooks assiduously'.

8.1.69 kúts-an-e ca sUPi=á-go-tra-ād-au

[A verbal padá, co-occurring or not with an item denoted by the t.t. gá-ti (1.4.60) 68 becomes all ánudatta 67 before 1.1.66 an expression ending in 1.1.72] a sUP triplet, excluding the group of words commencing with go-trá- (27) to denote reproach (kúts-ane).

pac-a-ti/pra-pac-a-ti pū-ti 'cooks in a questionable manner' but
pác-a-ti/prá-pac-a-ti śóbh-ana-m/go-trá-m etc.

8.1.70 gá-ti-r gá-t-au

An item denoted by the t.t. gá-ti (1.4.60) [becomes ánudatta 67 before 1.1.86] (another) gá-ti.

abhi+úd+dhár-a-ti = *abhy-úd-dhar-a-ti* (28) 'lifts up'; similarly:
ám+úd+ā+ndy-a-ti = *sam-ud-ā-nay-a-ti* 'assembles';
abhi+ám+pári+ā+hár-a-ti = *abhi-sam-pary-ā-har-a-ti* 'turns out towards oneself'.

8.1.71 tiÑ-i ca udātta-vat-i

[A gáti 70 co-occurring with] a verbal padá (tiÑ-i) containing an udātta accent [becomes ánudatta 67].

yát pra-pác-a-ti (66) 'that he begins to cook'.

8.1.72 á-mantr-ita-m pūrva-m á-vid-ya-māna-vat

A preceding vocative (pūrva-m á-mantr-i-ta-m) is considered as though non-existent (á-vid-ya-māna-vat).

This has an application pertaining to: 1. the accentuation of the following padá (19,28) and 2. enclitic replacements of [yuṣmád-, asmád-] (20-23).

1. *déva-dat-ta yájña-dat-ta-* (contra 19), *déva-dat-ta! pác-a-si?* 'D., are you cooking?' (contra 28).
2. *déva-dat-ta! táva grāma-h svám* 'D., the village is your property' where the enclitics cannot appear.

Other applications are: *yá-vad deva-dat-ta pác-a-si;* (contra 37); *déva-dat-ta játu pác-a-si* (contra 47); *áho/utāho deva-dat-ta pác-a-si* (contra 49). In all these instances the vocative is considered as non-existent.

8.1.73 ná ā-mantr-it-e sa-mānā=adhl-kar-aṇ-e
(sā-mān-ya-vac-anā-m)

[Before 1.1.66] a vocative which is in apposition with it [the preceding vocative 72] conveying a general idea (sāmānya-vacana-m) is not (ná) [treated as though it were non-existent 72].

āgne gṛha-pate 'O Agni, lord of the mansion!', but *dēva-dat-ta*, *pāṇḍita* *yajña-dat-ta* where *pāṇḍita* 'wise one' is in apposition with Yajñadattā and not Devadatta'.

8.1.74 (sāmānya-vac-anā-m) ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-m
vi-śeṣ-a-vac-an-é (bahu-vac-an-e)

[The preceding vocative 72] (in the plural number) is optionally (vibhāṣitam) [considered as non-existent 72 before 1.1.66 another vocative in apposition with it 72] denoting a specific quality (viśeṣ-vac-an-é).

The bracketed words (in the plural number: bahu-vac-an-é) are provided by Patañjali who divides the rules 73-74 as given in the Kāśikā version which includes Patañjali's insertion of [bahu-vac-ana-m] in the rule. The original reading appears to be: 73: [ná=āmantrite samānādhikar-aṇ-e] and 74: [sāmānya-vacanām vibhāṣitam viśeṣa-vacané] whence Kāśikā reads 74 as [vibhāṣitam viśeṣa-vacane bahu-vac-anā-m]. Patañjali implies that the optionality applies only to the plural, while in the singular this rule does not apply.

dēv-ā-h śaraṇy-ā-h/śaraṇy-ā-h 'O Gods, who afford shelter'; *brāhmaṇ-ā-h* *vaiy-ā-kar-aṇ-ā-h/vaiy-ā-kar-aṇ-ā-h* 'O brahmins, who are grammarians'.

8.2.1 pūrvā-tra=á-sid-dha-m

(In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this chapter) a rule introduced is considered inoperative with respect to an earlier rule (pūrvā-tra á-sid-dha-m) (and a rule of this section is also considered inoperative with respect to the rules introduced in the section preceding this, i.e., 1.1.1-8.1.74).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] with regard to all operations taught in the Aṣṭ.

In the phrase *a-smāś ūd-dhar-a* = *a-smāś ūd-dhar-a* (6.1.78) = *a-smāś ūd-dhar-a* (3.19 below) = *a-smāś ūd-dhar-a* further modification by saṁdhi rule 6.1.87 does not take place, because by this metarule which restores the position *a-smāś ūd-dhar-a* 3.19 below is deemed not to have taken place at all with respect to 6.1.87.

8.2.2 na-lopá-ḥ ¹sUP-²svára-³sañ-jñā-⁴tuK=vi-dhi-ṣu kṛt-i

Substitute lopa (Ø) replacement of [stem-final 1.1.52] dental phoneme n (7 below) is [considered inoperative 1] pertaining to (a) sUP triplets, (b) accentuation (°svára-°), (c) technical terms (°sañ-jñā-°) and (d) insertion of [final increment 1.1.46] tuK (before 1.1.66) a kṛt (3.1.93) [affix 3.1.1].

1. *rājan+bbis* = *rājaḥ+bbis* (1.4.17; 8.2.7) = *rāja+bbis*, but 7.1.9 which provides an allomorph [ais] after stems ending in short [a] cannot apply because the preceding operation is considered not to have taken place at the time this becomes operative. Similarly *rājan+bhyām* = *rājaḥ+bhyām* = *rāja-bhyām* 7.3.102 does not apply and in *rājan+su* = *rājaḥ+su* = *rāja-su* 7.3.103 cannot apply.
2. *rājan+matUP+ñP* = *rājaḥ-vat-I* (9) but 6.1.220 cannot apply, even though the surface form ends in °-a-vat-I since the preceding operation generating this form is considered not to have taken place for the purpose of this operation.
3. *pāñca brāhmaṇy-aḥ* 'five brahmin ladies' where *pāñca* = *pāñcan+Jas* = *pāñcan+Ø*¹ (7.1.22) = *pāñcaḥ* (7), the feminine affix [T&P 4.1.4] cannot apply since [pāñcaḥ] is regarded as belonging to the class of number words denoted by the t.t. *ṣas* (1.1.24; 4.1.10).
4. *vy-trā-m ha-tāvaṇ* = *vy-trā+Ø+han+KviP* (3.2.87) + *bhyām* = *vy-tra-hān+bhyām* = *vy-tra-hā+bhyām* (7) the Ø replacement of stem-final [n 7] is considered not to have taken place with respect to the insertion of final increment tuK by 6.1.71.

This rule restricts the operation of 1: *āi-mān-aḥ rāj-an-am iacch-a-ti* = *rāj-an+KyāC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *rājaḥ-yā-a-ti* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *rājī-yā-a-ti* (7.4.33) = *rājī-yā-ti* (6.1.97) which is not blocked contrary to 1. Similarly *rāj-an+Kyāñ+ŚaP+te* (3.1.11) = *rāj-aḥ+yā-a-te* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *rājā-yā-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.85) is not blocked. *rāj-ñ-aḥ déva-ḥ* = *rā-jan+ñas déva+sU* = *rāj-an+Ø¹+déva+sU* (2.4.71) = *rāj-aḥ+déva+sU* (7) = *rāj-ā-sud-ḥ* (6.1.223) where 6.1.101 is not blocked.

8.2.3 ná mu n-e

The substitute morpheme *mu* (replacing **daa* of *adas* 'that' 80) is not (*ná*) [considered as inoperative 1 with respect to] the substitute morpheme *nā* [replacing *suP* triplet *ṭā* introduced after 3.1.2 it 7.3.120].

adda+ṭā = *adda+a* (7.2.102) = *add+a* (6.1.97) = *amú+a* (80) = *amú-nā* which is not blocked, contrary to the governing rule 1. This also restricts the range of the governing rule 1 above partially.

8.2.4 ¹udātta-²svar-itáy-or yaṅN-aḥ svar-i-tá-ḥ ánudātta-sya

A substitute *svaritá* accent replaces the *ánudātta* which occurs (immediately) after a semivowel (*yaṅN-aḥ*) [replacement of] an *udātta* or *svaritá* (vowel).

abhí abhí hí (8.1.4) = *abhí abhi hí* (8.1.3) = *abhí-ábhi hí*; *khala-pá+ṆiP+āśā* = *khalapv-ṭ+āśā* (6.4.83) = *khalapv-ḡ+āśā* = *khalapvy-āśā*. Cf. 6.1.174 for a prior exception. But *bida+aṆ+ṆiN* (4.1.73; 104)+*āśā* = *baida+ṆiN+āśā* = *baidḡ-ṭ+āśā* (6.4.148) = *baidy-āśā* as the semivowel replaces an *ánudātta* vowel.

8.2.5 eka=ā-des-á-ḥ udātt-ena udātta-ḥ

A single replacement (*ekādesa-ḥ*) [of an *ánudātta* vowel 4] with an *udātta* (vowel) becomes *udātta*.

agní+au = *agn-f* (6.1.102); *vṛkṣá+ais* = *vṛkṣ-aśa*. But *pác+ŚaP+anti* = *pác-a-ni* (6.1.97).

8.2.6 svar-i-tá-ḥ vā ánudātt-e pada=ād-aú

[The single replacement 5] of a *padá*-initial (*padādaú*) *ánudātta* [and the preceding *udātta* vowel 5] optionally (*vā*) becomes *svaritá*.

In the compound *sú+ut-thi-tá-* (2.2.18) = *s-á-t-thi-ta-/s-á-t-thi-ta-*; *ví+ikṣ-a-te* = *v-f-kṣ-ate/v-f-kṣa-te*. *guḍa/tila+udaka-* = *guḍá/tilá+udaka* (6.2.96) = *guḍ-ó-daka-/guḍ-ó-daka-*; *til-ó-daka-/til-ó-daka-* 'water mixed with molasses or sesamum seeds'.

8.2.7 $ng-lop-\acute{a}-\grave{h}$ $pr\acute{a}ti-pad-ika=ant\acute{a}-sya$

The substitute $l\acute{o}pa$ (\emptyset) replaces the final phoneme n of a nominal stem ($pr\acute{a}ti-pad-ika-ant\acute{a}-sya$) [which functions at the same time as a $pad\acute{a}$ 1.16].

$r\acute{a}j-an+sU = r\acute{a}j-\grave{a}n+sU$ (6.4.8) = $r\acute{a}j-\grave{a}n+\emptyset$ (6.1.68) = $r\acute{a}j-\acute{a}\emptyset$ (1.4.17); and similarly $r\acute{a}ja\emptyset+bhy\grave{a}m/bhyas/su$; $r\acute{a}j-an+taL = r\acute{a}j\acute{a}-ta$ (5.1.119) 'kingship'.

8.2.8 $n\acute{a}$ $^1\ddot{N}i$ - $^2sam-bud-dhy-o\grave{h}$

[The substitute $l\acute{o}pa$ (\emptyset) 7] does not ($n\acute{a}$) replace [the final phoneme n of a nominal stem 7 which at the same time functions as a $pad\acute{a}$ 1.16 before 1.1.68 sUP triplets] $\ddot{N}i$ and sU of the vocative ($^2sam-b\acute{u}d-dhy-o\grave{h}$).

$vy\acute{o}-man+\ddot{N}i = vy\acute{o}-man+luK$ (7.1.39) = $para-m-\acute{e}$ $vy\acute{o}-man$ (RV 1.62.7) 'in the highest heaven'; $r\acute{a}j-an+sU$ (voc.) = $r\acute{a}j-an+\emptyset$ (6.1.68) = he $r\acute{a}j-an$ 'O king!'.

8.2.9 1m - $^2\acute{a}t=upa-dh\acute{a}-y-\acute{a}\acute{s}$ ca $mat-Or$ $va-\grave{h}$ $a-yava=$ $\acute{a}di-bhya\grave{h}$

[The substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the $taddhit\acute{a}$ 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] $matUP$ (5.2.94) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] or containing the phonemes m or a as penultimate, excluding the word-class beginning with $y\acute{a}va$ - 'barley'.

1. 1m : $kfm+matUP = kfm-vat$. 2. penultimate m : $k\acute{a}ma+matUP = k\acute{a}ma-vat$ 'enamored'.
3. 1a : $vrk\acute{s}a+matUP = vrk\acute{s}a-v\acute{a}t$ (6.1.176) 'sylvan'.
4. penultimate a : $p\acute{a}yas+matUP = p\acute{a}yas-vat$ 'milky, watery'.

But $y\acute{a}va-mat$ -, $dalmi-m\acute{a}t$ -, $\acute{a}rmi-m\acute{a}t$ - etc.

8.2.10 $jhaY-a\grave{h}$

[The substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme of the $taddhit\acute{a}$ affix $matUP$ 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] non-nasal stops ($jhaY-a\grave{h}$).

$mar\acute{u}t+matUP = mar\acute{u}t-vat$ (1.4.19); $\acute{s}ar\acute{a}d+matUP = \acute{s}ar\acute{a}d-vat$.

8.2.11 *saṁ-jñā-y-ām*

[The substitute phoneme *v* replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix *matUP* 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to derive a name (*saṁ-jñā-y-ām*).

ahi+matUP+NIP = *ahī-vat-f* (6.1.220; 3.120); *kapī-vat-f*, *munī-vat-f* 'names of rivers' (4.2.85).

8.2.12 ¹*āsandī-vat*=²*aṣṭhī-vat*-³*cakrī-vat*-⁴*kakṣī-vat*= ⁵*rumaṇ-vat*=⁶*cārmaṇ-vatI*

The irregular expressions *āsandī-vat* 'n.pr. of a village', *aṣṭhī-vat* 'knee', *cakrī-vat* 'furnished with wheels', *kakṣī-vat* 'n.pr. of a sage', *rumaṇ-vat* 'n.pr. of a mountain', and *cārmaṇ-vat-I* 'n.pr. of a river' are introduced [with irregular replacement by phoneme *v* of the initial phoneme of *matUP* 9 introduced after the respective nominal stems].

1. *āsandī-vat* (= *āsana-vat*); if properly derived from *āsandī* 'chair'; 2. *aṣṭhī-vat* (= *aṣṭhi-mat*-) 'vertebrate'; 3. *cakrī-vat* (= *cakra-vat*-); 4. *kakṣī-vat* (= *kakṣyā-vat*-); 5. *rumaṇ-vat* (= *lavaṇa-vat*-); 6. *cārmaṇ-vatI* (= *cārma-vat*-).

8.2.13 *udan-vān uda-dh-aú ca*

[The irregular expression] *udan-vat*- is introduced to denote an ocean (*uda-dh-aú*) and also (*ca*) [a name 11] [with phoneme *v* replacement of the initial of the taddhitá affix *matUP* 9].

udan-vat- = *udaka-vat*- (with irregular retention of stem-final *n* contra 7 above in these two significances).

8.2.14 *rājan-vān saú-rāj-y-e*

The irregular expression *rājan-vat*- is introduced [with phoneme *v* replacing the initial of the taddhitá affix *matUP* 9] to denote 'good government' (*saú-rājy-e*).

Contrary to 7 above in this sense; elsewhere *rāja-vat*-.

8.2.15 chándas-i i-r-aḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute phoneme *v* replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix *matUP* 9, introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in the phonemes] *i* or *r*.

1. **i*: *trí+matUP+ñrP* = *trí-vat-r* 'consisting of three'; *hári-vat-*, *agni-vát-*.
2. **r*: *gír+matUP* = *gír-vat-* 'possessing speech'; *dhur+matUP* = *dhár-vat-*, *āśr-vat-* etc.

8.2.16 an-aḥ nyṭ

[In the domain of Chándas 15 the initial increment 1.1.46] *nyṭ* is inserted at the head [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *matUP* 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] **-an-*.

asthi+matUP = *asthi+vat* (15) = *asth-án+vat* (7.1.76) = *asthaḥ+vát-* (8.1.176) = *astha-nyṭ+vát-* 'consisting of bones'.

8.2.17 n-āt GHA-sya

[In the domain of Chándas 15 the initial increment 1.1.46 *nyṭ* 16 is inserted at the head of affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (= *taraP*, *tamaP* 1.1.22) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme *n*.

su-pathín+taraP/tamaP = *su-pathḥ+taraP/tamaP* (7) = *supathf+nyṭ+taraP/tamaP* = *supathf-ntara-/ntama-*; *dasyu-hán+tamaP/taraP* = *dasyu-há-ntama-/ntara-*.

8.2.18 kṛp-aḥ r-aḥ la-ḥ

The substitute phoneme *l* replaces the phoneme *r* of the verbal stem *kṛp-* 'be able or fit' (I 799).

The phonemes [r, l] referred to here represent both sonant vowels and the semi-vowels. Thus in the morpho-phonemic structures the semivowel /l/ replaces the corresponding semivowel [r] while the vowel phoneme [ɪ] replaces the vowel phoneme [ɪ]: this is indicated by 1.3.93 where this verbal stem is introduced as [kɪp-] instead of [kṛp-].

kṛp+Ktá = *kṛp-tá-*; *kṛp+lUT* = *kɪp-táe+Dá* (2.4.85) = *kalp-tá*.

8.2.24 r-aāt sa-sya

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23] replaces phoneme s [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of a padá 1.16 as final member of a conjunct 23 after 1.1.67] phoneme r.

$pitf+Nas(I) = pitúr+s$ (6.1.111; 1.1.51) = $pitúr+Ø = pitúh$ (3.15) but $úrj+sU = úrj+Ø$ (6.1.68) = $úr$ (30) in spite of 23 above.

8.2.25 dh-l ca

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23] also (ca) replaces [the phoneme s 24 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with dh-°.

$la+luN = la+Cl_i$ (3.1.43) = $la+siC+dhvam$ (3.1.44) = $dT-la+iT+siC+dhvam$ (7.2.35) = $d-lo-i-s-dhvam$ (7.3.84) = $d-lav-i-Ø-dhvam$ (6.1.78) = $d-lav-i-dhvam/d-lav-i-dhvam$ (4.41) since [s] preceded by [i] is retroflexed by 3.59 and by 3.79 retroflexes [dh] following it.

8.2.26 jhāL-ah jhāL-i

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces the phoneme s 24 after 1.1.67 and before 1.1.66] a non-nasal consonant (jhāL-o jhāL-i).

$bhid+lUN = d-bhid+siC+ta = d-bhid-Ø+ta = d-bhit-ta$ (4.45) but $man+lUN = d+man+siC+ta = d-manh-s-ta$ (3.24).

8.2.27 hrasv-ād āng-āt

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces the phoneme s 24 after 1.1.67] an ānga 'pre-affixal' stem [ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel: 1.2.28) [before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

$kṛN+lUN = d-kṛ+siC+ta = d-kṛ+Ø+ta = d-kṛ-ta/thāh$ (1.2.12) but $d-kṛ-s-ata$; similarly $cyu+lUN = d-cyo-s-ta$ (3.59; 4.41), $d-lāv-i-s-tām (= lu+lUN)$.

8.2.28 iṭ-ah iṭ-i

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces phoneme s after 1.1.67] the initial increment iṭ and before the initial increment iṭ (of a single phoneme affix following it 7.3.96).

$div+lUN = d-div+iT+siC+IT+t$ (7.3.96) = $d-dev-i-Ø-i-t = d-dev-i-t$ (7.3.84; 6.1.101)

The operation of 6.1.101 here is normally blocked by the governing rule 1 of this

section, but a vārttika [siC-lop-é=ekādeśa-h siddhā-h] under 6 above blocks out this metarule in this particular regard.

8.2.29 's-²k-oḥ saṁ-yog-á=ādy-oḥ ānt-e ca

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces] initial phonemes ("-ādy-oḥ) s or k of a conjunct group (saṁ-yog-á- ") [occurring at the end of a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

1. *lasj+Ktá* = *lasj+nd-* (45) = *laṭṭj+nd-* = *lag-nd-* (30) 'attached, adhered'. 2. *lakṣ+Ktá* = *laṭṭṣ+td-* = *taṣ-td-* 'pared, chisled'. 3. *sādhū-lasj+sU* → Ø = *sādhū-laj* = *-*lak* (30).

8.2.30 cO-ḥ kU-ḥ

A substitute velar stop (kU) replaces a palatal stop (cU) [at the end of a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.67 a non-nasal consonant 16].

- vác+sU* = *vác+Ø* (6.1.68) = *vák* 'speech'; similarly *vac+LAT* = *vac(+ṢaP→Ø¹)+tiP* = *vák-ti* 'speaks'. *bhaj+Ktá* = *bhak-tá-* 'devoted'; *bhaj+KtiN* = *bhák-ti-* 'devotion'. *prá+añc-a-ti* = *prá+añc+KviN* (3.2.50) = *prāñc+Ø+sU* = *prāñc+Ø* (6.1.68) = *prāñØ* (?) = *prāñ*.

8.2.31 h-aḥ dḥa-ḥ

The substitute phoneme dḥ replaces phoneme h [at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

- sādh+turnuN* = *sādh+turn* = *sādh+thurn* (40) = *sādh-dhum* (4.41) = *sōḥ-dhum* (6.3.112; 8.3.13). Here 8.3.13 is not blocked by the governing rule 1 above on account of 6.3.112 which specifically refers to this context. *lih+LAT* = *lih(+Ṣap→Ø¹)+tiP* (2.4.72) = *lédh+ti* (7.3.86) = *lédh+dhi* (40) = *léd+dhi* (4.41) = *leḥ-dhi* (6.3.111); *mādhū lē-dhi* = *mādhū+lih[KviP+sU]* = *madhu+līdh+Ø* (6.1.68) = *madhu-līḥ* (4.56) 'honey-licker, a bee'.

8.2.32 d-āde-r dhāto-r gha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme gh replaces [the phoneme h at the end of 1.1.72] a verbal stem (dhāto-ḥ) beginning with the phoneme d- " [when it is padá 1.16 final 1.1.72 or occurs before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

- kāṣṭhā-m dāh-a-ti* = *kāṣṭha+Ø¹+dah+KviP+sU* = *kāṣṭha-ddh+sU* = *kāṣṭha-dāgh+Ø* (6.1.68) = *kāṣṭha-dhdāgh* (37) = *kāṣṭha-dhak* (4.53) 'wood burner'. *duh+Ktá* = *dugh+td* = *dugh-dhā-* (40) = *dug-dhā* (4.53) 'milk'.

8.2.33 $v\bar{a}$ ¹drúhÁ-²múhÁ-³snúhÁ-⁴sníh-ām

[The substitute phoneme gh 32] optionally replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stems] drúh- 'injure' (IV 88), múh- 'be confounded' (IV 89), snúh- 'vomit' (IV 90) and sníh- 'love' (IV 91) [at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

1. *drúh+tum*N = *drógh/dródh+tum* (7.3.86) = *dróg-dhum/dró-dhum*.
2. *muh+Ktá* = *mug-dhá-/mā-dhá-* 'confounded'.
3. *snug-dhá-/snā-dhá-*.
4. *snig-dhá-/snī-dhá-*. *mī-trá-th drúh-ya-ti* = *mitra+θ¹+druh+KviP+sU* = *mitra-drúh+sU* = *mitra+drúh+θ* (6.1.68) = *mitra-drúgh/'drudh-* = *mitra-dhrúgh/'-dhrúdh* = *mitra-dhrúk/'dhrú!* (4.53).

8.2.34 nah-aḥ dha-h

The substitute phoneme dh replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stem] nah- 'bind' (IV 59) [at the end of a padá 1.1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

- úpa=nah-ya-te* = *upa-nah+KviP+sU* = *upā-nādh+θ* (6.3.116; 6.1.68) = *upā-nāddh* = *upā-nā!* (4.56); *nah+Ktá* = *nadh+tá* = *nadh+dhá* (40) = *nad-dhá-* (4.53).

8.2.35 āh-as tha-h

The substitute phoneme th replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stem] āh- (substitute for brū- 3.4.84) [before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

- āh+thaL* = *āth+tha* = *āt-tha* (4.53).

8.2.36 ¹vraścā-²bhrasjA-³sṛjÁ-⁴mṛjÁ-⁵yajA-⁶rājā-⁷bhrājā=⁸cha-⁹ś-ām śa-h

The substitute retroflex phoneme ṣ replaces [the stem final 1.1.72 phoneme of verbal stems] vraśc- 'cut' (VI 12), bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4), sṛj- 'project' (VI 121), mṛj- 'wash, wipe, cleanse' (II 57), yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051), rāj- 'shine, rule' (I 874), bhrāj- 'shine' (I 875) and the phonemes ch and ś [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

1. *vraśc+ti*umyN = *vrađṣ+ti*um (29) = *vrađ-ṭum* (4.41); *mūlā-n-i vraśc-a-ti* = *mūla+θ¹+vraśc+KviP+sU* = *mūla-vraśc+θ* (6.1.68) = *mūla-vrađṣ*-ṣ (29) = *mūla-vrađ* (4.56).
2. *bhrāṣ-ṭum*, *dhānā-bhrā!*.
3. *sṛāṣ-ṭum* (6.1.58), *rajjū-sṛā!*.
4. *māṣ-ṭum* (7.2.114), *kaṁśa-pari-mṛ!*.
5. *yāṣ-ṭum*, *upa-yā!*.
6. *śam-rāt*,

vāc+trā- 7. *vi-bhrāt*. 8. *prach+tum*_u*N* = *prā-tum*. 9. *līś+tum* = *lēś-tum*,
kliś+Kīś = *kliś-tā-*.

8.2.37 éka=aC-aḥ baś-aḥ bhaṣ jhaṣ-anta-sya ¹s-²dhv-oḥ

The substitute phonemes denoted by the siglum bhaṣ (bh, gh, ḍh and dh) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the phonemes denoted by the siglum baś (b, g, ḍ, d) constituting a part of a mono-syllabic verbal stem (ékaC-aḥ) ending in the siglum jhaṣ (-^o anta-sya: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh: voiced aspirate stops) [before 1.1.66 the non-nasal consonants 26] ^os and ^odhv-^o [and also at the end of 29 a padā 1.16].

1. *budh+syā+te* = *bodh+syā-te* (7.3.86) = *bhodh-syā-te* = *bhot-syā-te* (4.53); *drtha-m bodh-a-ti* = *artha+būdih+KviP+eU* *artha-būdih+eU* = *artha-būdih+θ* (6.1.68) = *artha-bhūd* = *artha-bhūt*; *budh+IAñ* = *ā-budh+eiC+dhvam* = *ā-budh-θ+dhvam* (25) = *ā-bhudh+dhvam* = *ā-bhud-dhvam* (4.53).
2. *nf-guh+syā+te* = *nf-goh-syā-te* (7.3.86) = *nf-godh-syā-te* (31) = *nf-ghok-syā-te* (41) = *nf-ghok-syā-te* (3.59); *nf-guh+eiC+dhvam* = *ny-ā-ghā-dhvam* (3.13; 6.3.111); *parṇā-n-i gūh-a-ti* = *parṇa+guh+KviP+eU* = *parṇa-ghūt*.
3. *duh+syā+te* = *dhogh+syā+te* (3.59) = *dhok-syā-te* (4.53). *duh+IAñ* = *ā-duh+(Śap-θ¹)+dhvam* = *ā-dhugh+dhvam* = *ā-dhug-dhvam* (4.53); *kāmā-m dog-dhi* = *kāmā+duh+KviP+eU* = *kāma-dhūk*.
4. *grdh+yāñ-luK+IAñ* = *ā+grdh+yāñ-luK+θ¹+s(iP)* = *ā-jar-grdh+θ¹+s* (7.4.91) = *ā-jar-gardh+θ* (6.1.68; 7.3.86) = *ā-jar-ghardh* = *ā-jar-ghard* (4.53) = *ā-jar-ghar-r* (75) = *ā-jar-ghār* (3.14; 6.3.111) *ā-jar-ghāḥ* (3.15).

8.2.38 dadh-as ¹ta-²th-oś ca

[The substitute phoneme dh replaces phoneme d 37 of the verbal stem] da-dh (= dhā- III 10) 'bear, support' (= weak reduplicated theme) [before 1.1.66] the phoneme t-^o or th-^o [of an affix and also the non-nasal consonants 26 s-^o or dhv-^o 37].

dhā+θ²+tāś = *da-dhā+tāś* = *da-dhθ+tāś* (6.4.112) = *dha-dh+tāś* = *dha-d+tāś* = *dhat-tāḥ* (66; 3.15). *dadh+eś* = *dhat-eś* (4.53); *dadh+dhvdm* = *dhad-dhvdn*.

8.2.39 jhaL-ām jaś-aḥ ant-e

Substitute voiced unaspirated stops (jaś-aḥ = j, b, g, ḍ, d) replace non-nasal consonants (jhaL-ām) at the end [of a padā 1.16].

vāc+eU = *vāc+θ* (6.1.68) = *vāk* = *vāg atra*, cf. 4.56.

8.2.40 jh₂Ṣ-as 't₂-²th-or dh₂-h á-dh-aḥ

The substitute phoneme dh replaces phoneme t or th [after 1.1.87] voiced aspirated stops (jh₂Ṣ-aḥ = jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh) excluding that (-dh) of the verbal stem dhā- 'bear, support' (III 10).

labh+Kta/tumyN/tavya- = *labh+dhā/dhum/dhavya-* = *lab-dhā*, *lab-dhum*/
lab-dhavya-; *duh-*: *dug-dhā*, *dó-g-dhum*, *dog-dhavya-*; *lih+tumyN* = *le-dhum*
 (7.3.86; 8.2.31; 3.13; 4.41); *budh+tumyM* = *bód+dhum*.
labh+tUN = *ḍ-labh+ṣiC+thās* = *ḍ-labh+ṭ-thās* (26) = *ḍ-labh+dhās* = *ḍ-lab-dhāḥ*
 (86; 3.15)/*ḍ-dug-dhāḥ*/ḍ-lt-dhāḥ/ḍ-bud-dhāḥ. Cf. 38 for dhā-.

8.2.41 'ṣa-²dh-oḥ ka-h s-i

The substitute phoneme k replaces phonemes /ṣ, ḍh/ [before 1.1.66] phoneme s.

piṣ+ltRT = *piṣ+syd+tiP* = *pek-syd-ti* (7.3.86; 8.3.59) 'will grind'. *lih+syd+ti* =
leḍh-syd-ti (31) = *lek-syd-ti* (3.59).

8.2.42 'ra-²dā-bh̄yām niṣṭhā-t-aḥ na-h pūrva-sya tu d-aḥ

The substitute phoneme n replaces the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā [affix 3.1.1] (Ktā-, KtāvatU 1.2.26) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem final 1.1.72] phoneme r or d, as well as of the preceding d.

1. ²-r: *ā-stf+Kta(vatU)* = *ā-stir+Kta(vatU)* (7.1.100) = *ā-stṛ-ṇa(vat)-* (76; 4.1).
2. ²-d: *bhid+Ktd(vatU)* = *bhin-nā(vat)-*.

8.2.43 saṁ-yog-ā=āde-r āT-aḥ dhāto-r yāN-vat-aḥ

[The substitute phoneme n replaces the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T) with an initial conjunct (saṁ-yog-ā-deḥ) containing a semivowel (yāN-vat-aḥ).

styai+Ktd(vatU) = *styā+Ktd(vatU)* (8.1.45) = *styā-nā(vat)-* 'coagulated';
pra-drā+Kta(vatU) = *pra-drā-ṇā(vat)-* 'distressed'; *glai+Ktd* = *glā-nā-* 'tired, faded'.

8.2.44 lū=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktā-, KtāvatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with lū- 'cut, reap' (IX 13).

This class consists of items listed under IX 13-32 of the Dhp. *lu+Ktā(vatU) = lū-nā-(vat)-*; *dhā-na(vat)-* 'trembled', etc.

8.2.45 oT=IT-as ca

[The substitute phoneme n 42] also (ca) replaces [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā (affix Ktā/KtāvatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem] with marker O as IT.

O-lāḥj-I vṛddā-y-ām (VI 10)+*Ktā(vatU)* = *lāḥj+Ktā(vatU)* (29) = *lag-nā(vat)* 'attached, adhered'; *O-pyāy-I vṛd-dh-au* (I 517)+*Ktā(vatU)* = *pf-na(vat)* (6.1.28) 'swollen'.

Verbal stem-class beginning with *ṣā-* 'give birth to' (IV 24-40) are deemed to have marker O as IT: *ṣā+Ktā(vatU) = ṣā-nā(vat)-*.

8.2.46 kṣīy-aḥ dīrgh-āt

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā (affix Ktā/KtāvatU) introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *kṣī-* 'perish, lose weight' (I 225) [when it ends in 1.1.72] a long (vowel: dīrgh-āt 1.2.28).

The Dhp. records three stems: *kṣī kṣay-ē* (I 225), *kṣī hīrṣā-y-ām* (*jighāṁṣā-y-ām* V 30), *kṣī ni-vāṣ-d-gā-ty-oḥ* (VI 114); Kāśikā commentaries regard (I 225) and (VI 114) as involved in this operation while Renou singles out (V 30) as the one involved'.

kṣī+Ktā(vatU) = kṣī-nā(vat)- (active) (6.4.60) 'perished'; but *kṣī-tā(vat)-* (6.4.61).

8.2.47 śy-aḥ ā-sparś-e

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā (affix Ktā/KtāvatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *śyā* (= *śyaiN* I 1012) 'congeal' when not denoting touch (*ā-sparś-e*).

śyai+Ktā(vatU) = śyā+Ktā(vatU) (6.1.45) = *śī-nā(vat)-* (6.1.24; 4.2) 'congealed', but when actual touch is denoted: *śī-tā-(vat)-* 'become cold'. Constraint on 43 above.

8.2.48 *anc-ah ān-ap-ā-dā-n-e*

[The substitute phoneme *n* replaces phoneme *t* of a *niṣṭhā* affix (Ktá, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *anc*(Ú) 'bend, curve' (I 203) when the notion of ablation is not denoted (*ān-ap-ā-dā-n-e*).

sam+anc+Ktá(vatU) = *am-a(θ)c-tá(vat)-* (8.4.24) = *sam-ak-tá(vat)-* (8)
sam-ak-ná(vat)- 'bent together', but *úd-ak-ta-m udaká-m kúp-āt* 'water was lifted from the well'.

8.2.49 *dív-ah á-v-ji-gī-ṣā-y-ām*

[The substitute phoneme *n* replaces phoneme *t* of a *niṣṭhā* affix (Ktá, KtávatU-) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *dív-* 'sport' (IV 1), except when denoting the sense of 'desire to conquer' (*á-vi-ji-gī-ṣā-y-ām*).

dív+Ktá(vatU) = *di-uTH-tá(vatU)* (8.4.19) = *dyā-ná(vat)-* 'sported' etc., but *dyā-tá(vat)-* 'gambled (expressing a desire to win)'.

8.2.50 *nir-vā-ṇá ā-vā-t-e*

The expression *nir-vā-ṇá-* is introduced [with irregular substitute phoneme *n* replacing phoneme *t* of a *niṣṭhā* affix Ktá] except when denoting 'wind'.

nir+vā+Ktá- = *nir-vā-ṇá-* (8.4.2) 'extinguished', but *nir-vā-tá-* 'sheltered, free from wind'.

8.2.51 *śuṣ-ah ka-h*

The substitute phoneme *k* replaces [phoneme *t* of a *niṣṭhā* affix (Ktá, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *śuṣ-* 'dry' (IV 74).

śuṣ+Ktá(vatU) = *śúṣ-ka(vat)-*. (8.1.208 for accent).

8.2.52 *pac-ah va-h*

The substitute phoneme *v* [replaces phoneme *t* of a *niṣṭhā* affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *pac-* 'cook' (I 1045).

pac+Ktá(vatU) = *pak-vá(vat)-*.

8.2.53 kṣāy-aḥ ma-h

The substitute phoneme m replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] kṣai- 'bruise, scorch, dry up' (I 981).

$$kṣai + Ktá(vatU) = kṣā + id(vat) \text{ (6.1.45) } = kṣā-mā(vat)-.$$

8.2.54 prā-sty-aḥ anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme m 53] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] prā+styai- 'crowd together, coagulate' (I 959).

$$prā + styai + Ktá(vatU) = prā-sti + Ktá(vatU) \text{ (6.1.23; 4.2) } = prā-sti-mā(vat)/tá(vat)-.$$

But *styā-nā(vat)-* (43). By 2.1 above, 43 is considered as non-operative for the operation of 6.1.23.

8.2.55 ān-upa-sarg-āt ¹phul-lá-²kṣīb-á-³kṛś-á-⁴ul-lāgh-á-ḥ

The expressions phul-lá- 'blossomed, bloomed', kṣīb-á 'drunk, intoxicated', kṛś-á 'emaciated' and ul-lāgh-á 'clever, adroit' are introduced [as irregular formations with niṣṭhā affix (Ktá) 42] when not co-occurring after a preverb (ān-upa-sarg-āt).

1. *phul + Ktá = phul-lá-*, but *pra-phul-id-*.

2-4. In the remaining three expressions phoneme [t] of [Ktá] is replaced by Ø with no initial increment [iT] but with preverbs respectively: *pra-kṣīb-i-tá-*, *pra-kṛś-i-tá-*, *pr-o-l-lāgh-i-tá-*.

8.2.56 ¹nudÁ-²vidA=³únda-⁴trā-⁵ghrā-⁶hrī-bhyaḥ anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme n 42] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] nud- 'impel' (VI 2,132), vid- 'consider' (VII 13), und- 'wet' (VII 20), trā (= trai-Ñ I 1014) 'protect,' ghrā- 'smell' (I 973) and hrī- 'feel shy' (III 3).

1. *nud + Ktá(vatU) = nun-nā(vat)/nut-tá(vat)-*; 2. *vin-nā-/vit-tá-*; 3. *sam+und+Ktá = sam-uØ-d + Ktá* (6.4.24) = *sam-un-nā-/sam-ul-id-* 'thoroughly wet'; 4. *trā-nā-/trā-tá-*; 5. *ghrā-nā-/ghrā-tá-*; 6. *hrī-nā-/hrī-tá-*.

8.2.57 ná ¹dhyā-²khyā-³pṛ-⁴mūrchi-⁵mád-ām

[The substitute phoneme n 42] does not (ná) replace [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] dhyā- (= dhyai- I 957) 'meditate, concentrate', khyā- 'proclaim' (II 5), pṛ- 'fill' (III 4, IX 19), mūrchi- 'solidify, congeal' (I 227) and mád- 'be exhilarated' (IV 99).

Exceptions to 42 and 43 above. 1. *dhyā-tá(vat)-*, 2. *khyā-tá(vat)-*; 3. *pār-tá(vat)-* (7.1.102); 4. *murch+Ktá* = *murṭ+ta* (6.4.21) = *mūr-tá-* (76); 5. *mat-tá-*.

8.2.58 vit-tá-ḥ ¹bhóga-²praty-ayáy-oḥ

The irregular expression vit-tá- is introduced to denote possessions (bhóga-) or renown (-praty-ayáy-oḥ).

Exception to 42 above *vid-* (VI 138)+*Ktá* = *vit-tá-* 'riches, assets/renown'; in other senses *vin-ná-* (42).

8.2.59 bhit-tá-m sákala-m

The irregular expression bhit-tá- is introduced to denote the sense of 'chip, fragment' (sákala-m).

Exception to 42 above. In other meanings *bhin-ná-* (42).

8.2.60 ṛ-ṇá-m ādhamarṇ-y-e

The irregular expression ṛ-ṇá- is introduced to denote 'debt'.

In other senses *ṛ-tá-*. The irregularity lies in phoneme [n] replacing phoneme [t] of [Ktá].

8.2.61 ¹na-sat-tá-²ni-ṣat-tá=³á-nut-ta-⁴prá-tūr-ta-⁵sūr-tá-⁶gūrtá-n-i chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the irregular expressions na-sat-tá- 'not seated', ni-ṣat-tá- 'seated', á-nut-ta- 'not cast down, invincible', prá-tūr-tá- 'rapid, swift', sūr-tá- 'trodden' and gūr-tá- 'approved' are introduced with [niṣṭhā affix Ktá 42].

1. *nāN+sad+Ktá* = *na-sat-tá-* (exception to 42 above) = *na-san-ná-*. 2. *ni-ṣat-tá-* (= *ni-ṣan-na-*). 3. *nāN+nud+Ktá* = *á-nut-ta-* (= *á-nun-na-*). 4. *prá+ivar+Ktá* = *prá-tūar-ta* (6.4.20) = *prá-tūr-ta-* (6.1.108)/*prá+turv+Ktá* = *prá-turṭ+ta*

(6.4.21) = *prá-tár-ta-* (76) (= *prá-tár-na-* 43). 5. *sr+Kíd* = *sur+td* = *sár-tá-* (irregular /u/ replacement, for *sr-tá-*). 8. *gur+Kíd* = *gár-tá-* (76) [exception to 42 for *gár-ná-*]

8.2.62 Kv[N-praty-aya-sya kU-ḥ

A substitute velar phoneme (kU) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of a *padá* 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Kv[N (3.2.58-60).

ghṛ-tá-m epṛś-d-ti = *ghṛ-ta+ṭ¹+epṛś+KviN+sU* (3.2.58) = *ghṛ-ta-epṛkh+ṭ* (6.1.68) = *ghṛ-ta-epṛk* (39; 4.56) 'touching ghee'; *ṛ-tú-m/ṛ-t-av vā yaj-a-ti* = *ṛtu+ṭ¹+yaj+KviN+sU* (3.2.58) = *ṛtu+ij+sU* (6.1.15) = *ṛtv-ij+ṭ* (6.1.68) = *ṛtv-fk* 'n. of a sacrificial priest'; *sá iva dṛś-ya-te* = *tad+ṭ¹+dṛś+KviN* (3.2.60) = *tad+dṛś+KviN+sU* (6.3.61) = *tá-dṛś+ṭ* (6.1.68) = *tá-dṛk* 'like him'.

8.2.63 náśe-r vā

[A substitute velar phoneme (kU) 62] optionally (vā) replaces [*padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] of *-náś.

jñv-d-sya náś-d-ḥ/jñv-d-ḥ náś-ya-ti = *jñva+ṭ¹+náś+KviP+sU* (3.2.76) = *jñva+náś+ṭ+sU* (6.1.67) = *jñva-nák/náś* (36) = *jñva-nák/-náś* (39; 4.56).

8.2.64 m-aḥ na-ḥ dhāto-ḥ

The substitute phoneme n replaces [a *padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52] phoneme m of a verbal stem (dhāto-ḥ).

prá-śām-ya-ti = *pra+śam+KviP* (3.2.76) = *pra-śām* (6.4.15)+*sU* = *pra-śām+ṭ* (6.1.68) = *pra-śán*.

8.2.65 ¹m-²v-oś ca

[The substitute phoneme n replaces a stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme m of a verbal stem 64 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] m-^o or v-^o.

gam+IAÑ = *dT+gam+ŚaP-luK* (2.4.73)+*va/ma* = *d-gam+ṭ¹+va/ma* = *d-gan-va/ma*; *gam+KvdsU* = *ja-gam+vds-* (6.1.8) = *ja-gan-vds-*.

8.2.66 ¹śa-²sajús-oḥ rU-ḥ

The substitute phoneme rU replaces [*padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of an expression ending in 1.1.72] phoneme *-s and also of the expression *sajús* 'with'.

1. $agnf+sU = agnf-s = agnf+rU \text{ } d\text{-tra} = agnf-r \text{ } d\text{-tra}$ 'fire (is) here'.
2. $sa-jás+devé-bhiḥ = sa-járU+devé-bhiḥ = sa-jár \text{ } devé-bhiḥ$ (RV 7.34.15) 'with the gods'.

8.2.67 $ava-yāḥ=śveta-vāḥ=puro-dāś \text{ } ca$

The expressions $ava-yāḥ$ 'sharer in the sacrificial oblation', $śveta-vāḥ$ 'borne by white horses' and $puro-dāś$ 'offered as a homage before' are introduced [with substitute phoneme rU replacing the $padá$ 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme 66].

1. $ava+yaḥj+NviN$ (3.2.72) = $ava-yáj+sU = ava-yáj+\emptyset$ (6.1.68) = $ava-yáj+Das$ (3.7.71 *vārttika*) = $ava-yás = ava-yárU = ava-yáh$ (3.15). According to exegetical literature the introduction of affix [Das] in the place of [NviN] is for the purpose of justifying these forms in the vocative singular also as irregular expressions.
2. $śvet-ā-h \text{ } ena-m \text{ } vāh-a-nti = śveta+vah+NviN+sU = śveta-vāḥ+\emptyset \text{ } śveta-várU = śveta-vāḥ$ (3.15). The introduction of [Das] in the place of [NviN] is to generate forms like $śveta-vo-bhiḥ/bhyah$ in opposition to $śveta-vāḥ-au$, as/am .
3. $pur-dś \text{ } dāś-a-nte \text{ } ena-m = pur-dś+dāś+NviN+sU$ (3.2.71) = $puro-dāś+sU = puro-dārU+\emptyset$ (6.1.68) = $puro-dāḥ$ (3.15).

8.2.68 $āhan$

[The substitute phoneme rU 66 replaces the $padá$ 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (n)] of $āhan$ - 'day'.

$$āhan+bhyām/bhis = dharU+bhyām/bhis = dha-u+bhyām/bhis \text{ } (6.1.113) = dho-bhyām/bhis.$$

8.2.69 $ra-ḥ \text{ } a-sUP-i$

The substitute phoneme r replaces [$padá$ 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (n)] of $āhan$ - 'day' 68] when not preceding sUP triplets ($a-sUP-i$).

$dhan+sU \text{ } da-dā-ti = dhan+\emptyset^1$ (7.1.23) $da-dā-ti = dhan \text{ } da-dā-ti = dhar \text{ } da-dā-ti$ 'gives during the day'; if [rU] were substituted 6.1.113 would have operated to generate forms like $*aho \text{ } da-dā-ti$; since the replacement of sU is by luK (\emptyset^1) metarule 1.1.63 does not apply here, but before other sUP triplets: $dho-bhyām/bhis/bhyas$.

8.2.70 ¹amnás=²ūdhas=³avás=ity ubhayáthā chándas-l

In the domain of Chándas either (ubhayáthā) [substitute phoneme rU 68 or r 69 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme s 66 of] amnás- 'secretly, unawares', ūdhas- 'udder' and av-ás 'downwards'.

amnás + eva = amnárU eva = amný eva (3.17) = amnāṭ eva (3.19)/amnár eva.

Similarly: ūdha eva/ūdhar eva; av-á eva/av-dr eva.

8.2.71 bhúvas=ca mahā-vy-ā-hṛ-té-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 70 either substitute phoneme rU 68 or r 69 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (s) of] bhúv-as used as a great mystical symbol (mahā-vy-ā-hṛ-té-ḥ).

bhúv-as iti = bhuv-arU iti = bhúv-ay iti = bhúv-a iti/bhúv-ar iti; but bhū+Ñas(I) = bhúv-as víśve-ṣu = bhúv-arU víśve-ṣu = bhuv-a-u víśve-ṣu = bhúv-a víśve-ṣu adu-ane-ṣu yajñ-ḥya-ḥ (RV 10.50.4).

8.2.72 ¹vásU=²srámsU=³dhvámsU=⁴anaḍúh-ām da-ḥ

The substitute phoneme d replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of stems ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] (K)vásU (3.2.107) and of stems °-sráms 'fall' (I 790), °-dhváms 'destroy' (I 791) and anaḍúh- 'beast of burden'.

1. *vid+KvásU = vid-vás+bhyaṁ/bhis/bhyas = vid-vád-bhyaṁ/bhis/bhyas; 2. ukhā-sráms+bhyaṁ/bhis = ukhāśrād-bhyaṁ/bhis. 3. parṇa+dhváms+bhyaṁ = parṇa-dhvāṭs+bhyaṁ (6.4.24) = parṇa-dhvád-bhyaṁ.* In both these illustrations, before affix [KviP] the penultimate nasal of the verbal stems is replaced by ṭ (6.4.24) giving the nominal stems as *ukhā-srás-* and *parṇa-dhvás-* before sUP triplets.

4. *anaḍ-úh+bhyaṁ/bhis/bhyas = anaḍ-úd-bhyaṁ/bhis/bhyas.*

8.2.73 tiP-l án-as-te-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme d 72 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of an expression ending in 1.1.72 s 66] except that of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 58) [before the l-substitute] tiP.

cakās+IAñ = dṭ+cakās+ṭ¹+t(iP) = d-cakās+t = d-cakās+ṭ (6.1.68) = dcaḥ = d-cakāt (4.56) but as+IAñ = dṭ+as+ṭ¹+t = dś+t = dś+ṭ (6.1.68) = śrU (66) = śḥ (3.15): āp-a evā-idān salilā-n sdrva-m āh. This form is restricted to the domain of Chándas where by 7.3.97 initial increment [rṭ] is not inserted at the head of the single phoneme l-substitute.

8.2.74 siP-i dhāto-r=rU-h=vā

The substitute phoneme rU optionally (vā) replaces [padā 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] of a verbal stem (dhāto-h) [ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme s 66 before 1.1.66 the l-substitute] siP.

When [rU] is not the substitute, the alternative substitute is phoneme [d 72].

$$\begin{aligned} cakās+IA\tilde{N} &= dT+cakās+\emptyset^1+siP) = d-cakās+\emptyset \quad (6.1.68)+tvām = \\ d-cakārU/d-cakād+tvām &= (a) d-cakāh+tvām \quad (3.15) = d-cakās tvām \quad (3.34)/ (b) \\ d-cakāi tvām \quad (4.55). \end{aligned}$$

8.2.75 d-as=ca

[The substitute phoneme d 72 or rU 74 replaces the padā 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem 74 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] "-d [before 1.1.66 the l-substitute siP 74].

$$\begin{aligned} bhid+IA\tilde{N} &= dT+bhid+ŚnaM+s(IP) = d-bhi-na-d+\emptyset \quad (6.1.68) - \\ d-bhi-na-rU/d-bhi-na-d + tvām &= d-bhinarU/d-bhi-na-d + tvām = \\ d-bhi-na-h+tvām \quad (3.15) &= d-bhi-na-s tvām \quad (3.34)/d-bhi-nat tvām \quad (4.55). \end{aligned}$$

8.2.76 'r-²v-oh upa-dhā-y-āh dīrghā-h iK-ah

A substitute long (dīrghā-h: vowel 1.2.28) replaces the penultimate phoneme (upa-dhā-y-āh) [of a padā 1.16] denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r, j) [of a verbal 74 padā 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme r or v.

$$\begin{aligned} g_f^f+KviP \quad (3.2.76) &= gfr+\emptyset \quad (7.1.67,100)+sU = gfr+\emptyset \quad (6.1.68) = gfr = gfh \quad (3.15) \\ pūr+sU &= pūr+\emptyset \quad (6.1.68) = pūr=pūh. \end{aligned}$$

8.2.77 hāL-i ca

[A substitute long vowel replaces the penultimate vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r, j) of a verbal stem 74 ending in 1.1.72 r or v before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant also (hāL-i ca).

$$\begin{aligned} d-stf+Kta &= d-stir+na \quad (42, 7.1.100) = d-stir-na- \quad (4.1) \text{ 'strewn, scattered';} \\ d-fu+ŚyaN+tiP &= d-fu-ya-ti \text{ 'plays, gambles'.} \end{aligned}$$

8.2.78 upa-dhā-y-āh ca

[A substitute long vowel replaces a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r, j) 76 of a verbal stem 74 before 1.1.66] the penultimate [phoneme r or v of that stem 76 followed by consonants 77].

murch+Ktd = *murch-iT-tā-* (7.2.35) 'fainted', but *ciri-nā-ti* 'hurts, kills'. In the case of penultimate [v] no examples occur since by 6.1.66 it is replaced by [θ] before all consonants other than [y], and the present rule is blocked out in the case of forms like *vi+IIṬ* = *vi-vi+ātus/ās* = *vi-vy-ātus/ās* since [y]-replacement of the vowel is not considered as a consonant by 1.1.56.

8.2.79 ná ¹BHA-²kur-³chur-ām

[A substitute long vowel 76] does not (ná) replace [a penultimate vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) 74 of] a BHA theme [ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme r or v 76] and of kur- and chur- [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 77].

1. By definition a BHA stem is one which precedes an affix beginning with a vowel or [y- 1.4.18] and to that extent modifies the operation of 77 above to which this is an exception. *dhúr-am vah-a-ti* = *dhur+yāT* (4.4.77) = *dhúr-ya-* 'fit to be harnessed'.
2. *kr+IIṆ* = *kr+u+yās+e+t* (3.4.104,107) = *kur-θ-yāθ-θ-t* (6.4.109-110; 7.2.79) = *kur-yā-t*.
3. *chur+IIṆ* (*ādiṣ-i*) = *chur+yās+e+t* = *chur-yāθ-θ-t* (29).

8.2.80 adás-aḥ=á-se-r d-āt=u d-aḥ=ma-h

The substitute phoneme u replaces the phoneme [occurring after 1.1.67] phoneme d of the pronominal stem adás- 'that' when it does not [end in 1.1.72] °-s, and the substitute phoneme m replaces phoneme d.

adás+am/auT/Tā/bhyām = *adda+am/auT/Tā/bhyām* (7.2.102) = *add+am/au/ā/bhyām* (6.1.97) = *amā+am/au/ā/bhyām* = *amū-m* (6.1.107)/*amā* (6.1.102)/*amū-nā* (7.3.120; 8.2.3)/*amū-bhyām* (7.3.102). But *adāḥ icch-a-ti* = *adas+KyāC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *adas-yā-ti* 'desires that'.

8.2.81 eT-aḥ=IT bahu-vac-an-é

The substitute phoneme long I(T) replaces phoneme e(T) [following phoneme d of the pronominal stem adás- 'that' 80] when denoting 'many' (bahu-vac-an-é) [and phoneme m replaces phoneme d 80].

adda+Jas = *adda+ŚI* (7.1.17) = *add+I* (6.1.97) = *ad-e* (6.1.87) = *am-f*; *adda+bhis* = *adda+bhis* (7.2.102) = *add+bhis* = *adē-bhis* (7.3.103) = *amf-bhis/bhyas/s-ām/au*.

8.2.82 vāk-yā-sya TE-ḥ plu-tá-ḥ=udátta-ḥ

A prolated (plu-tá-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) which is high-pitched (ud-átta-ḥ) replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel (TE-ḥ) of an utterance (vāk-yā-sya).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-ā] heading this section and extending up to the end of this pāda and will recur in each rule of this section as applicable.

8.2.83 praty-abhi-vād-é=á-sūdr-e

[A prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] when responding to (praty-abhi-vād-é) a respectful greeting, except in the case of a Śūdra.

abhi-vād-ay-e deva-dattó-hám ; bho áyuṣmān e-dhi deva-dat-táṣ but *áyuṣ-mān edhi tuṣajaka* / when Tuṣajaka is a śūdra.

8.2.84 dūr-āt=hū-t-é ca

[A prolated vowel with a high-pitched accent replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] also, in a call from afar (dūr-āt=hū-t-é ca).

ā-gacch-a bho māṇavaka deva-dat-táṣ 'Come, my lad, Devadatta!'

8.2.85 ¹hai-²he-pra-yog-é ¹hai-²hay-oḥ

When the particle /hai/ or /he/ is used [in a call from afar 84, a prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] hai or hé.

haiṣ/héṣ deva-dat-ta/déva-datta haṣ/héṣ.

8.2.86 guró-r án-ṛT-aḥ án-anty-ya-sya=ápi ékaika-sya prāc-ām

According to Eastern Grammarians [either in response to a respectful salutation of a non-śūdra 83 or in a call from afar 84, a substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces 82] one by one (ékaika-sya) a metrically heavy (guró-ḥ) syllable whether or not (ápi) occurring at the end (án-ant-ya-sya), excluding the vowel short ṛ(T).

déṣva-dat-ta/deva-dáṣt-ta/deva-dat-táṣ but *kṛṣṇa-mitrá/kṛṣṇa-mitráṣ.*

8.2.87 om abhy-ā-dā-n-e

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched] replaces the vowel of om at the beginning (abhy-ā-dā-n-e) [of an utterance 82].

óṣm agní-m ā-e puró-hi-ta-m (RV 1.1.1).

8.2.88 y-é yaj-ña-kar-maṇ-i

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the vowel 82 of the pronominal padá 1.16] y-é in a sacrificial action (yajña-kar-maṇ-i).

yéṣ yaj-ā-make 'we who sacrifice' (MS 1.4.11) but not in *yé devāso divy ékādaśa sthā* or in *ye yāj-ā-maha itī pāñic-ā-kṣara-m* (TS 1.8.11.1) while studying the text and not performing a sacrifice.

8.2.89 pra-ṇav-ā-ṣ TE-ḥ

[In a sacrificial action 88] the substitute pra-ṇav-ā (= the particle óṣm) [prolated and high-pitched 82] replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel [of the utterance 82].

ap-āṁ rétā-m-s-i ji-nu-atóṣM (= *ṇnu-a-tí+óṣM*) 'he quickens the germs of waters'.

8.2.90 yāj-yā=antā-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces 82] the final vowel of a sacrificial formula (yāj-yā-antā-ḥ) [in a sacrificial action 88].

stóm-air vidh-em-ā-gnáy-e = *stóm-air vidh-em-āgnayāśi* (107) (RV 8.43.11) 'may we serve Agni with praise'.

jihvā-m agne ca-kṛ-ṣe hav-ya-vāh-am (RV 10.8.8) = *jihvā-m agne ca-kṛ-ṣe hav-ya-vāhāṣm*.

8.2.91 ¹brū-hí-²pr-é-sya-³śraúṣaṭ-⁴vaúṣaṭ-⁵ā-vahā-nām ādé-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces] the first syllable (ādé-ḥ) of the expressions brū-hí 'speak', pr-é-sya 'send forth', śraúṣaṭ 'may he hear us', vaúṣaṭ 'may he lead us' and ā-vah-a 'lead' [in a sacrificial action 88].

1. *agnáy-e-nu brūṣ-hí*; 2. *agnáy-e go-máyā-n-i pr-éṣ-sya*; 3. *da-tu śraúṣaṭ*; 4. *sóma-ey-ā-gne vr̥thiṣ vaúṣaṭ*; 5. *agní-m āṣ-vah-da*.

8.2.92 agn-ī-dh=pr-e-ṣ-aṇé pára-sya ca

In an order given to the priest to kindle the sacrificial fire (agn-ī-dh=pr-e-ṣ-aṇ-é) [a substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched 82 replaces the first syllable 91] as well as the one following it [pára-sya ca] [in a sacrificial action 88].

áṣ-śráṣu-ay-a/śṣ śráṣu-ay-a 'announce!'.
[100]

8.2.93 vibhāṣā prṣ-ṭa-prati-vac-an-é he-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces the syllabic of particle hi occurring at the end of a response to a question (prṣ-ṭa-prati-vac-an-é).

d-kar-ṣ-r-ḥ káṭa-m deva-dat-ta? d-kār-ṣ-an hiS/hi 'Have you made a mat, O Devadatta? I have made (it) indeed!'.
[101]

8.2.94 ni-grh-ya=anu-yog-é ca

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82 optionally 93 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] which repeats something which has been refuted (ni-grh-ya=anu-yog-é: i.e., in a manner of reproach, after it has been refuted).

d-ni-tya-ḥ śabda-ḥ ity ātthāś/āttha 'thus you pretend that the word is not eternal!'.
[102]

8.2.95 ā-mreḍ-i-ta-m bhárts-an-e

[A substitute prolated vowel with high pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of an āmreḍita (1.2) to denote a threat (bhárts-an-e).

caúra cauráṣ! vṛṣala vṛṣaláṣ! dḍeyo dasyóṣ! ghaṭ-á-y-i-ṣyá-mi tvā 'I will have you punished, O thief/O vagrant/O slave!'.
[103]

8.2.96 aṅgá-yuk-ta-m tiÑ ā-kāṅkṣ-á-m

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of a verbal (tiÑ) [padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] an l-substitute (tiÑ), co-occurring with th particle aṅgá [to denote a threat 95] which is dependent on another to complete the sense (ā-kāṅkṣ-á-m).

anāḍ kāj-dṣ/vy-ā-har-dṣ idānān jñā-sya-ei jāhna 'well, go on crying. O wretch, you will soon know'; cf. 8.1.33.

8.2.97 vi-cār-yā-m-āṇā-n-ām

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] denoting a deliberation of choice (vi-cār-yā-m-āṇā-n-ām).

ho-tavya-m dīkṣ-īd-sya grhāṣi (107) *na ho-tavyāddṣ-m?* 'should one offer an oblation at the house of the consecrated person or not?' In the form *grh-ē* (= *grh-ā+ñi*), by 107 below the first half of the diphthong is replaced by the pluta and the second half by short vowel *i*.

8.2.98 pūrva-m tu bhāṣā-y-ām

In current speech (bhāṣā-y-ām) [a substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82 replaces the syllable beginning with the last syllable 82] of the first (pūrva-m alternative only) [when denoting a choice of deliberation 97].

dhi-r nūṣ rājju-r nu? '(is this) a snake or a rope?'

8.2.99 prati-śrāv-aṇ-e ca

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] which is a response to a promise (prati-śrāv-aṇ-e) or agreement.

gā-m me de-hi bhoḥ: ahām te da-dā-mṣ 'give me the promised cow; I am giving it to you'. The word [prati-śrāv-aṇa-] also means 'hearkening': *dēva-dat-ta bhoḥ!:* *kīm āt-thāḍ?* 'O Devadatta, what have you been saying?'

8.2.100 ān-udāttam 'pras-na=antā=²abhī-pūj-i-tay-oḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel 82] which is low-pitched (ānudāttam) replaces [the final syllable of an utterance 82] denoting a question (prasnāntā-°) or a praise (°-abhī-pūj-i-tay-oḥ).

a-gam-āṣṭ pūrvāṣṇ grāmāṣṇ agni-bhūtaṣi/paṭāṣu 'Have you gone to the eastern villages, O Agnibhūta! / O wise one?' Cf. 105 below for the svaritā accent and 107 for the accentuation on diphthongs.

8.2.101 cid iti ca upa-mā=arth-é pra-yuj-yá-m-ān-e

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 which is low-pitched 100 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] co-occurring with the particle *cit*, denoting comparison (*upamā=arth-é*).

agni-cit bhā-yāṣṭi 'may he shine like Agni' but *katham-oid āh-uḥ* 'they seldom speak'.

8.2.102 upāri-svid ās-īṣ-t=iti ca

The expression *upārisvid āsīṣt* is introduced [with a substitute prolated vowel 82 with low-pitch 100 replacing the syllable beginning with the last of this utterance 82].

adhah svid ās-īṣt upāri svid ās-īṣt (RV 10.129.5) 'was perhaps below, was perhaps above'.

8.2.103 svar-i-tām ā-mreḍ-i-t-e ¹asūyā=²sam-mā-ti-³kópa- 'kúts-ane-ṣu

[A substitute prolated vowel 82] with svaritá accent replaces [the syllable beginning with the last vowel of a reduplicated 1.1 vocative occurring at the beginning of an utterance 1.8 before 1.1.66] the *āmreḍita* (= the following 1.2 vocative 1.8) to denote envy (*asūyā*), praise (*sam-mā-ti*), anger (*kópa*) or blame (*kútsana*).

1. *asūyā*: *abhi-rūpa-kāṣ abhi-rūpa-ka, rik-tā-m te ābhi-rūp-ya-m* 'O handsome one! vain is your handsome appearance'.
2. *sam-mā-ti*: *māṇavakāṣ māṇavaka śóbh-ana-ḥ khālv as-i* 'O lad, you are distinguished'.
3. *kópa*: *a-vi-nī-ta-kāṣ a-vi-nī-ta-ka idānñ jñā-sya-si jālma* 'O wretch, you will soon know'.
4. *kútsana*: *śakti-kāṣ śaktika rik-tā te śák-ti-ḥ* 'O missile-bearer, worthless is your missile'.

8.2.104 ¹kṣiyā=²āśís-³praiśé-ṣu tiñ ā-kāñkṣ-ā-m

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 with svaritá accent 103 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of a verbal [padá 1.16] which is dependent (on another finite verb to complete the sense: *tiñ ā-kāñkṣ-ā-m*) to denote an offence against established custom (*kṣiyā-*), a benediction (*-āśís-*) or a command (*-praiśé-ṣu*).

1. *svayāṁ rāth-ena yā-tiṣ upādhyayā-m padāti-m gam-ay-a-ti* (1.80).
2. *sut-ā-m-ś ca lap-śiṣ-tāṣ dhāna-m ca tāta* 'may you win sons as well as wealth'.
3. *kāta-m ku-rūṣ grāma-m ca gacch-a* 'make a mat and go to the village'.

8.2.105 ān-ant-ya-sya=āpi ¹praśná=²ā-khyānaya-oḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 with svaritá accent 103 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of the non-final as well as (āpi) [the final padás of an utterance 82] when denoting a question (praśná-°) or a narration (°-ā-khyā-naya-oḥ).

a-gam-āṣ-ḥ pūrvāṣn grāmāṣn agni-bhūtāṣi? (cf. 100 above).

a-gam-āṣ-ḥ pūrvāṣn grāmāṣn bhōṣḥ.

8.2.106 plu-t-aú aiC-aḥ iT=uT-au

A substitute prolated vowel [introduced by 84ff.] replaces the phonemes i(T) or u(T) of the diphthongs denoted by the siglum aiC (= ai, au) [respectively 1.3.10].

aśtikāyana! aúṣṭapagava! (207) where the diphthongs are considered to be four mātrā-s duration.

8.2.107 eC-aḥ á-pra-gr̥h-ya-sya=á-dūr-āt=hū-t-e pūrva-sya ardhá-sya=āT=úttara-sya ¹iT=²uT-au

[In the operations introduced by 83ff. above] except 'a call from afar' (á-dūr-āt=hū-t-e 84) relating to the non-prag̥h-ya diphthongs denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [a substitute prolated vowel 82] ā(T) replaces their first half (pūrva-sya) and i(T), u(T) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the second half (of e/ai and o/au).

This results in [ā3i] for e/ai or [ā3u] for o/au with high or low pitch, and [ā3i] for e/ai and [ā3u] for o/au with svaritá accent (106).

By a vārttika the operation, however, is restricted to 83,90,97 and 100. Exception: *māla+au = māla+Śi* (7.1.18) = *māl-ś* (1.1.11).

8.2.108 tay-or ¹y-²v-au aC-i sám-hi-tā-y-ām

In continuous utterance (sám-hi-tā-y-ām) the substitute phonemes y and v [respectively 1.3.10] replace them (tay-oḥ = iT, uT 107) [before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i).

When *agne+āśā* occur together under the context of 97 or 100 above: *agnāśi āśā/*
agnāśi āśā = agnāśy āśā/agnāśy āśā etc.

The word [sām-hitā-y-ām] 'in continuous utterance' forms a governing rule till the end of this chapter in the next two pāda-s.

8.3.1 ¹matU-²vásO-_h rU sam-búd-dh-au chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the substitute phoneme rU replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] matU(P) and (K)vásU [before 1.1.86] the vocative singular sUP triplet [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *indra marutvah i-há pá-hi sóma-m* 'O Indra, accompanied by Maruts, drink Soma here': *marút+matuP+sU* = *marut+vant+s* (7.1.71) *marut-vant+θ* (6.1.68) = *marut-vanθ* (2.23) = *marut-varU* = *marut-vah* (15) (RV 3.51.7).
2. *mīd̥h-vas tokā-ya tánayā-ya mī-a* 'O bountiful one, be gracious to our children': *mīh+KudsU* = *mīd̥h+vds* (2.31) = *mīd̥h-vas* (6.1.12)+*sU* (voc.) = *mīd̥h-vans+s* (7.1.70 +*sU*) = *mīd̥h-vans+θ* (6.1.68) = *mīd̥h-vanθ* (2.23) = *mīd̥h-varU* = *mīd̥h-vah* (15)+*tokāya* = *mīd̥h-vas tokā-ya* (34).

8.3.2 á-tra ánu-nāsika-_h pūrva-sya tu vā

Here (á-tra = in the sub-section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 12 below, the following governing rule recurs:) But (tu) a nasalised (vowel: ánu-nāsika-_h) optionally (vā) replaces the phoneme preceding (pūrva-sya) [the phoneme which is the substituendum of rU 1, in continuous utterance 2.108].

Thus, in continuous utterance *sam+krN̄* = *sam+suT+kr-* (6.1.137) = *sarU+s-kr-* (5) *sāh-s-kr-* (15) = *sās-s-kr-* (34).

8.3.3 āT-ah=aT-i nitya-m

[A substitute nasalized vowel 2] necessarily (nitya-m) replaces the phoneme long ā(T) [preceding rU 2 before 1.1.86] the phonemes denoted by the siglum aT̄ (vowels and h, y, v and r) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Rule 9 below introduces the substitute [rU] for padá-final [°-n]: *mahān as-i* = *mahārU as-i* = *mahāy as-i* (17) *mahā as-i* (19).

8.3.4 ánu-nāsik-āt pára-_h anu-svār-á-_h

The increment m̄ (anu-svār-á-_h) is inserted after (pára-_h) [the vowel preceding 2 rU 1 when the substitute nasalized vowel does not optionally replace the vowel before rU 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

sām+kr-N = *sām+suT+kr* = *sārU-s-kr* = *sār̄rU+s-kr-* *sām̄-h-s-kr-* (15) = *sām̄-s-s-kr-* (36) = *sām̄-s-s-kr-*.

8.3.5 sám-aḥ suṭ-i

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the preverb] sám-° [before 1.1.66] the initial increment suṭ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Ex. cited under 2-4 above.

8.3.6 púm-aḥ kṣaY-i=aM-par-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] púm- 'man, male' [before 1.1.66] unvoiced stops (kṣaY-i) followed by phonemes denoted by the siglum aM (= vowels, semivowels or nasal stops).

[púm-] here represents a part of the full stem [púms-] when it is padá-final, since padá-final [s] following [m] is replaced by Ø (2.23). *púms-f kām-d-ḥ a-syāḥ* = *púms-Ø¹+kām-a+TāP* (4.1.4) = *púmØ+kām-ā* = *púrU+kāmā* = *púrnrU-kāmā* (4) = *púrns-kāmā* (34)/*pús-kāmā* (2) 'desiring the male' (by a vārtika 37 is blocked).

8.3.7 n-as=chaV-i á-pra-sān

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] n [before 1.1.66] phonemes denoted by the siglum chaV (= ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, and t) [followed by a vowel, semivowel or nasal stops 6] excluding that of the expression pra-sān [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhāv-ān ci-no-ti = *bhāvnrU ci-no-ti* = *bhāvānrU ci-no-ti* (2, 4) = *bhāvāns ci-no-ti* (34) = *bhāvāns ci-no-ti* (4.41)/*bhāvās ci-no-ti*; *bhāvāns/bhāvās chād-ay-a-ti*; *bhāvāns/bhāvās ṭik-a-te*; *bhāvāns/bhāvās tar-a-ti*. But *prasān chād-ay-a-ti* etc.

8.3.8 ubha-yá-thā ṛk-ṣú

In the domain of Ṛgveda both (ubha-yá-thā) [n 7 or its replacement rU 1] occur [in continuous utterance 2.108 before 1.1.66 the phonemes ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, or t followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal stop 7].

tá-smīn/tá-smīs/tá-smīm-s tvā da-dhā-ti. 7 above is made optional in the domain of RV

8.3.9 *ḍīrgh-āt aṭ-i sa-mānā-pad-e*

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces *padā* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 occurring after 1.1.67] a long (vowel 1.2.28 : *ḍīrgh-āt*) [before 1.1.66] phonemes denoted by the siglum aṭ (vowels and h, y, v or r) within the same quarter [of a ṛk 8].

The word [ubhayā-tha 8] recurs in this rule, so that the alternate form retains the original *padā*-final [n]: *ādit-yān yāc-i-ṣā-mahe* (RV 8.87.1); *māhān īndro yā ḍjās-a* (RV 8.8 1) 'Indra, majestic in power': (*māhārU īndra-h* = *māhāy īndra-h* = *māhā/māhām īndra-h*): *māhā īndro yā ḍjās-a*.

8.3.10 *nṛ-n p-e*

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 of the nominal *padā* 1.16] *nṛn* [before 1.1.66] initial phoneme p-^a (of the following expression) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nṛn pā-hi/prī-ṇī-hi = *nṛrU* → *nṛḥ* = *nṛmḥ pā-hi/prī-ṇī-hi* 'protect/love men'.

8.3.11 *svātavān pāy-au*

[The substitute phoneme rU replaces the final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 of the nominal *padā* 1.16] *svātavān* [before 1.1.66] the expression *pāy-ú*- 'protector' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

svātavāḥ pāy-ú-r agne (RV 4.2.6) 'a powerful protector, O Agni': *svātavārU pāy-úr agne* = *svātavāḥ pāy-ú-r agne*.

8.3.12 *kān āmredī-e*

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the *padā* final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal *padā* 1.16] *kān* [before 1.1.66], its *āmredī*, [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kān+kān = *kārU+kān* = *kāmḥ+kān* (4;15) = *kāms-kān/kās-kān* (2).

8.3.13 *ḍh-aḥ ḍh-e lóp-a-h*

Substitute *lópa* (Ø) replaces the phoneme *ḍh* (before 1.1.66) phoneme *ḍh* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

In spite of the governing rule 1.16, since phoneme [ḍh] occurring as *padā*-final is covered by 2.39, the present rule applies only to a non-*padā*-final context.

$lih+Ktd = lidh+td$ (2.31) = $lidh+dhd-$ (2.40) = $lidh+dhd-$ (4.41) = $li\emptyset-dhd-$ = $li\emptyset dhd-$ 'licked'. The governing meta-rule 2.1 does not apply here, since this particular situation is specifically made explicit by 6.3.11 whereby the preceding member denoted by the siglum [a]N = a, i, u] is replaced by the corresponding long vowel

8.3.14 r-ah r-i

[Substitute lopa (\emptyset) replaces padá 1.16 final phoneme 13] r [before 1.1.66] (another phoneme) r (of the following expression) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. $r+r$: $nfr+rak-td-$ = $nfi\emptyset-rak-ta-$ (6.3.111) 'colorless, faded'; $dúr+rak-ta-$ = $dú\emptyset-rak-ta-$ 'badly dyed'; 2. $rU+r$: $agni+sU+ratha+sU$ = $agnirU+ratharU$ = $agnir-ratha-h$ (15). 3. Also operates within a padá: $spardh+yaN-luK$ = $pā-spardh+yaN-luK$ (7.4.83)+ $LA\dot{N}$ = $dT+pā-spardh+\emptyset^1+siP$ = $d-pā-spardh+\emptyset$ (6.1.68) = $d-pā-spard$ (2.39) = $d-pā-sparrU$ (2.75) = $d-pā-spār\emptyset h$ (15).

8.3.15 ¹khāR=²ava-sā-nayo-r vi-sarj-anīya-h

The substitute visarjanīya (= h) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.51 phoneme r 14 before 1.1.66] unvoiced consonants (khāR-¹) or at pausa (²-ava-sā-nay-oh).

$vṛkṣā+sU+chid+yaK+te$ = $vṛkṣā+rU+chid-ya-te$ (2.66) = $vṛkṣah chid-ya-te$ = $vṛkṣas chid-ya-te$ (34) = $vṛkṣas chid-ya-te$ (4.40) 'the tree is being cut'. In pausa: $rāmd+sU$ = $rāmd+rU$ = $rāmd-h$; $gir+sU$ = $gir+\emptyset$ = $gir-h$ (2.76).

8.3.16 rO-h suP-i

[The substitute visarjanīya 15 replaces] the substitute phoneme rU [before 1.1.66 the suP triplet] suP [locative plural].

$pāyas+suP$ = $pāyarU+su$ = $pāyah-su$ 'in/on milk/water' but $gir+su$ = $gir-su$ (2.76; 3.59).

8.3.17 ¹bho=²bhago=³agho=⁴a-pūrva-sya ya-h aŚ-i

The substitute phoneme y replaces [substitute phoneme rU 16] co-occurring with bhos 'an interjection', bhagos 'illustrious', aghos 'sinner' or phoneme-class /a/ [before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum aŚ (= voiced phonemes) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhos á-tra = *bhorU á-tra* (2.66) = *bhoy á-tra* = *bhoθ á-tra* (19); *bhago a-tra/agho á-tra*. *ká+sU ás-te* = *kárU ás-te* = *káy ás-te* = *ká ás-te* 'who is sitting?'; *brahmaṇá+Jas ás-ate* = *brāhmaṇárU ás-ate* = *brāmaṇáy ás-ate* = *brāhmaṇá ás-ate* 'brahmins are sitting'.

8.3.18 ¹v-²y-or laghú-pra-yat-na-tara-ḥ śākaṭāyaná-sya

The substitute glide phonemes *v* and *y* [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the *padá* 1.1.16 final 1.1.52 phonemes *v* (resulting from 6.1.78) and *y* (resulting from 6.1.78 as well as from 17 above) before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17]d according to the grammarian Śākaṭāyaná.

[laghú-pra-yat-na-tara-] 'more lightly pronounced, requiring lax articulation = a glide sound'. *bho¹/bhago²/agho² á-tra*; *ká² ás-te*; *asá² adityá-ḥ*.

8.3.19 lópa-a-ḥ śákalya-sya

The substitute *lópa* (θ) replaces [padá 2.26 final 1.1.52 phonemes *v* and *y* (resulting from 17 above as well as from 6.1.78) 18 before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to Śákalya.

bho/bhago/agho á-tra; *ká ás-te*; *asá aditya-ḥ*; *a-smá ud-dhar-a*.

8.3.20 oT-aḥ gārg-ya-sya

[The substitute *lópa* (θ) 19 replaces *padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme *y* 18 after 1.1.67 the phoneme] *o(T)* [before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to the grammarian Gārgya.

Examples as in 19 above.

8.3.21 uÑ-i ca pad-é

[The substitute *lópa* (θ) 19 replaces *padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phonemes *v* and *y* (resulting from 17 above and 6.1.78) 18] also [before 1.1.66] the *padá* *uÑ* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

tád+sU = *táa+sU* (7.2.102) = *tá+sU* (6.1.97) = *sá+s* (7.2.106)+*u*
ek-ā-gni-ḥ/eka-vimśati-ḥ = *sárU u* = *sáy u* = *sáθ u* = *sá u*
ek-ā-gni-ḥ/eka-vimśati-ḥ/eka-vimśá-vart-ani-ḥ (MS 2.7.20).

8.3.22 haL-i sārve-gām

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 19 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme y 18 (resulting from 17 above) before 1.1.66] a consonant (haL-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108] according to all grammarians.

bho/bhago/agho/kó has-a-ti; brāhmaṇá has-anti.

8.3.23 m-aḥ anu-svār-á-ḥ

The substitute m̐ (anu-svār-á-ḥ) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52] phoneme m [before 1.1.66 consonants 22 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vána+am+gacch-a-ti = vān-a-m̐ gacch-a-ti (6.1.107) 'goes to the forest'; pums+suP
= pumØ+sú (2.23) = pum̐-sú but gam+yáK+te = gam-yá-te (non-padá-final).*

8.3.24 n-as ca á-pada=anta-sya jhaL-i

[The substitute anu-svār-á m̐ 23] also replaces a non-padá-final (á-pad-ā-nta-sya) phoneme n as well as (ca) [m̐ 23 before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum jhaL (= a non-nasal consonant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. n: *páyasa+S̐i (7.1.20) = páyasa-nuM-s̐-i (7.1.72) = páyāsa-i (6.4.8) = páyāsa-i*
'milks/waters'.
2. m: *ā+kram+sa+te = ā-kram̐-sa-te 'will be overcome', but han-yá-te/
gam-yá-te.*

8.3.25 ma-ḥ rāj-i sám-aḥ Kv-au

The substitute phoneme m replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m 23 of the particle] sám- " [before 1.1.66 the verbal stem] rāj- 'rule, govern', co-occurring with [the affix 3.1.1] Kv̐(P) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Exception to 23. *sám+rāj+Kv̐P (4.3.61)+sU = sam-rāj+Ø (6.1.68) = sam-rāḥ*
(2.36) = sam-rāḥ (2.39; 4.56).

8.3.26 h-e mǎ-par-e vā

[The substitute phoneme m̐ 25] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m̐ 23 before 1.1.66] phoneme h- co-occurring before m̐ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kfm/kfñ mhal-ay-a-ti 'what is he shaking?'

8.3.27 nǎ-par-e na-h

The substitute phoneme n [optionally 26 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m 23 before 1.1.66 phoneme h 26] co-occurring before phoneme n [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kfm/kfñ hnu-te 'what is he taking away?'

8.3.28 ¹n-²n-oñ ¹kuK-²tuK śaR-i

[Final increments 1.1.46] kuK and tuK [respectively 1.3.10] are [optionally 26 inserted at the end of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes °-ñ and °-ñ [before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum śaR (= sibilant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. °-ñ: *prāñe+sU* = *prāñe+∅* (6.1.68) = *prāñ∅* (2.23) = *prāñ + śe-te* = *prāñ+kuK śe-te* = *prāñk śe-te* 'lies down facing east'. 2. °-ñ: *van śe-te* = *vanñ śe-te*.

8.3.29 d-añ s-i dhyT

[An initial increment 1.1.46] dhyT is [optionally 26 inserted at the head of a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54 phoneme] s-° [after 1.1.67 a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] °-d [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mádhu le-dhi = *madhu+lñ+KviP* (3.2.76)+sU = *madhu-lñ+∅* (6.1.68) = *mudhu-lñh* (2.31) = *madhu-lñd* (2.39) *sñd-a-ti* = *madhu-lñd+dhyT-sñd-da-ti* = *madhu-lñ+tsñd-a-ti/sñd-a-ti* (4.42,55).

8.3.30 n-as ca

[An initial increment 1.1.46] dhyT 29 is optionally 26 inserted at the head of a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54 the phoneme s-° 29 after 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] phoneme °-n also (ca) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mahát+sU = *mahát-n-t+sU* (7.1.20) = *mahánt+∅* (6.1.68; 4.10) = *mahánt∅* (2.23)+sarp-d-h = *mahánt dharpá-h/sarp-d-h* = *mahánt tarpá-h/sarpá-h* (4.55).

8.3.31 ś-i tuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] tuK is [optionally 26 inserted at the end of a padá 1.16 terminating in 1.1.72 phoneme n 30 before 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54] phoneme ś- " [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhāvañ śe-te/bhāvañ+tuK śe-te = bhāvañ-c se-te (4.40) = bhāvañc che-te (4.63)
'your honor is lying down'.

8.3.32 ṇaM-aḥ=hrasv-āt aC-i ṇaMuṭ nitya-m

[An initial increment 1.1.46] denoted by the siglum ṇaM (= ṇ, ṇ, n) is [respectively 1.3.10 inserted at the head of a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54] a vowel (aC-i) [after 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes denoted by the siglum ṇaM(= ṇ, ṇ, n) [occurring after 1.1.67] a short (hrasv-āt: vowel 1.2.28) necessarily (nitya-m).

1. *praty-āñ ās-te = praty-āñ+nās-te* 'sits facing east'.
2. *sugāñ ās-te = sugāñ-nās-te* 'the accountant is sitting'.
3. *kur-v-āñ ās-te = kur-v-āñ-nās-te* 'sits while performing'.

8.3.33 maY-aḥ uÑ-aḥ va-ḥ vā

The substitute phoneme v optionally (vā) replaces the particle uÑ [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant denoted by the siglum maY (= other than a semivowel, palatal nasal or aspirant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

śām u as-tu vēdi-ḥ/śām v as-tu vēdi-ḥ 'may the sacrificial altar be propitious'. *tād u/v d-sya rēṇaḥ* 'that indeed is his/its seed'.

8.3.34 vi-sarj-anīya-sya sa-ḥ

The substitute phoneme s replaces the vi-sarj-anīya [before 1.1.66 unvoiced consonants (khaR-i) 15 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *vrkṣā-ḥ chid-ya-te (15) = vrkṣā-s chid-ya-te = vrkṣā-ś chid-ya-te (4.40)* 'the tree is being cut'.
2. *vspra-ḥ (2.66; 3.15) tiṣṭh-a-ti = vspra-s tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'the sage stands'.
3. *vrkṣā-ḥ ṭik-a-te = vrkṣā-s ṭik-a-te = vrkṣā-ś ṭik-a-te (4.41)* 'the tree moves'.

8.3.35 śāR-par-e vi-sarj-anfya-h

A substitute h (vi-sarj-anfya-h) replaces [a visarjanfya before 1.1.66 unvoiced consonants 15] co-occurring before sibilants (śāR-par-e) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

pūruṣa-h kṣātrā-m pib-a-ti 'man drinks milk/water'; *śōbh-ana-h tsdru-h* 'beautiful hilt'; *ghanāghand-h kṣōbh-aṇa-ś carṣaṇī-nām* (RV 10.103.1) 'striking down and agitating people'.

By stipulating a visarjanja as the substitute, its allomorphs jihvā-mūfya and upa-dhmā-nfya are blocked out, cf. 37 below.

8.3.36 vā śāR-i

[A substitute visarjanfya (h) 35] optionally (vā) replaces [a visarjanfya 34 before 1.1.66] sibilants (śāR-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vrkṣā-h/vrkṣā-ś śe-te (4.40); *plakṣā-h/plakṣā-ś śand-e* (4.41); *sārah/sāras sar-a-ti* 'the tree sleeps/the Plakṣa tree in the forest/the stream flows'.

8.3.37 ¹kU-²pV-oh ¹Xk-²Xp-au ca

The substitute phonemes Xk (= jihva-mūl-fya-) and Xp (upa-dhmā-nfya-) [in addition to a visarjanfya (h) 35 respectively 1.3.10 replace a visarjanfya 34 before 1.1.66] velar and labial stops (kU-pV-oh).

The t.t. jihvā-mūfya is derived by 4.3.62. *nāra-h/nāra-Xk kar-o-ti* 'the man makes'; *nāra-h/nāra-Xp pac-a-ti* 'the man cooks'.

8.3.38 śa-h ś-pada-ād-au

The substitute phoneme s replaces [a visarjanfya (h) before 1.1.66 velar and palatal stops 37] which do not occur as initials of padā-s (ś-pada=ād-au) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Only affixes are intended by this restriction (ś-padaḍau), and they are: *pāśaP* (5.3.47), *kalpaP* (5.3.67), *kā* (5.3.70) and *kām-yāC* (3.1.9).

pāyas+kalpaP = *pāyaś-kalpaP* (2.66; 3.18) = *pāyas-kalpa* 'like or resembling milk'; similarly *pāyas-kām-yā-ti* 'desires milk'; *pāyas-pāśa* 'inferior or adulterated milk'; *pāyas-kā* 'milk'. But *pāya-Xk kām-ay-a-te/pāya-Xp pib-a-ti* (37).

8.3.39 iN²-aḥ ṣa-ḥ

The substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ replaces [a visarjanīya (ḥ) 34 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a phoneme denoted by the siglum iN² [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 which are not initial of a padá 38, in continuous utterance 2.108].

The siglum iN² is derived with the second IT marker N² of SS 6 [iĀN²] and includes all vowels other than the phoneme class a, the voiced aspirant ḥ and the semivowels. But the phonemes really involved are the vowels other than phoneme-class a, and the semivowel r with which alone s occurs as a posterior member of a cluster or conjunct. *sarpiś+pāśa-/kalpa-/kḍ/kām-yā-ti* = *sarpiṣ-pāśa-/kalpa-/kḍ/kām-yā-ti*, but *hāri-ḥ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti=hari-Xk kar-o-ti/hari-Xp pac-a-ti*.

8.3.40 ¹nāmas-²purās-or gāty-oḥ

[The substitute phoneme dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 visarjanīya (ḥ) 34 of] the gati (1.4.80) particles nām-as 'homage' and pur-ās- 'in front' (i.e., functioning as gāti 1.4.67,74) [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

In the section beginning here the expressions *the substitute phoneme dental sibilant s* (38) and *the substitute phoneme retroflex sibilant ṣ preceded by a phoneme denoted by the siglum iN²* (39) recur as governing rules. A visarjanīya following iN² will be replaced by retroflex ṣ while the dental s will replace the phoneme s.

nām-as+kar-tum = *nām-arU+kār-tum* (2.66) = *namaḥ-kārtum* (15) = *nam-as-kār-tum* 'to salute, bow down'; similarly *pur-as-ky-tum* = *pur-as-kār-tum* 'to place before or in front'. But *pūr+śas+kar-o-ti* = *pūr-aḥ/pūr-aXk kar-o-ti* (37) 'builds cities'.

8.3.41 ¹iT=²úT=upa-dha-sya ca á-praty-ay-a-sya

[The substitute phoneme retroflex ṣ 39 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of padá-s] other than affixes, containing phonemes short i(T) or u(T) as penultimate [before 1.1.66 velar or labial stops 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This rule pertains to [gāti- 40] particles *nś-*, *dús-*, *dūr-*, *bahś-*, *āvś-*, *cātús-* and *prādús-*.

1. *nś+ky-ta-* = *nśrU+ky-ta-* = *nśḥ-ky-ta-* = *nś-ky-ta-* 'expelled'; similarly *nś-pī-ta-* 'drunk up'. In like manner:
2. *dús-ky-ta-/pī-ta-* 'badly done/drunk'; 3. *bahś-ky-ta-/pī-ta-* 'expelled/drunk outside the house'; 4. *āvś-ky-ta-/pī-ta-* 'manifested/quietly drunk'; 5. *cātús-kaparda-* 'having four tufts' (RV 10.114.3); *cātus-pañcāśat* 'fifty-four', 6. *prādús-ky-ta-* 'made visible' but *hari-ḥ kar-o-ti/pīb-a-ti*.

8.3.42 *tirás-aḥ anyā-tará-syām*

[The substitute dental sibilant *s* 38] optionally (*anyā-tará-syām*) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* of the *gāti* 40 particle] *tirás* 'across' [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

tirah-kṛ-t-ya/kār-tum : *tiras-kṛ-t-ya/kār-tum* 'having despised/to despise', but
tirāḥ kṛ-tuā kāṇḍa-m ga-lā-h 'placing the log along he went'.

8.3.43 ¹*dvīs*=²*trīs*=³*catūr* *iti kṛtvās=arth-e*

[The substitute phoneme retroflex *ṣ* 38 optionally 42 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* 34 of] *dvīs* 'twice', *trīs* 'thrice' and *catūr* 'four times' when denoting the sense of [the affix 3.1.1] *kṛtvās* (5.4.17,20) 'times' [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

dvīḥ/dvīṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti; *trīḥ/trīṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti*; *catūḥ* (15)/*catūs kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti* but *cātus-kaparda-/cātus-pad-* 'quadruped'.

8.3.44 ¹*is*=²*us-oḥ sāmāth-y-e*

[The substitute phoneme retroflex *ṣ* 39 optionally 42 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* 34 of padá-s 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] °-is or °-us [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.1.108] standing in correlation with each other (*sāmāth-y-e*).

sarpīḥ (15; 2.66)/*sarpīṣ kar-o-ti* 'makes clarified butter'. But *tīṣṭh-a-tu sarpīḥ, pīḥ-a tvām udakā-m* 'let the clarified butter stand; drink thou water'. *yājñuḥ/yājñuṣ kar-o-ti* 'performs a sacrifice'.

8.3.45 *nītya-m sam-ās-é ān-uttara-pada-stha-sya*

[The substitute phoneme retroflex *ṣ* 39] necessarily (*nītya-m*) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* 34 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] °-is or °-us 44] in a compound (*sam-ās-é*), provided it is not (itself) a posterior member (*ān-uttara-pada-stha-sya*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

sarpīṣ-kunḍ-ik-ā 'butter jar', but *parama-sarpīḥ-kunḍ-ik-ā; dhānuṣ-pāṇi-* 'archer, wielder of a bow' but *parama-dhanuḥ-kapālā-*.

8.3.46 aT-aḥ ¹kṛ-²kāmi-³kaṁśá-⁴kumbhá-⁵pātra-⁶kuśá-⁷kārṇī-ṣu ān-a-vy-ay-a-sya

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 necessarily 45 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of a padá 1.16] other than an indeclinable (án-avyaya-sya), containing short vowel a(T) [as penultimate 41, before 1.1.66 the verbal stems] kṛ- 'make' (VIII 10) and kām- 'love' (I 470) [and nominal stems 4.1.1] kaṁśá- 'goblet', kumbhá- 'goblet, jar', pātra- 'vessel', kuśá 'small piece of wood' and kārṇī 'a kind of shaft, rudder' [in a compound, provided it is not itself a posterior member 45, in continuous utterance 2.108].

dyah kar-o-ti = *dyas+θ¹+kṛ+dN* (3.2.1) = *ayas+kār-d-* = *ayarU-kār-d-* (2.66) = *ayah-kār-d-* (15) = *ayas-kār-d-* 'blacksmith'; similarly: *ayas-kām-d-* 'iron-smith'; *ayas-karṇá-* 'a kind of iron weapon or an iron goblet'; *ayas-kumbhá-* 'iron pitcher'; *ayas-pātrá-* 'iron vessel'; *ayas-kuśá* 'iron peg' and *dyas-kārṇī* '(a vessel) having an iron handle', but *pūnar kar-o-ti* = *punaḥ-kār-d-* (3.2.1) 'repetition', *yaśah kar-o-ti* (un-compounded) and *param-d-yah-kār-d-* 'a great black-smith'.

8.3.47 ¹adhás=²śíras-I pad-é

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ of the padá-s 1.16] adhás 'below' and śíras- 'head' [in composition with 45 the nominal stem 4.1.1] padá- 'place' [provided it is not itself a posterior member 45, in continuous utterance 2.108].

adhas-padā-m 'the lower place or part'; *śiras-padā-m* 'the upper place or part'; but *param-d-dhaḥ-padā-m/parama-śiraḥ-pada-m*.

8.3.48 kas-ka=ādi-ṣu ca

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 or retroflex ṣ 39 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of padá-s 1.16 in composition 45] of the class of compounds beginning with kas-ka- 'which of them?' [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

kām+eU+kām+eU = *kā-s+kā-s* = *kā-ḥ-kā-ḥ* (15; 2.66) = *kā-s-ka-ḥ* 'which of them?'; similarly *kū-tas-ku-taḥ* 'from which place or direction?'; *bhrātṛ+Īnas+putra+sU* = *bhrātur* (6.1.111) -*putra-ḥ* (15; 2.66) = *bhrātus-putrā-d-ḥ* 'brother's son, nephew'..

8.3.49 chāndas-i vā á¹pra=²āmreditay-oh

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute phoneme dental s 38] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 of another padá 1.16 in continuous utterance 2.108] excluding the preverb particle prá- * or an āmreḍita.

ayas-pātrá-/ayaḥ-pātrá- 'iron vessel', but *agní-ḥ pra-vidvān* 'Agni, the wise one' (AV 5.26.1); *āgne trātar ṣ-tá-s/ṣ-tá-ḥ kauḥ-ḥ* (RV 6.80.5) 'O protector Agni, thou art respected and wise'. *páruṣaḥ paruṣas pári* (MS 2.7.15.214).

8.3.50 ¹ká-ḥ-²kár-a-t-³kár-a-ti-⁴kṛ-dhí-⁵kṛ-té-ṣu án-adite-ḥ

[In the domain of Chāndas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 before 1.1.66 the padá-s 1.16] *káḥ*, *kár-a-t*, *kár-a-ti*, *kṛ-dhí* and *kṛ-tá-* excluding that of [the padá 1.16] of *áditi-* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *kaḥ kṛ+HUN = kṛ+CHi+t = kṛ+θ¹ (2.4.80)+t = kár-t = karθ (2.23) = kaḥ (15) : víśvā-tas+kaḥ = víśvā-taḥ kaḥ = víśvā-tas kaḥ* 'performed all around'.
2. *kár-a-t = kṛ+HUN = kṛ+aN+t = kár-a-t : víśvā-taḥ+kár-a-t víśvā-tas kar-a-t* 'ibid'. In both these examples the initial augment [áT] is replaced by θ (6.4.75).
3. *kár-a-ti = kṛ+ŚaP+tiP = kár-a-ti : víśvā-tas kar-a-ti*.
4. *kṛ-dhí = kr+IoT+siP = kṛ-hí (3.4.87) = kṛ-dhí (6.4.102) : urú ṇas kṛ-dhi* (RV 8.75.11) 'make us great'.
5. *sádas-i kṛ-tá-m = sádas+θ¹+kṛ-ta-m = sádah-kṛ-ta-m = sád-as-kṛ-ta-m* 'made at the sacrifice', but *yá-thā no áditiḥ kár-a-t* (RV 1.43.2).

8.3.51 pañcamy-āḥ pár-au adhy-arth-é

[In the domain of Chāndas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ resulting from] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ = ŌasI) [before 1.1.66] the particle pári denoting the sense of ádhi (adhy-arth-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

div-ás pári prathamá-m ja-jñ-e (RV 10.45.1) 'was born first above the heaven'; *agní-r himá-vaí-as pári* 'fire above the snow-clad mountain' (AV 4.9.9), but *dhi-r iva bhog-aḥ páry-e-ti bāhú-m* (RV 6.75.14) 'like a snake, coils around the arm' (instr. plur.); when not having the meaning of ádhi: *div-ás pṛthivy-āḥ páry ója úd-bhṛ-ta-m* (RV 8.47.27) 'power was raised up all around heaven and earth'.

8.3.52 pā-t-au ca bahulá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from the fifth sUP triplet (ÑasI) 52] variously (bahulá-m) [before 1.1.66 the verbal padá 1.16] pā-tu 'may he protect' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

div-ds pā-tu 'may he protect from heaven' (RV 10.158.1) but *pari-sād-aḥ pā-tu* (15.266) 'may he protect from the assembly'.

8.3.53 ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ ¹pāti-²putrá-³prṣṭhá-⁴pārā-⁵padá-⁶páyas-⁷póṣa-su

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ = Ñas) [before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pāti- 'master, lord, husband', putrá- 'son', prṣṭhá- 'back', pārā- 'beyond, across', padá- 'place', páyas- 'milk', and póṣa- 'prosperity' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vāc-ds-pā-ti-n *viśvā-karmān-am a-tdy-e* (RV 10.81.7) 'to the lord of speech, Viśvā-karman, for protection'; *div-ds-putrá-ya sūryā-ya* (RV 10.37.1) 'to Sūrya, son of heaven'; *div-ds prṣṭh-é dhāv-a-m-āna-n* *su-parṇā-m* (AV 13.2.37) 'Suparna, soaring up on the back of Heaven'; *ā-gan-ma tāmas-as pārd-m* 'we have gone beyond darkness' (VS 12.73); *il-ds pad-é sām-idh-ya-se* 'thou art kindled at the sacrificial altar'; *sūrya-n cakṣu-r div-ds páyah* 'to Sūrya, the eye and milk of Heaven'; *rāy-ds-póṣa-n yāj-a-m-āne-su dhār-a-ya* (RV 10.122.8) 'bestow on the sacrificers increasing wealth'; but *mānu-ḥ putré-bhyo dāy-d-n vy-ā-bhaj-a-t* 'Manu divided (his) inheritance among (his) sons' (nom. sing.).

8.3.54 idā-y-āḥ vā

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from the sixth sUP triplet (Ñas) 53 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] idā 'oblation' [before 1.1.66 the nominal stema pāti- 'lord, master, husband', putrá- 'son', prṣṭhá- 'back', pārā- 'across', padá- 'place', páyas- 'milk' and póṣa- 'prosperity' 53 in continuous utterance 2.108].

idā-y-as/idā-y-āḥ+pāti-ḥ/pad-é (RV 3.23.4)/*putrá-ḥ* (RV 3.29.2), etc.

8.3.55 á-pada=anta-sya mūrdhan-yà-h

The substitute retroflex (mūrdhan-yà-h) [sibilant ṣ 39 replaces a phoneme] not occurring as padá-final (á-pada=anta-sya) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

This is a governing rule beginning this section and extending up to the end of this padá and will recur in each of the subsequent rules. By 55 below the substituentum is indicated as the dental sibilant s.

8.3.56 sáhe-ḥ sād-aḥ s-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ 55 replaces the dental sibilant] s of the verbal stem sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) when it acquires the form sād(h) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$jald-m\ sáh-a-te = jala+\emptyset^1+edh+Nvi\ (3.2.63) = jald-sdh\ (6.3.137; 7.2.116)+sU = jald-sdh+\emptyset\ (6.1.88) = jald-sdh\ (2.31) = jald-sdh\ (2.39)$ but $jald-sdh-au/as/am$.

8.3.57 iN^2-kO-h

(In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this Padá, the words) [the substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ 55 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 co-occurring after 1.1.67] the phonemes denoted by the sigla iN^2 (= vowels other than a-class, semi-vowel r) and kU (=velar stops) [will recur in the subsequent rules].

This is also a governing rule, co-occurring with 55 above in the rest of this Padá.

8.3.58 $nuM-^2vi-sarj-aníya-^3śaR-vy-av-āy-e=ápi$

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant 38 s, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phonemes denoted by the sigla iN^2 (= vowels other than a-class and semivowel r) and kU (velar stops) 57] even when there is intervention by [the infixed increment 1.1.47] nuM or ḥ (2 -vi-sarj-aníya- 3) or sibilants (3 -śaR-vy-av-āy-e api) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. $nuM-vy-av-āy-e: sdrpi+\acute{S}i = sdrpi-nuM-s+i\ (7.1.72) = sdrpi-m-s-i\ (24; 6.4.10);$
2. $h-vy-av-āy-e: sdrpi+\acute{s}uP = sdrpiU+\acute{s}u\ (2.66) = sdrpih-\acute{s}u\ (15; 4.41);$ 3. $śaR-vy-av-āy-e: sdrpi+\acute{s}uP = sarpi-\acute{s}u\ (36; 4.41).$

This rule operates only when there is a single intervention: thus from the verbal stem $nis-I\ cumb-an-e\ (II\ 15)\ nis+IAT = ni-nuM-s+\emptyset^1+ec\ (7.1.58; 3\ 4.80) = ni-m-s-es\ (24)$ there is double intervention [$nuM+\acute{s}aR$] so that initial dental

sibilant *s* of the 1-substitute [see for this 3.4.80] is not replaced by the retroflex sibilant *ṣ*; similarly in the Imperative 2nd pers. sing. *nṣ-m-s-eva*.

8.3.59 ¹ā-deś-á-²praty-ayáy-oh

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56] of a replacement element (*ā-deś-á-*) or of an affix (*-praty-ayáy-oh*) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 vowels other than /a/, and semivowel *r* and velar stops 57 even when there is intervention by *nyM*, *ḥ* or sibilants 58 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *s* of a replacement element: *ṣiv-U tan-tu-sam-tān-e* (IV 2) + *lit* = *ṣiv+lit* (6.1.64) = *ṣi-ṣiv+NāL* (6.1.8; 7.4.60) = *ṣi-ṣév-a* (7.3.86); 2. *s* of an affix: *agnf+suP* = *agnf-ṣu*. 3. intervention by *kU*: *lih+UN* = *dT+lih+Ksa+t* (3.1.45; 6.4.71) = *d-liḥ+Ksa+t* (2.31) = *d-lik-ṣa-t* (2.41). Cf. 58 above for example with intervention of *nyM*, *ḥ* and sibilants.

8.3.60 ¹śās-²vas-³ghás-*n-ām ca*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stema] *śās-* 'rule, reach, instruct' (II 66), *vas-* 'abide, reside' (I 1054) and *ghás-* 'eat' (I 747) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel *r* and velar stops 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *śās+UN* = *śās+Ch* → *aN* (3.1.43, 56) + *t* = *dT+śis-a-t* (6.4.34) = *d-śis-a-t* 'instructed', where the dental sibilant is neither a substitute nor an affix. 2. *vas+Ktd* = *vas+td-* = *vas+itT-id* (6.1.15; 7.2.52) = *vaṣ-i-td-* (6.1.108); 3. *ghas+lit* = *ja-ghas+átus* (6.1.8; 7.34.60, 62; 8.4.54) = *ja-ghṣ+átus* (6.4.98) = *jaḥ-átuḥ* (4.55).

8.3.61 ¹staú-ti-²Ny-ór evá ṣaṆ-l abhy-ṣa-āt

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 replaces the dental sibilant *s* 56 of a substitute 59, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel *r* or a velar stop 57] of the reduplicated syllable [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] *ṣaṆ* [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *stu-* 'praise' (II 34) and those [ending in 1.1.72 the causative marker] *Ní(C)* only (*evá*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *ṣtuN+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *tú-stā-ṣa-a-ti* (6.1.9, 64; 4.16; 7.4.60; 8.3.59) = *tú-stā-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97) = *tú-ṣtā-ṣa-ti* (4.41) 'desires to praise'; 2. *Ní(C)-anta-ṣiv+Ní(C)+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sev+i+itT+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (6.1.64; 7.3.86) =

śf-sev-i+i-ṣa-a-ti (59) = *śf-sev-i+i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97) = *śf-sev-e+i-ṣa-ti* (7.3.84) = *śf-sev-ay+i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.78) = *śf-ṣev-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'desires to make (someone) to sew'. But *ṣic+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *śf-ṣic+sa+a+ti* (6.1.9,64) = *śf-ṣik-ṣa-ti* (1.2.9; 8.2.30; 3.59) 'wishes to sprinkle'.

8.3.62 *sa-h* ¹*svidi*-²*svádi*-³*sáh*-*n-āṁ ca*

The substitute dental sibilant *s* replaces [the dental sibilant *s* of a substitute 59, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel *r* or a velar stop 57 of the reduplicated syllable 61 before 1.1.66 the retroflexed desiderative marker (*saN-i*) 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] *svid-* 'perspire, sweat' (II 789, IV 79), *svád-* 'taste' (I 18) and *sáh-* 'endure, bear' (I 905) [ending 1.1.72 in the causative marker *Ni(C)* 61, in continuous utterance 2.108].

- 1 *svid+NIO+iT+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sved+i+iT+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (7.3.86) = *śf-sved-i-i-ṣa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.59-60; 1.1.48) = *śf-sved-ay-i-ṣa-ti* (7.3.86; 6.1.78, 97) 'makes (someone) desire to perspire'; similarly: 2. *śf-svād-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'causes (someone) to desire to taste'; 3. *śf-sáh-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'makes (someone) desire to endure'.

Exception to 61 above.

8.3.63 *prāk sit-āt aT=vy-av-āy-é ápi*

[In the sub-section beginning here and] prior to (*prāk*) to *sitá-* 'bound' (70 below) [the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 sibilant *s* 56] even (*ápi*) with the intervention of [the initial increment 1.1.46] *áT* (6.4.71) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

By 65 below, *abhf+su+Śnu+tiP* = *abhf-ṣu-ṇo-ti* (59; 4.2); *abhf+su+IAÑ* = *abhi+dT-ṣu+Śnu+t* = *abhy-d-ṣu-ṇo-t*.

8.3.64 *sthā=ādi-ṣu abhy-ās-éna ca abhy-ās-á-sya*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* replaces non-padá-final 55 sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stems] beginning with *sthā-* [65, in this sub-section 63-70 prior to *sitá-*, even with the intervention 63] of the reduplicated syllable, as well as (*ca*) [the dental sibilant *s* 56] of the reduplicated syllable.

1. *abhf+sthā+lIT* = *abhi+ta-sthā+au* (6.1.8; 7.1.34; 4.61) = *abhf-ta-ṣthā+au* (6.4.64) = *abhf-ta-ṣth-au* (4.41).

2. *abhi+senā+NiC+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *abhi-si-senθ-i+tiT-saN+ŚaP+tiP* (6.4.64) = *abhi-si-sen-ay-i-śa-ti*.
3. *pāri+śic+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *pāri-si-śik-śa-ti* (cf. 61 above). But *abhi-su-sti-śa-ti*, *abhi-si-śā-sa-ti* since these stems are not included in the group beginning with [sthā-].

8.3.65 *upa-sarg-āt* ¹*su-nó-ti*-²*suv-á-ti*-³*s-yá-ti*-⁴*staú-ti*-⁵*stóbh-a-ti*-⁶*sthā-*⁷*sen-áy-a-*⁸*sédha-*⁹*śicA-*¹⁰*sanjA-*¹¹*svanj-ām*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stems] *su-* 'press, extract' (IV 1), *sū-* 'impel' (VI 115), *so-* 'terminate' (IV 39), *stu-* 'praise' (II 34), *stúbh-* 'chant, utter' (I 421), *sthā-* 'remain' (I 975), *sen-áy-a-* 'attack', *sídh-* 'move, order, instruct' (I 48), *śic-* 'sprinkle' (VI 140), *sanj-* 'attach, cling' (I 1036), *svanj-* 'embrace, clasp' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (*upa-sarg-āt*) [ending 1.1.72 in phonemes *i* or *u* (iN²) 57, even with the intervention of initial increment 1.1.46 *áT* 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *abhi/pāri+su+LAT* = *abhi/pāri+su+nu+tiP* = *abhi/pāri-su-no-ti* (4.2)+*IAN* = *abhi/pāri+a-su-no-t*. 2. *abhi/pāri+suv-a-ti/a-suv-a-t*; 3. *abhi/pāri+śya-ti/a-śya-t*; 4. *abhi/pāri+stau-ti/a-stau-t*; 5. *abhi/pāri+stobh-a-ti/a-stobh-a-t*; 6. *abhi/pāri+sthā-śya-ti/a-sthā-i/ta-sth-au* (respectively *IR*T, *IUN* and *IT*T); 7. *abhi/pāri+sen-ay-a-ti/a-sen-ay-a-t/si-sen-ay-i-śa-ti* (64); 8. *abhi/pāri+śedh-a-ti/a-śedh-a-t*; 9. *abhi/pāri+śiñc-a-ti/a-śiñc-a-t/si-śik-śa-ti* (64); 10. *abhi/pāri+śaj-a-ti/a-śaj-a-t/si-śank-śa-ti* (64); 11. *abhi/pāri+śvaj-a-ti/a-śvaj-a-t/si-svanṅ-śa-ti* (64). In the case of 10-11, cf. 6.4.25 for θ replacement of the nasal before class marker [ŚaP].

8.3.66 *sadī-r á-prate-h*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stem] *sad-* 'sit down' (VI 133) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 45 ending in 1.1.72 phoneme *i* or *u* 57, even with the intervention of *áT* 63] excluding preverb *prāti-*° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ni/vi+sid-a-t/a-sid-a-t = *ni/vi+ṣid-a-ti/a-ṣid-a-t* but *prdti-sid-a-ti/a-sid-a-t*.

8.3.67 stanbhē-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 29 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] stanbh(U) 'prop up' (IX 7) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 65 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme i or u 57, even with the intervention of áṭ 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhi/pāri+stabh-nā-ti/a-ṣṭabh-nā-t/ta-ṣṭambh-a;
praty-a-ṣṭabh-nā-t.

prati-ṣṭabh-nā-ti/

8.3.68 áv-āt ca 'ā-lāmb-ana-²ā-vi-dūr-yaya-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem stanbh- 'prop up, support' (IX 7) 67, co-occurring after 1.1.67] the preverb áva- 'to denote the sense of 'support' (ā-lāmb-ana-^o) or contiguity ('ā-vi-dūr-yay-oḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *áva+stanbh+Ktvā* = *áva+stanbh+LyaP* (6.4.24) = *áva-ṣṭānbh-ya ā-te/tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'sits down/remains (supporting oneself with something)'; 2. *áva-ṣṭab-dhā śēnā* (= *áva+stanbh+Ktd+ṬāP* = *áva-ṣṭābh+dhā+ā* 2.40 = *áva-ṣṭab-dhā* 4.53). but *áva-ṣṭab-dhā* 'affected, stiff'.

8.3.69 vé-ś ca svān-aḥ bhó-j-an-e

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] svān- 'sound' (I 879) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] ví-^o to denote the sense of 'smacking' while eating' (bhó-j-an-e) and also [after preverb áva-^o 68 in continuous utterance 2.108].

vi/áva+svan-a-ti/a-ṣvan-a-t/ṣa-ṣvāṇ-a (64).

8.3.70 pári-ní-ví-bhyah ¹sévā²si-tá-³say-ā-⁴siv-⁵Ú-⁶sāhA-⁸suṭ-⁷stu-³sanj-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal items] sév- 'serve' (I 530), si-tá- 'bound', say-ā- 'binding', siv- 'sew' (IV 2), sāh- 'bear, endure' (I 905), the initial increment suṭ, stu- 'praise' (II 34) and svanj- 'embrace' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs] pári-, ní- or ví-^o [even with the intervention of the initial increment áṭ 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pári/ní/ví+sev-a-te/a-sev-a-ta/si-sev-i-ṣa-le*; 2. *pári/ní/vi+ṣi-tá-ḥ*; 3. *pári/ní/vi+ṣay-ḍ-ḥ*; 4. *pári/ní/ví+ṣṭv-ya-ti/a-ṣṭv-ya-t/a-ṣṭv-ya-t* (71); 5. *pári/ní/ví+ṣah-a-te/a-ṣah-a-ta/a-ṣah-a-ta* (71); 6. *pári+euṭ+kar-o-ti* (8.1.137) = *pári-s-kar-o-ti/a-ṣ-kar-o-t/a-s-kar-o-t* (71); 7. *pári/ní/ví+ṣṭau-ti/a-ṣṭau-t/a-ṣṭau-t*; 8. *pári/ní/ví+ṣvaj-a-te/a-ṣvaj-a-ta/a-ṣvaj-a-ta* (71).

8.3.71 *siv-ādī-n-ām vā áṭ=vy-av-āy-é ápl*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39] optionally (*vā*) replaces [non-*padá*-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stems] beginning with *siv-* 'sew' (IV 2) [70] [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs *pári-*°, *ní-*° or *ví-*° 70] even with the intervention of the [initial increment 1.1.46] *áṭ* (8.4.71) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Exx. cited under 70 above.

8.3.72 ¹*ánu*-²*ví*-³*pári*-⁴*abhi*-⁵*ní*-*bhyaḥ syánd-a-te-r á-prāṇi-ṣu*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-*padá*-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stem] *syánd-* 'glide, flow, run' (I 798) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs] *ánu-*°, *ví-*°, *pári-*°, *abhi-*° or *ní-*° when the agent of the verb is not animate (*á-prāṇi-ṣu*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ánu/ví/pári/abhi/ní+syand-a-te/syand-a-te 'flows after/overflows/flows all around/runs towards/trickles down'.

When the agent is animate replacement by the retroflex sibilant does not take place.

8.3.73 *vé-ḥ skande-r á-niṣṭhā-y-ām*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-*padá*-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stem] *skand-* 'leap' (I 1028) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] *ví-*° except [before 1.1.66] *niṣṭhā* (*Ktá-*, *KtávatU* affixes 1.1.26) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vi-skand+turnuN = *vi-ṣkānt-tum/skānt-tum* (4.85), but *vi-skand+Ktd-* = *vi-skann+nd-* (2.42) = *vi-ṣkan-nd-*.

8.3.74 páre-ś ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem skand- 'leap' (I 1028) co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] pári- 'also (ca) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

pari+śkán-tum/śkán-tum; pari+śkan-ñá-/śkan-ñá- A separate rule has been framed to block out the constraint [ś-niṣṭhā-y-ām 73].

8.3.75 pari-skand-ś-ḥ prāc-ya-bharatē-ṣu

The expression pari-skand-ś- 'a servant who runs by the side of a carriage' is introduced as current among the Eastern Bharata-s.

Elsewhere *pari+skand+āC* (3.1.134) = *pari-śkand-ś-*.

8.3.76 ¹sphur-ś-ti-²sphul-ś-ty-or ¹nīr-²nī-³vī-bhyaḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] sphur-/sphul- (VI 95-6) 'throb, quiver, flash' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 65] nīs-°, nī-° or vī-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nīś/nī/vī+sphur-a-ti/sphur-a-ti; nīś/nī/vī+sphul-a-ti/sphul-a-ti.

8.3.77 vé-ḥ skabh-nā-te-r nītya-m

[The retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 necessarily (nītya-m) replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] skabh- (= skambhU IX 8) 'prop up, support' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] vī-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vī-śkabh-nā-ti/vī-śkambh-i-tum/vī-śkabh-i-ta-/vī-śkambh-ś-.

8.3.78 iN²-aḥ ¹ṣī-dhvam-²iUN-³IIṬ-ām dh-aḥ śng-āt

[The substitute retroflex 55 phoneme (ḍh)] replaces the phoneme dh of (the iN²) l-substitute ṣī-dhvam and the l-substitute (dhvam) of iUN and IIṬ [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal] śnga (= pre-affixal stem) [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ (iN²) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *ṣṭ-dhvam* (optative) : $c\bar{y}u+i\bar{I}\bar{N}(\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{s}-i) = c\bar{y}u+s\bar{t}y\bar{u}\bar{T}+dhvám = c\bar{y}o-s\bar{t}y+dhvám$ (7.3.84) = $c\bar{y}o-s\bar{t}\bar{h}-dhvám$ (6.1.66) = $c\bar{y}o-s\bar{t}-dhvám$ (59). 2. $c\bar{y}u+i\bar{U}\bar{N} = \bar{a}\bar{T}+c\bar{y}u+s\bar{i}C$ (3.1.44) + *dhvam* = $\bar{a}-c\bar{y}o-\bar{t}-dhvam$ (2.25) = $\bar{a}-c\bar{y}o-dhvám$. 3. $c\bar{y}u+i\bar{I}\bar{T} = c\bar{y}u+dhv\bar{e}$ (3.4.79) = $cu-c\bar{y}u+dhv\bar{e}$ (6.1.8; 7.4.60) = $cu-c\bar{y}u-dhv\bar{e}$

The repetition of $i\bar{N}^2$ in this rule, when the governing rule 57 is recurring, is for the purpose of blocking out [kU] from this rule: $pac+s\bar{t}-dhvám = pak-s\bar{t}-dhvám$.

Except for *ṣṭ-dhvám* (of $i\bar{I}\bar{N}$ *āsisi*: Precative) and *dhvám* (of $i\bar{U}\bar{N}$ Aorist) and *dhv\bar{e}* (of $i\bar{I}\bar{T}$ Perfect), retroflexion does not take place: $\bar{s}tu\bar{N}+LAT = stu+\bar{t}^1+dhv\bar{e}$; $+LAN = \bar{a}-stu-\bar{t}^1+dhvám$; $+IOT = stu+\bar{t}^1+dhvám$. The constraint "after a pre-affixal stem" is to block the operation of this rule when *ṣṭ-dhvám* is the result of *āṅga*-final -s with $s\bar{t}y\bar{u}\bar{T}+dhvám$ when s of $s\bar{t}y\bar{u}\bar{T}$ is replaced by \bar{t} in the Optative by 7.2.79: *pāri+viṣ* 'pervade' (III 13) + $i\bar{U}\bar{N} = pāri-viṣ+\bar{S}tu+s\bar{t}y\bar{u}\bar{T}+dhvam = pāri-ve-viṣ+\bar{t}y+dhvam$ (7.2.79; 4.75) = $pāri-ve-viṣ-\bar{t}\bar{h}-dhvam$ (6.1.66).

8.3.79 vibhāṣā iṭ-ah

[The substitute retroflex 55 phoneme $\bar{d}h$] optionally replaces [the phoneme dh (of the $i\bar{I}\bar{N}$) substitute $\bar{s}t-dhvám$ and the l-substitute *dhvám* (of $i\bar{U}\bar{N}$ and $i\bar{I}\bar{T}$)] preceded by the initial increment $i(\bar{T})$ [when introduced after 3.1.2 a pre-affixal stem 78 ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 78, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. $p\bar{u}+i\bar{I}\bar{N}(\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{s}-i) = p\bar{u}+s\bar{t}y\bar{u}\bar{T}+dhvám \quad p\bar{u}+i\bar{T}+s\bar{t}y\bar{u}\bar{T}+dhvám = po+i-s\bar{t}y+dhvam$ (7.3.84; 8.3.59) = $pav-i-s\bar{t}\bar{h}-dhvám$ (6.1.66; 78) = $pav-i-s\bar{t}-dhvám$ / "ṣṭ-dhvám". 2. $p\bar{u}+i\bar{U}\bar{N} = \bar{a}\bar{T}+p\bar{u}+i\bar{T}-s\bar{i}C+dhvam = \bar{a}-pav-i-dhvám$ / "-dhvam". 3. $p\bar{u}+i\bar{I}\bar{T} = pu-p\bar{u}+i\bar{T}+dhv\bar{e} = pu-puv-i-dhv\bar{e}$ / "-dhv\bar{e}" (6.1.77).

8.3.80 sam-ās-é āṅgūle-ḥ sāṅga-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant \bar{s} 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sāṅg-ā-* 'attachement' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *āṅgūli-* 'finger' (in a compound) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$\bar{a}\bar{n}g\bar{u}le-\bar{h} \quad \bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}ṅg-a-\bar{h} = \bar{a}\bar{n}g\bar{u}li+\bar{t}^1+\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}ṅga-\bar{h} = \bar{a}\bar{n}g\bar{u}li-\bar{s}\bar{a}ṅg\bar{a}-\bar{h}$ 'contact with a finger';
 $\bar{a}\bar{n}g\bar{u}li-\bar{s}u \quad \bar{s}\bar{a}ṅga-\bar{h} \quad \bar{a}-s\bar{y}\bar{ā}\bar{h} = \bar{a}\bar{n}g\bar{u}li+\bar{t}^1+\bar{s}\bar{a}ṅga+\bar{T}\bar{ā}P$ (4.1.4) = $\bar{a}\bar{n}g\bar{u}li-\bar{s}\bar{a}ṅg-\bar{ā}$
yauṣgū-ḥ 'rice meal sticking to the fingers'.

8.3.81 bhīró-ḥ sthāna-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant \bar{s} 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant of the nominal stem 4.1.4] *sthā-na-* 'place' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.4] *bhī-rú-* 'timid, cowardly' [in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhī-rō-h sthā-na-m = bhī-rū+θ¹+sthā-nā-m = bhī-ru-ṣṭhānā-m 'dreadful place'.

8.3.82 agnē-h ¹stū-t-²stōma-³sōm-ā-h

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 replaces the non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *stū-t-* 'who praises, eulogizer', *stō-ma-* 'praise' and *sōma-* 'n.pr. of a liquor/divinity' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *agni-* 'n.pr. of a divinity' [in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

agnī-m stavē-ti = agni+θ+stuv+Kv₁P = agni-ṣṭū-t (8.1.71) 'laudatory of Agni, the first day of Agni-*stomā*'.

agnē-h stōma-h = agni+θ¹ = stoma- = agni-ṣṭomā-h 'n.pr. of a sacrifice'.

agnī-s ca sōma-s ca = agni+θ+sōma+au = agni-ṣōm-au (8.3.27) 'the divinities Agni and Soma', but *agni-som-aū (māṇavak-aū)* 'name of pupils/fire and the soma creeper'. Retroflexion does not take place here since it is restricted to a compound consisting of names of divinities, with final [ɪ] replacement of Agni (8.3.27).

8.3.83 ¹jyōtis=²āyus-aḥ stōma-h

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 replaces non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant § 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *stōma-* 'praise' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *jyōt-is-* 'light' or *āy-us-* 'life-span' [in composition 90, in continuous utterance 2.108].

jyōt-iṣ-as stō-ma-h = jyōtiḥ-ṣṭo-mā-h; āyus-as stō-ma-h = ayuḥ-ṣṭo-mā-h (4.41) 'names of sacrifices'.

8.3.84 ¹mātṛ-²pitṛ-bhyaṁ svásuḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 replaces non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant § 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *svásr-* 'sister' [co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *mātṛ-* 'mother' and *pitṛ-* 'father' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mātūḥ/pitūḥ+svasā = mātṛ/pitṛ+ṣvasā 'maternal/paternal aunt'.

8.3.85 ¹mātúr=²pitúr-bhyām anya-tará-syām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant \mathfrak{s} 39] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 svásr- 'sister' 84, co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.87 the nominal padá-s] mātúr and pitúr 'mother's/father's' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mātuh-svasā́/°-svasā́ 'mother's sister, maternal aunt'; similarly *pitúh-svasā́/svasā́* 'father's sister' (15).

8.3.86 abhi+nís-aḥ stán-aḥ śabda-samjñā-y-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant \mathfrak{s} 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] stán- 'sound' (I 489) [co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the preverb] abhi+nís [optionally 85 in continuous utterance 2.108] to denote a t.t. in grammar (śabda-samjñā-y-ām).

abhi-nís+stan-ya-te = *abhi-nih+stan+GHaÑ* (3.3.19) = *abhi-nih-stānd-/°stānd-h* (15; 4.41) *várṇa-h* 'a phoneme that dies away / visarjanīya (h)' but *abhi-nih-stan-a-ti mḍā-āṅga-h* 'the drum sounds heavily'.

8.3.87 ¹upa-sarg-á-²prādúr-bhyām ás-ti-r ¹y-²áC-para-h

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant \mathfrak{s} 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] as- 'be' (II 56) followed by the semi-vowel y or by a vowel (y -áC=para-h) [in continuous utterance 2.108, when co-occurring after 1.1.87] preverbs (upa-sarga-°) [ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 78] or the particle prādús-° 'manifestly'.

abhi+as+LAT = *abhi+as+θ+jhi* = *abhi+θs+anti* (6.4.111; 7.1.3) = *abhi-ṣ-anti* 'they surpass'; similarly *prādúh-ṣ-anti* 'they appear/become manifest'; *abhi-/prādús+as+IIN* = *abhi-/prādús+as+θ¹+yāseuT+seuT+t* (3.4.103, 107) = *abhi-/prādús+θs-yāθ+θ+t* (7.2.79) = *abhi-/prādúh-ṣ-yā-i*.

8.3.88 ¹sú-²ví-³nís-⁴dúr-bhyaḥ ¹supi-²sū-tí-³sam-ā-h

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant \mathfrak{s} 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sup- (= svap- II 59) 'lie down' (with vocalization 6.1.15) and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] sū-ti- 'parturition' and

samā- 'equal' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 87] sú-°, ví-°, nís-° or dús-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

su/vi/nih/duh+sup-tā-; *su-/vi-/nih-/duh+ṣū-ti-/samā-* but *dūh-svap-na-m* 'bad dream'.

8.3.89 'nf-²nadī-bhyām snā-te-ḥ kauśal-é

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] snā- 'take a bath' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 87] nf-° or [the nominal stem 4.1.1] nadī 'river' to denote 'expert in' (kauśal-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nf-snā+Kīd- = *ni-snā-tā-* 'expert'; *nady-ām snā-ti* = *nadī+ṭ¹+snā+Kīd* (3.2.4) = *nadī-snṭ+d* (6.4.64) = *nadī-ṣṇ-d-ḥ* 'expert, specialist'.

8.3.90 sūtra-m prati-ṣṇā-tā-m

The expression *prati-ṣṇā-tā-* is introduced [with the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 of non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem snā- 'take a bath' (II 43) co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 87 *prāti-*° in continuous utterance 2.108] to indicate an aphorism (sūtra-m).

The basic meaning is 'purified' without retroflexion. When not indicating an aphorism: *prati-snā-tā-*.

8.3.91 kapi-ṣṭhālā-ḥ gotr-é

The expression *kapi-ṣṭhālā-* is introduced to denote a lineage (gotr-é) [with retroflex replacing a dental sibilant, in continuous utterance 2.108].

In other senses: *kapiṭ-n-ām sthāla-m* = *kapi-sthālā-m* 'place abounding in monkeys'.

8.3.92 pra-ṣṭhā-ḥ agra-gām-in-i

The expression *pra-ṣṭhā-* is introduced to denote 'who goes in the van' [with retroflex sibilant replacing the dental one, in continuous utterance 2.108].

In other meanings: *prā-tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *pra+sthā+Kīd* (3.2.4) = *pra-sthṭ+d-ḥ* = *pra-sth-d-ḥ* 'summit (of a hill)/ a measure of grain'.

8.3.93 ¹vṛkṣá=²ās-anay-or vi-ṣṭar-á-ḥ

The expression vi-ṣṭar-á- is introduced to denote a tree (vṛk-ṣá-°) or a seat (°-ās-anay-oḥ) [with a retroflex replacing a dental sibilant in continuous utterance 2.108].

vi+stf+aP (3.3.57) = *vi-ṣṭar-d-* 'extension' elsewhere.

8.3.94 chandaḥ-nāmn-i ca

The expression vi-ṣṭar-á- is also introduced to denote the name of a meter (chandaḥ-nāmn-i) [with retroflex replacing a dental sibilant, in continuous utterance 2.108].

By 3.3.34 the affix [GHaÑ] is introduced after *vi+stf* in this significance; elsewhere *vi-ṣṭar-d-* 'extension, width'.

8.3.95 ¹gav-f-²yudh-f-bhyāñ sthi-rá-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 95 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthi-rá- 'firm', [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal padá-s] gav-f-° and yudh-f-° [as prior members in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

gav-f-/yudh-f-ṣṭhira- 'proper names'.

8.3.96 ¹ví-²kú-³śámi-⁴pári-bhyaḥ sthál-a-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthál-a- 'place' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles] ví-°, kú-° or pári-° and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] śámi 'name of a tree' [as a prior member in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

vi-ṣṭhál-d-m 'remote place'; *ku-ṣṭhál-d-m* 'bad place'; *śámi-ṣṭhál-d-m* (8.3.63), *śámi* : *śámi-ṣṭhala-m* (8.3.63) 'place abounding in śámi trees'; *pári-ṣṭhál-a-m* 'surrounding place/area'.

8.3.97 ¹ám̐ba-²āmbá-³gó-⁴bhūmi-⁵savyá-⁶ápa-⁷dví-⁸trí-⁹kuśé-¹⁰kú-¹¹śaṅkú-¹²aṅgú-¹³mañji-¹⁴puñjī-¹⁵param-é-¹⁶barh̐s=¹⁷div-f=¹⁸agní-bhyaḥ stá-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55

dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sthā-* 'remaining in' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems or *padā-s*] *āmba-*, *āmbā-*, *gō-* 'cow/bull', *bhūmi-* 'earth', *savyā-* 'left', *āpa-* 'away'; *dvi-* 'two', *tri-* 'three', *kuśē* 'on the *kuśa* grass', *kū-* 'bad', *śāhkū-* 'peg', *aṅgū-* 'finger?', *mañji-* 'cluster of blossoms', *puñjī-* 'heap, mass', *param-é* 'in the highest', *barhī-* 'kuśa grass', *div-i* 'in heaven' and *agnī-* 'fire' [as prior members in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

- 1-2. *amba-ṣṭhā/āmba-ṣṭhā-* 'names of countries and their inhabitants'; 3. *go-ṣṭhā-* 'cow-pen'; 4. *bhūmi-ṣṭhā-* 'situated on the earth'; 5. *savye tiśṭh-a-ti* = *savye+ṣṭh-ā* (3.2.4; 6.3.9) 'standing on the left'; 6. *apa-ṣṭhā-* 'end of the elephant goad or hook'; 7. *dvi-ṣṭhā-* 'staying in two places'; 8. *tri-ṣṭhā-* 'staying at three places'; 9. *kuśe-ṣṭhā-* 'standing on the sacrificial grass'; 10. *ku-ṣṭhā-* 'n.pr. of a plant'; 11. *śāṅku-ṣṭhā-* 'placed on the peg or spike'; 12. *aṅgu-ṣṭhā-* 'big toe'; 13. *mañji-ṣṭhā-* 'Indian madder'; 14. *puñji-ṣṭhā-* 'heaped, gathered, accumulated'; 15. *parame-ṣṭhā-* 'supreme'; 16. *barhiḥ-ṣṭhā-* 'placed on the sacrificial grass'; 17. *div-i-ṣṭhā-* 'abiding in heaven'; 18. *agni-ṣṭhā-* 'placed in/on/over the fire'.

8.3.98 *su-ṣāmā(n)=ādi-ṣu ca*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-*padā*-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of posterior members in composition 80 in continuous utterance 2.108] of expressions beginning with *su-ṣāmān-* 'n. beautiful song'.

su-ṣāman- m. 'n.pr. of a person'. *duḥ-ṣāman-* n. 'bad chant' etc.

8.3.99 *eT-i saṁjñā-y-ām ā-g-āt*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-*padā*-final 55 dental s 56 before 1.1.66] the vowel e(T) [co-occurring after 1.1.66 a prior member in composition 80, ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57] excluding the phoneme g [in continuous utterance 2.108] when designating a name (*saṁ-jñā-y-ām*).

hāri-ṣeṇa-, *jānu-ṣeṇ-i* 'proper names', but when a qualifying noun: *prthivī eṇā yā-ṣya sa-h* = *prthivī-sena-h rājā* 'a king with a large army'; when [s] is not followed by [eT]: *hāri-saktha-* 'having thighs like those of a horse'; when preceded by [g]: *śatā-bhiṣaj+seṇa-* = *śatā-bhiṣaj+seṇa-* (2.30) = *śatā-bhiṣak-sena-* (100; 4.55).

8.3.100 náḡatr-āt vā

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39] optionally (vā) replaces [non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 followed by the vowel eT 90] [co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 in composition 80] denoting constellations (náḡ-ṣatr-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57 other than phoneme g 99, in continuous utterance 2.108, when deriving a proper name 99].

rōhiṇi-ṣeṇa/sena-, bhāraṇi-ṣeṇa/sena- (8.3.63) but śatā-bhīṣak-sena- (99).

8.3.101 hrasv-āt t-āḡd-au taddhit-é

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 replaces non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a short (hrasv-āt: vowel 1.2.18) [iN 57 before 1.1.66] a taddhitā [affix 3.1.1 beginning with] t-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

The taddhita affixes involved are: *tamaP, tayaP, taraP, taL, tas, tyaP, tvā*.

1. *tamaP*: *sarpṣ-ṭama* (4.41) 'most buttery'; 2. *tayaP*: *catúṣ-ṭaya-* 'four fold'; 3. *taraP*: *sarpṣ-ṭara-* 'more buttery'; 4. *taL*: *sarpṣ-ṭā* 'the state of being buttery'; 5. *tas(iL)*: *sarpṣ-ṭaḡ* (2.66; 3.15) 'from butter'; 6. *tyaP*: *āvṣ-ṭya-* 'apparent, manifest'; 7. *tvā*: *sarpṣ-ṭvā-* 'butteriness'; but *uccāṣ-tara-* 'higher', *sarpṣ tar-a-ti* (36)

8.3.102 nīṣ-as tāp-a-t-au ān-ā-sev-an-e

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 replaces non-padā-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the preverb] *nīṣ-°* [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the verbal stem] *tap-* 'heat up, burn' (I 1034) when not denoting a repetition (*ān-ā-sev-an-e*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nīṣ-ṭap-a-ti su-vāṛṇa-m (4.41) 'heats up/melts gold (once)' *nīṣ-ṭap-a-ti su-vāṛṇa-m* 'melts gold repeatedly'.

8.3.103 ¹yuṣmád=²tád=³tataḡṣúḡ-ṣu antaḡ-pādā-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 replaces dental sibilant s 56] occurring within a quarter verse (*antaḡ-pādā-m*) [before 1.1.66 (substitutes of) the prominal stem] of *yuṣmád-* 'you' [beginning with t-° 102], *tad-* 'that' and *ta-taḡṣúḡ* [co-occurring after a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *agnī-ṣ tvám nāma ās-t-t* 'you were Agni by name'; *agnī-ṣ tvā vardh-ay-ā-masi* 'we increase you, Fire'; *agnī-ṣ te viśva-m ā-nay-a*; *apsv-āgne sādhi-ṣ-tāva* (RV 8.43.9).
2. *agnīṣ tād viśva-m ā-py-nā-ti* (RV 10.2.4).
3. *dyāvā-prthivī nīṣ-ta-takṣ-ūḥ* (RV 10.31.7); when not within a *pādā*: *yān ma ātmān-o mindābhūd agnī-ṣ tāt pūnar āha jātā-veda vī-carṣaṇi-h* (TS 3.2.5.4).

8.3.104 yájus-i éke-ṣām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces dental sibilant s 56] occurring within a *pādā* [= quarter verse 103, when preceded by a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57 before substitutes of *yusmād-* 'you' 103 beginning with the phoneme *t-*° 101, and *tād* and *ta-takṣ-ūḥ* 103, in continuous utterance 2.108] according to some (grammarians: *éke-ṣām*).

The reference to "some grammarians" is for the purpose of indicating that this operation is optional.

1. *arcī-bhiṣ tvám/arcī-bhiṣ tvám* ; *agnī-ṣ té-gram/agnī-ṣ té-gram* (TS 3.5.6.2); 2. *agnī-ṣ tat/agnī-ṣ tāt* (TS 1.1.14.5); 3. *arcī-bhiṣ ta-takṣ-ūḥ/arcī-bhiṣ ta-takṣ-ūḥ*.

8.3.105 ¹stu-tá-²stómay-oś chāndas-i

In the domain of *Chāndas* [according to some grammarians 104 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56, preceded by a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, before 1.1.66 nominal *padā-s* of] *stu-tá-* 'praised' and *stóma-* 'praise' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

tri-bhiṣ stu-tā-śya/tri-bhiṣ stu-tā-śya 'of thrice praised'; *gó-ṣ śtō-ma-m/gó-ṣ stō-ma-m* 'praise of a cow/bull'.

8.3.106 pūrva-pad-āt

[In the domain of *Chāndas* 105, according to some grammarians 104, the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56, after 1.1.67] a prior member (*pūrva-pad-āt*) [in composition 80, ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

dvi-śandhi-/°-śandhi- 'juncture of two'; similarly *tri-śandhi/śandhi-*; *madhu-śthānā-/°-śthānā-* 'bee hive'; *dvi-śāhaśā-/°-śāhaśā-* = *dvay-ah sahaśay-or bhava-h* (4.3.53; 7.3.15) 'being or obtaining in 2000'; etc.

This rule is extended to include those cases also where the prior *padā* is not a prior

member in composition: *trśh samyaddhatvā-ya*/'-samyaddhatvā-ya 'thrice for success'.

8.3.107 súÑ-ah

[In the domain of Chāndas 105 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the particle] súÑ [occurring after 1.1.67 a prior padā 106 ending in a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57' in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhf śū sakhī-n-am (RV 4.31.3) (6.3.134). *ardhva a śū nah* (RV 1.36.13).

8.3.108 san-ó-te-r á-n-ah

[In the domain of Chāndas 105 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] san- 'gain' (VIII 2), without phoneme n (á-n-ah: by ā replacement 6.4.41), [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior padā 106 ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57' in continuous utterance 2.108].

gā-h san-o-ti = *gā+θ¹+san+viT* (3.2.67) = *go-sāā+θ* (6.4.41) = *go-sā* 'winning cattle', but *go+san+tiN* (3.2.27) = *go-sān-i* 'ibid'.

8.3.109 sáh-ḥ ¹pṭanā=²ṛ-tá-bhyām ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior members 106 in composition 80] pṭanā 'opposing army' and ṛ-tá- 'universal order' [in continuous utterance 2.108, in the domain of Chāndas 105].

pṭanā-m sáh-a-te = *pṭanā+θ¹+sah+Nvi* (3.2.63)+*am* = *pṭanā-sāh-am*. This extends the scope of 56 above in the domain of Chāndas. *ṛ-tā-m sáh-a-te* = *ṛ-tā-sāh-am* (6.3.137); the particle [ca] extends this rule to generate the form *ṛ-ti-m sáh-a-te* = *ṛ-ti+sah+KviP+am* (3.3.13) = *ṛ-ti-sāh-am* (6.3.137).

8.3.110 ná ¹rá-para-²srpi-³srjī-⁴sprśi-⁵sprhi- ⁶sāv-ana=ādī-n-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] does not (ná) replace [the dental sibilant s 56] preceded by phoneme r (ra-para-°) or of the verbal stems srp- 'crawl, slide' (I 1032), srj- 'project' (VI 121), sprś- 'touch' (VI

128), *spṛh-* 'envy' (X 325) and the word-class beginning with *sáv-ana-* 'extraction' [when preceded by a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *vi+srans+NvuL+TāP* = *vi-srāṁs-ik-ā* (7.3.44); *vi-srambh+Ktā vi-sraḥbh+dhd* (6.4.24; 8.2.40) = *vi-sraḥ-dhā-* (4.53).
2. *vi+spṛ+KasūN* = *vi-sṛp-aḥ* 'to crawl/glide';
3. *vi+srj+Lyut* *vi-sārj-ana-* 'dissolution, cessation, end';
4. *div-i+spṛḍ+KvāN* (3.2.58) = *div-i-spṛḍ-* 'touching heaven';
5. *spṛh-i-āC* (3.3.56) = *spṛh-ḥ-ā* (6.4.51); *nir-ga-tā-h spṛh-ā-h* = *niḥ=spṛh-ā-h*;
6. *sāv-ane sav-an-e* 'at each or every extraction'.

8.3.111 ¹sāt-²pada=ādy-ōḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56] of the adverbial affix *sāt* (5.4.42) or a *padā*-initial (^o*pada-ādy-ōḥ*) [after 1.1.67 an expression ending in a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, semivowel r or a velar stop 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

agni-sāt, dadhi-sāt, exception to 59 above. *dādhi siñc-a-ti* 'sprinkles curds'.

8.3.112 *sic-aḥ yañ-i*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56] of the verbal stem *sic-* 'sprinkle' (VI 140) [preceded by a phoneme denoted by the siglum iN² 57, before 1.1.66 the Intensive marker] *yañ* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

sic+yañ+SaP+te = *se-sic-yā-te* (6.1.9; 7.4.60, 82) 'sprinkles repeatedly or intensively'.

8.3.113 *sédh-a-ter ga-t-aú*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] *sídh-* 'move, rule' (I 48) when denoting movement [after an expression ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iN² 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhi/pāri+sédh-ay-a-ti gā-h 'drives the cattle', exception to 65 above; but *śīḥ-ya-m d-kāry-at prati-sédh-ay-a-ti* 'prevents the pupil from (committing) a bad action'.

8.3.114 *prāti-stab-dha- ní-stab-dh-au ca*

The expressions *prátistab-dha-* 'obstructed' and *ní-stab-dha-* 'obstructed' are introduced [without a retroflex sibilant replacing the dental, contrary to 57 above].

8.3.115 *soḍh-aḥ*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal allomorph] *soḍh-* (of *sáh-* 'bear, endure' I 905) [after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iN^2 or kU 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pári+saḥ+Kta = *pári+saḍh+Kta* (2.31) = *pari-saḍh+dha* (2.40; 4.41) = *pári-soḍh-dha-* (13; 6.3.112); similarly *pari-soḍh-um/soḍhavya-* etc.

8.3.116 *¹stanbhU-²śivÚ-³sáh-āñ CaÑ-i*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] *stanbh-* 'prop up, support' (IX 7), *siv-* 'sew' (IV 2) and *sáh-* 'bear, endure' (I 905) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 iN^2 or kU 57 before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] *CaÑ* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pári+stanbh+NIC+CaÑ+t* = *pári+āT+stambh+ṭ+a+t* (6.4.51) *páry-a-ta-stambh-a-t* (6.1.11; 7.4.61); exception to 57 above. Similarly: 2. *páry-a-śī-siv-a-t* (7.4.1, 59, 60, 83). By a *vārttika* retroflexion is blocked only for the reduplicated syllable. *páry-a-śī-sah-at*.

8.3.117 *su-nó-te-ḥ ¹syá-²saN-oḥ*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] *su-* 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) [co-occurring after an expression ending in 1.1.72 the phonemes denoted by iN^2 or kU 57 before 1.1.66 the sigmatic future marker] *syá* [and the desiderative marker] *saN* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhi/pári+su+syā+tiP = *abhi/pári-so-syā-ti/a-so-syā-t*. *abhi/pári+su+saN+KviP* = *abhi-su-sā-sa+ṭ* (6.4.16; 1.2.9) = *abhi-su-sā-sṭ* (6.4.48) = *abhi-su-sā-ḥ* (2.66; 3.15). Exception to 65 above.

8.3.118 ¹sadi-²svanj-oh pára-sya IIṬ-i

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] sad- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133) and svanj- 'embrace' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 iN² or kU 57, occurring] after (pára-sya) [the phoneme s 56 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IIṬ 'Perfect Tense' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhi/pári/ní+sad+IIṬ = abhi/pári/ní+so-sad+NaL (6.1.8) = abhi-pári-ní-ṣa-sād-a;
pári+svanj+IIṬ = pári-svṇj+eŚ (6.4.24) = pári-ṣa-svaj-e/ate/ire.

8.3.119 ¹ní-²ví=³abhi-bhyaḥ aṬ=vy-āv-ay-é vā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not 110] optionally (vā) replace [dental sibilant s 56] with the intervention of [the initial increment] áṬ of a verbal theme, co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverbs ní-°, ví-°, or abhi-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ní/ví/abhi+stu+IAñ ≈ ní/ví/abhi+aṬ+stu+θ¹+t = ní-ví-abhi+a+ṣṭau-t/staut
 (7.3.89; 8.4.41).

8.4.1 ¹rḡ-²sḡ-bhyām n-aḥ ṇa-ḥ samāna-pad-é

The substitute retroflex nasal ṇ replaces dental nasal n [occurring after 1.1.67] the phonemes r or ṣ within the same padá (1.4.14ff.) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. r+n: *kṛ+Kīd-* = *kīr-nd* (7.1.100; 8.2.44) = *kṛ-ṇd-* (2.76) 'scattered'. 2. ṣ+n: *kuṣ+LAT-* = *kuṣ+nd+tiP* (3.1.81) = *kuṣ-ṇd-ti* 'examines, tests'. The inclusion of retroflex sibilant [ṣ] in this rule is for operations which follow; here, the same result is effected by 41 below. When the two phonemes belong to two different padás this rule is inoperative: *agni-r nay-a-ti*.

The sonant vowel ṛ contains the element r: *tiṣṭ+n-dm* = *tiṣṭ-ṇ-dm* 'of three'.

8.4.2 ¹aṭ-²kU-³pU=⁴āÑ-⁵ṇyM-vy-av-āy-é ápi

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n, occurring in the same padá after phonemes r or ṣ 1] even (ápi) when separated by the intervention of vowels, semivowels and h (aṭ), a velar stop (kU) or a labial stop (pU), the particle āÑ or [the infixed increment 1.1.47] ṇyM [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. r/s+aṭ+n: *kṛ+Lyuṭ-* = *kár-ṇa-*; *gīr+Ṭā* = *gīr+ṇā*; *kúru-nā*; *kárṭṛ-nā*; *bhṛṣ-ṇa-*, *bhṛṣ-ṇa-*, *kárṣ-ṇa-*.
2. kU/pU: *arká+Ṭā* = *arká+ina* (7.1.12) = *ark-éṇa*; *darpá+ina* = *darp-éṇa*.
3. āÑ: *pari-āÑ+nad-dha* = *parṇ-ā-ṇad-dha-*; cf. 14 below; exception to 38 below.
4. ṇyM: *bṛhi+Lyuṭ-* = *bṛ-ṇyM-h+ana-* = *bṛ-m-h-ṇa-*.

8.4.3 pūrva-pad-āt sañ-jñā-y-ām á-g-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n co-occurring after 1.1.67] a prior member (pūrva-pad-āt: in composition) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇyM 2] with the exception of phoneme g, when deriving a name (sañ-jñā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

drú-r iva nāsikā a-eyá = *drú-ṇasa-ḥ* (5.4.118) 'n.pr. (lit. a large-nosed person)'; similarly *śūrpa-ṇakh-ā* 'n.pr. of Ravana's sister' but *cárma-nāsika-* 'whip, leather thong'; *ṛg-ay-andá* 'name of a text'.

8.4.4 vána-m ¹puragā-²miśrakā-³śidhrakā-⁴śārikā-⁵koṭara=⁶ágre-bhyaḥ

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3] vána- 'forest' [when co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior

members in composition] puragā-°, miśrakā-°, sidhrakā-°, śārikā-°, koṭarā-° 'names of trees' and āgre-° 'in front' [to derive names 3, in continuous utterance 2.108].

purgā/miśrakā/sidhrakā/śārikā/koṭarā/agre+vaṇḍ-m 'names of forests', but *kubera-vaṇḍ-m*. Extension of 1-2, blocking out the constraint [samāna-pad-é 1] and applicable beyond the same padá, but restricted to only these specified cases.

8.4.5 ¹prá-²nír=³antár-⁴śará=⁵ikṣú-⁶plakṣá-⁷āmra-⁸kāṣ-ya-⁹khadirá-¹⁰piyūkṣā-bhyaḥ á-saṁ-jñā-y-ām ápi

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3 vána- 'forest' 4 when co-occurring with prior members in composition] prá-°, nír-°, antár-°, śará-°, ikṣú-°, plakṣá-°, kāṣ-ya-°, khadirá-° and piyūkṣā-° [to derive a personal name 3] or otherwise also (á-saṁ-jñā-y-ām ápi) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra-vaṇḍ-m 'excellent forest'; *nir-vaṇḍ-m* 'an area devoid of forests'; *antar-vaṇḍ-m* 'inside a forest'; *śara-vaṇḍ-m* 'a forest of reeds'; *plakṣa/āmra/kāṣya/khadira/piyūkṣā-m* 'forests abounding in these specified trees'.

8.4.6 vibhāṣā óṣadhi- vánas-pāti-bhyaḥ

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the posterior member 3 vána- 'forest' 4 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior members consisting of names of] annual plants (óṣadhi-°) or forest trees (°vánas-pāti-bhyaḥ) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *óṣadhi*: *dārvā-vaṇḍ-m/vaṇḍ-m*; *mārvā-vaṇḍ-m/vaṇḍ-m*.

2. *vānas-pāti*: *śirīṣa-vaṇḍ-m/vaṇḍ-m*; *badarī-vaṇḍ-m/vaṇḍ-m*.

8.4.7 ahna-ḥ aT=ant-āt

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3] °ahná- 'day' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pūrva-m áhn-aḥ = *pūrva+ḥ¹+ahan+ṬáC* (5.4.91) = *pūrv-a-hnd-ḥ* (5.4.88) = *pūrvahná-ḥ* 'forenoon, morning', similarly *apar-a-hnd-ḥ* 'afternoon'; but

nir-ga-tā-ḥ dhn-aḥ nṛ-ahna-ḥ 'dusk, evening, early night'; similarly *dūr-ahna-ḥ* 'a bad day' (prior member not ending in aT). Likewise *dirghā-ṇ-i dhan-i a-syām* = *dirgha + 0¹ + ahan + NIP* (4.1.28) = *dirghā + ahṇ + I* (6.4.134) = *dirgh-ā-hn-I* *śardd* 'autumn, having long days' (since the form of the posterior member is *dhan-* and not *ahnd-* and *samśedntā* affix [TāO] is not applicable in generating Babuvrīhi compounds).

8.4.8 vāh-ana-m ā-hi-t-āt

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior nominal stem 3] *vāh-ana-* 'vehicle' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member 3 in composition] denoting the item carried (*ā-hi-t-āt*) [containing phonemes r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aT, kU, pU, āṆ or ṇuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

ikṣu-vāhaṇḍ-m/śara-vāhaṇḍ-m 'conveyor of sugar cane/reeds', but *dākṣi-vāhaṇḍ-m* 'vehicle belonging to Dākṣi'.

8.4.9 pāna-m deś-é

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member] ° *pāna-* 'drinking' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member in composition 3 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aT, kU, pU, āṆ or ṇuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108], to denote a country (*dese*).

kṣāra-m pāna-m yeśām = *kṣāra-pāṇ-ā-ḥ uśmār-ā-ḥ* 'the country of Uśmāra-s who are fond of drinking milk'; similarly *śūrā-pāṇ-ā-ḥ prāc-y-ā-ḥ* 'the country of the Easterners who are fond of drinking liquor'. The name of the country is derived from that of its inhabitants or vice versa.

8.4.10 vā 'bhāv-ā-²kār-aṇay-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (*vā*) [of the posterior member ° *pāna-* 'drinking' 9, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member in composition 3 containing phoneme r/ṣ even when separated from it by intervention of aT, kU, pU, āṆ or ṇuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] when denoting a condition (*bhāv-ā-°*) or an instrument (° *-kār-aṇay-oḥ*).

1. *bhāv-é: kṣāra-aya pāna-m* = *kṣāra-pāṇḍ-m/°-pāṇḍ-m* 'drinking of milk'.
2. *kār-aṇ-c: kṣāra-m pī-yā-te ḍn-ena* = *kṣāra-pāṇa-ḥ/pāna-ḥ kamaś-ḥ* 'goblet for drinking milk'.

8.4.11 ¹prāti-pad-ika=antá-²nyM-³vi-bhák-ti-ṣu ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 optionally 10] occurring as a nominal stem-final (prāti-pad-ika=antá-¹) or [ending in 1.1.72] the infixed increment nyM or a vibhákṭi (1.4.104) affix [co-occurring with a prior member containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *māṣān vap-a-ti* = *māṣa+θ¹+vap+Nñi* = *māṣa-vāp-ñ+au* / *māṣa-vāp-ñ-au* 'sower of māṣa beans'.
2. *māṣān vap-anti* = *māṣa+θ¹+vaP+dñ* (3.2.1) = *māṣa-vāp-d+Śi* (7.1.20) = *māṣa-vāp-d+nyM+i* = *masa-vāp-d-ñ-i/vāp-d-ñ-i*.
3. *māṣa-vāp-d+Ṭā* = *māṣa-vāp-d+ina* (7.1.12) = *māṣa-vāp-éna/vāp-éna*.

8.4.12 eka=áC=uttara-pad-e ṇa-ḥ

(In a compound) with a mono-syllabic posterior member (eka=áC=uttara-pad-e) [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 occurring as nominal stem-final, or of infixed increment nyM or a vibhákṭi affix 11, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ of a prior member 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

The repetition of [ṇa-ḥ] here while it was recurring from 1 above is for the purpose of blocking out [vā] from 10 above.

1. *vytrā-m ha-tāvān* = *vytrā+θ¹+han+KviP* (3.2.87) - *vytrā-hān+au* = *vytrā-hān-au*; 2. *sūrā-m pib-a-ti* = *sūrā-pā+ṬāK* = *sūrā-pθ-d* (6.4.84)+*Śi* = *sūrā-p-d-ñ-i* (7.1.72); 3. *sūrā-pā+Ṭā* = *sūrā-pā+ina* (7.1.12) = *sūrā-p-éna*.

8.4.13 kU-mat-i ca

[In a compound with a posterior member 12] containing a velar stop (kU-mat-i) also (ca) [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 occurring as stem-final, or nyM or vi-bhák-ti affix 11, when co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ of the prior member even when there is intervention by aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This rule is in relation to a polysyllabic posterior member.

- vastra-yugā+ñi* (5.2.115)+*au* = *vastra-yug-ñ-au*; *svarga-kām-ñ-au*;
vastra-yugā+Śi = *vastra-yugā+nyM+i* = *vasta-yugā-ñ-i*; *vastra-yugā+Ṭā* = *vastra-yug-éna*.

8.4.14 upa-sarg-át á-sam-ās-e ápi nḡ=upa-deś-a-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a verbal stem] which is first introduced with initial ṇ (nḡ=upa-deśa-sya) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb (upa-sarg-át) [containing phone r/ṣ preceding the dental n, even when separated by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āñ or nṃM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] with or without composition (á-sam-ās-e ápi).

prá/pári+ṇamA prahva-tv-é (I 1030)+*ŚaP+tiP* = *prá/pári-ṇam-a-ti*; *pra/pari+nñN práp-añ-e* (I 950)+*NvuL* = *pra-pari-ṇáy-aka*.

But *pra-ga-t-ā-h ṇáy-ak-ā-h a-smát deś-āt* = *prá-ṇáy-aka-h deśá-h* since *prá* is not an upasargá in relation to the verbal stem *nñ*. In the case of verbal stems not introduced with initial [ṇ]: *prá-nardÁ śabde* (I 57)+*NvuL* = *pra-ndrd-aka-/prá-nard-a-ti*.

8.4.15 ¹hi-nú=²mī-nā

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of verbal themes *hi-nú-* (= *hi-* V 11) 'move, increase', *mī-* IX 4 'injure' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ, even when separated from it by intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āñ or nṃM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá-hi-ṇo-ti 'incites'; *prá-mī-ṇā-ti* 'destroys'.

8.4.16 āni IOT

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of the first person singular Imperative I-substitute *ā-ni* [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āñ or nṃM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá/pári-vap-a+ā-ni = *prá/pari-vap-ā-ni*; but when [ā-ni] is not a IOT-substitute, retroflexion does not take place: *prá-kṛṣ-t-ā vapá yé-śām tā-n-i* = *prá+vapa+Śi* = *prá-vapā-n-i māmeś-n-i* 'meat containing a thick membrane'.

8.4.17 né-r ¹gádÁ-²nádÁ-³pátā-⁴padA-⁵GHU-⁶mā-⁷sya-ti-⁸hán-ti-⁹yā-ti-¹⁰vā-ti-¹¹drā-ti-¹²psā-ti-¹³váp-a-ti-¹⁴váh-a-ti-¹⁵śām-ya-ti-¹⁶ci-nó-ti-¹⁷dég-dhi-ṣu

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of

the preverb] *ni-*° [before 1.1.67 the verbal stems] *gád-* 'speak' (I 53), *nád-* 'roar' (I 56), *pát-* 'fly, fall down' (I 898), *pad-* 'go' (IV 60), those designated by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), *mā-* 'measure' (IV 34), *meṆ* 'barter' (I 1010), *so-* 'destroy' (IV 34), *han-* 'kill' (II 2), *yā-* 'go' (II 40), *vā-* 'blow' (II 41), *drā-* 'run' (II 45), *psā-* 'eat' (II 46), *vap-* 'sow' (I 1052), *vah-* 'carry, bear' (I 1053), *śam-* 'become quiet' (IV 92), *ci-* 'heap' (V 5) and *dih-* 'anoint' (II 5) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme *r/ṣ* 1, even with the intervention of *aṭ*, *kU*, *pU*, *śṆ* or *nyM* 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra/pari+ni-gad-a-ti/nad-a-ti/pat-a-ti/pad-ya-te/da-dhā-ti/mi-mi-te/ṣya-ti/han-ti/yā-ti/vā-ti/drā-ti/psā-ti/vap-a-ti/vah-a-ti/śam-ya-ti/ci-no-ti/deg-dhi/a-gad-a-t/a-nad-a-t etc.

8.4.18 *śeṣ-e vibhāṣā ā-¹ka-²khā=ād-au-³ā-ṣa-ant-e=upa-deś-é*

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop *ṇ* replaces dental nasal stop *n* 1 of the preverb *ni-*° 17 before 1.1.67] remaining (*śeṣ-e*) verbal stems not beginning with phoneme *k-*° or *kh-*° or ending in phoneme *-ṣ* when first introduced (*udpa-deś-é* in the Dhṛp.) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 other preverbs 14 containing phoneme *r/ṣ* 1 even with the intervention of *aṭ*, *kU*, *pU*, *śṆ* or *nyM* 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] optionally (*vibhāṣā*).

DṚPAC-ĀṢ I 1045: *pra-ni-pac-a-ti/pra-ni-pac-a-ti; pra-ni-/pra-ni-bhi-na-t-ti* but *pra-ni+kar-o-ti/khād-a-ti/pi-na-ṣ-ti* (= *piṣ + ŚnaM+tiP*).

8.4.19 *ān-i-te-ḥ*

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop *ṇ* replaces dental nasal stop *n* 1 of the verbal stem] *ān-* 'breathe' (II 61) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme *r/ṣ* 1, even with the intervention of *aṭ*, *kU*, *pU*, *śṆ* or *nyM* 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prā-pārā+aṇ-i-ti.

8.4.20 *ānta-ḥ*

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop *ṇ* replaces dental nasal stop *n* 1 of the verbal stem *an-* 'breathe' (II 61) 19, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme *r/ṣ* 1 even with the intervention of *aṭ*, *kU*, *pU*, *śṆ* or *nyM* 2], occurring as *padā-final* (*ānta-ḥ*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá+an-i-ti = pra+an+KviP = pr-á-n+sU(voc.) = práñ+θ (6.1.68).

8.4.21 ubh-aú sá=abhy-ās-a-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem an- 'breathe' (II 61) 19] along with (sa-°) that of the reduplicated syllable (°-abhy-ās-á-sya) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá+an+saN+Śap+tiP = prá+an+iṭ-saN+a+ti = prá-ani-ni-śa-ti (6.1.2,9,97; 3.59) = pr-á-ñi-ni-śa-ti; prá+an+NKC+CaN+ti = pr-á-ñi-n-a-t (1.1.59).

8.4.22 hán-te-r aT-pūrva-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), preceded by phoneme short a(T) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá/pári+han-ya-te; pra-pari+hán-ana-m but prá-ghn-anti.

8.4.23 ¹va-²m-or vā

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vā) [of the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) preceded by phoneme short a(T) 22 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nyM 2] before l-substitutes beginning with v-° or m-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá/pári+han+vas/°mas; prá-pári+han+vas/mas.

8.4.24 antár á-deś-e

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), preceded by phoneme short aT 22 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] antár-° [in continuous utterance 2.108] when not indicating a locality or country (á-deś-e).

antár-han-ya-te/antar-hán-ana-m 'is abolished/abolition', but *antar-hán-ana-h* 'n.pr. of a country or locality'.

8.4.25 áy-ana-m ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] áy-ana- 'going' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle antár when not indicating a locality or country 24 in continuous utterance 2.108].

antar-áy-ana-m 'disappearing' but *antar-áy-ana-h* 'n.pr. of a locality or country'.

8.4.26 chándas-i ṛT=ava-grah-āt

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a posterior member of a compound co-occurring after a prior member ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T) [separated in the Padapāṭha] by an avagrahá 'mark of separation' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nar-i mánah a-syd = nṛ+ṭmánas 'mindful or kind to men'; *pitṛ-gṛāna-m* 'the path leading to the Manes'.

8.4.27 nas=ca 'dhātu-sthá='urú-śśú-bhyaḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 26 the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the pronominal substitute of asmád-1.11] nas [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a verbal padá (dhātu-sthá-') [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇuM 2] or urú 'far' and śśú (= sú with retroflexion) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

agne rāks-a nah (RV 7.15.13) 'O Agni, protect us!'. *urú nas kṛ-dhi* (RV 8.75.11) 'grant us opportunity to grow'; *ardhvá-m a śśú na atdy-e* (RV 1.36.13).

8.4.28 upa-sarg-āt án-oT-para=h

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the expression nas- 27 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.109] except when it is not followed by phoneme o(T).

This original reading has been emended by Patañjali who replaces the expression [án-oT-para-h] by [bahulá-m] which is the reading adopted by Kāśikā. The expression [nas] in the preceding as well as the present rule stands for the al-

lomorphic of the pronominal stem *asmád-* 'we' and *nāsikā* (5.4.119); in the preceding rule only the first one is involved, while in the present rule both allomorphs are involved.

1. *prá na dyāthā-i tār-i-ṣ-at* (RV 1.25.12) but *prá no muñc-a-tam vāruṇa-sya pās-at* (RV 6.74.4). On the other hand Patañjali's emended [bahulā-m] provides for both *prá no muñc-a-tam*, *prá no vanī-r devā-kṛ-tā* (AV 5.7.3). 2. *pra-ga-t-ā nāsikā a-syā* = *pra+nas+áC* = *pra-ṇas-ā-h* (5.4.119) 'long-nosed'.

8.4.29 *kṛt-i=aC-aḥ*

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop *ṇ* replaces dental nasal stop *n*] of a *kṛt* [affix 3.1.1, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme *r/ṣ* 1 even with separation from it by the intervention of *aṭ*, *kU*, *pU*, *āN* or *nyM* 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] when that phoneme occurs [after 1.1.67] a vowel (*aC-aḥ*).

The affixes referred to here are: *ana* (*Lyuṭ*), (*m*)+*ānā* (*KāndC*, *CāndŚ*, *SāndC*), *anfyā*(*R*), *āni*, *ṣn* (*ṣni*, *Nṣni*) and *n*-replacement of *niṣṭhā* affixes (*Ktā*, *KtāvātU*)

1. *pra+yā+Lyuṭ* = *pra+yā+ana-* = *pra-yā-ṇa-* 'journey'; similarly *pra-m-ā-ṇa-* 'measure, standard'.
2. (*m*)+*ānā*: *pra/pari+yā-yā-m-āṇa-*.
3. *anfyā*: *pra/pari+yā+anfyāṭ* = *pra/pari/y-ā-ṇfyā-*.
4. *āni*: *a-pra+yā+āni* = *a-pra-y-ā-ṇi*.
5. *ṣni/Nṣni*: *pra/pari+yā+ṣn+au* = *pra/pari/yāy-iṇ-au*.
6. *n* of *niṣṭhā* (*Ktā/KtāvātU*): *pra/pari+hā+Ktā* = *pra/pari+hī* (5.4.66)+*na* (2.45) = *prā-pāri-hī-ṇa-* 'renounced', but *prā/pāri-bhug-na-* since *n* is preceded by a consonant.

8.4.30 *Né-r vibhāṣā*

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop *ṇ* replaces the dental nasal stop *n*] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [of a *kṛt* 28 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the causative marker] *Nī(C)* [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme *r/ṣ* 1 even with separation from it by the intervention of *aṭ*, *kU*, *pU*, *āN* or *nyM* 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra/pari+yā+NīC+Lyuṭ = *pra/pari/yā+puK+NīC+ana-* (7.3.36) = *pra/pari-yā-p-ṭ-ana-* (5.4.51) = *pra/pari-yā-p-āṇa-/yā-p-ana-*. Similarly *pra/pari/yā-p-yā-m-āṇa-/m-āṇa-*; *pra/pari/yā-p-anfyā/-anfyā-*; *d-pra-yā-p-āni/-āni*; *pra-yā-p-ṣn-au/yā-p-ṣn-au*.

8.4.31 $haL-as$ ca $iC=upa=dh-āt$

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop η replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a kft 28 affix 3.1.1 optionally 30, introduced after 3.1.2] a verbal stem with initial consonant ($haL-as=ca$) and a penultimate vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ ($iC=udpa-dh-āt$) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/s 1 even when separated from it by aT , kU , pU , $āN$ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pra/pari+kup+LyuT = pra/pari-kóp-ana-/ *ana- but pra+fh+ana- = pr-é-h-ana.*

8.4.32 $iC=āde-h$ $sā-nyM-aḥ$

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop η replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a kft 28 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem with infixed increment 1.1.47] nyM , beginning with a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ ($iC=āde-h$) [and ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 31, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/s 1, even when separated from it by aT , kU , pU , $āN$ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This is a necessary operation since option is indicated both in the preceding and succeeding rules specifically.

pra/parā+ikh+nyM+LyuT (I 134 *ikhī* 7.1.58) = *pra/parā+fnkh-ana-* : *pr-é-nkh-ana-/par-é-nkh-ana-*; similarly *pr-é-mbh-ana-*.

8.4.33 $vā$ $^1nīmsa-^2nīksA-^3nīnd-ām$

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop η replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally ($vā$) [of the verbal stems] $nī-n-s$ (= $nīsl$ II 15) 'kiss', $nīks-$ 'kiss' (I 689) and $nī-n-d$ (= $nīdī$ I 66) 'censure, blame' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 with phoneme r/s 1, even when separated from it by aT , kU , pU , $āN$ or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pra-nīhs-ana-/pra-nīhs-ana-*; 2. *pra-nīks-ana-/pra-nīks-ana-*; 3. *pra-nīnd-ana-/pra-nīnd-ana-*.

By being introduced in the Dhp. with initial retroflex nasal [η] retroflexion would necessarily have taken place by 14 above, but the option indicated by this rule is an exception to that.

8.4.34 $nā$ $^1bhā-^2bhū-^3pū-^4kāmī-^5gamī-^6pyāyī-^7vép-ām$

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop η 1] does not ($nā$) replace [dental nasal stop n 1 of a kft 29 affix 3.1.1 preceded by a vowel 29, introduced

after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] bhā- 'shine' (II 42), bhū- 'become' (I 1), pū- 'purify' (IX 11), kām- 'love' (I 460), gam- 'go' (I 1031), pyāy- 'swell, increase' (I 517) and vép- 'tremble' (I 391) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra-/pari+bh-ā-na-/bhāv-ana-/pāv-ana-/kām-ana-/gām-ana-/pyāy-ana-/vép-ana-;
by a vārttika retroflexion takes place in the case of pāN (I 1015): *pra-pāv-ana-m*
sōma-sya 'purification of Soma'.

8.4.35 ṣ-āt pada=ant-āt

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1 occurring after 1.1.67] a padā-final (pada=ant-āt) phoneme 'ṣ [in continuous utterance 2.108, with or without the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nyM 2].

sarpiṣ-pānd-m 'drinking of clarified butter'; *duṣ-pi-yā-m-āna* 'being drunk with difficulty', but *kuṣ+ṇā+ti*.

8.4.36 naś-eh ṣā-anta-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] naś- 'disappear' (IV 85) when it ends in retroflex sibilant ṣ, [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra/pari+naś+Kta = *pra/pari+naś+td-* (2.36; 4.41), but *pra-/pari+naś+ya-ti*; on the other hand, however, *prā-/pāri+nañk-sya-ti* (= 'naś+syā = 'na-nyM-ś+syā = 'nañs-sya- 2.36 = 'nañk-sya- 2.41 = 'nañk-sya- 3.59) since the retroflex sibilant is replaced by velar stop [k].

8.4.37 pada=antā-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not replace] a padā-final [dental nasal stop n 1, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ 1 with or without the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nyM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

putr-ā-n/gir-f-n/gur-ā-n/pit-f-n; vṛkṣ-ā-n/māṣ-ā-n/lē-ā-n/tṣ-ī-n.

8.4.38 pada-vy-av-āy-é āpi

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop η 1 does not replace dental nasal stop n 1] also (āpi) when separated [from a preceding phoneme r/\bar{s} 1] by the intervention of padá-s (pada-vy-av-āy-é) [consisting of the phonemes denoted by the sigla aT, kU, pU, āÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

māṣa-kumbha-vāp-éna 'through sowing with a jar full of māṣa beans';
catur-aṅga-yog-éna, pra/pari+áva-nad-dha-.

8.4.39 kṣubh-nā=ādi-su ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop η 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1, preceded by the phoneme r/\bar{s} 1, with or without intervention by phonemes denoted by the sigla aT, kU, pU, āÑ or nuM 2] in the class of expressions beginning with kṣubh-nā- [in continuous utterance 1.208].

kṣubh-nā-ti, '-nā-tāh/'-n-ānti; *hari-ndāndana*, *giri-nagard-*.

8.4.40 ¹s-²tO-h ¹s-²cU-nā ¹s-²cU-h

The substitute palatal sibilant \acute{s} and palatal stops (cU) replace dental sibilant s and dental stops (tU) [in contact with them 2.108].

Although the conditions specified in meta-rule 1.3.10 are satisfied here, that rule is inoperative here since the dental sibilant is replaced by the palatal even when it is in contact with palatal stops, besides the palatal sibilant. Its application is restricted to the correspondence between the substitute and substituendum only.

1. s+ \acute{s} : *vrkṣā+sU+śf+θ¹+te* = *vrkṣā-ś śś-te*; 2. s+cU: *vrkṣā-ś ci-no-ti/chāḍ-ay-a-ti*;
3. tU+cU: *agni-cī jay-a-ti* = *agni-cīc jay-a-ti* = *agni-cfj jay-a-ti* (53); 4. tU+ \acute{s} : *agni-cf-t śc-te* = *agni-cf-c śc-te* = *agni-cf-c chc-te* (63); 5. cU+tU: *yaj+nā-* = *yaj-nā-*; *yāc+nā* = *yāc-nā*; *jan+lit* = *ja-jān+eś* = *ja-jñn-ē* (6.4.98) = *ja-jñ-e*.

8.4.41 ¹s-²tU-nā ¹s-²tU-h

The substitute retroflex sibilant \bar{s} and retroflex stops (tU) replace [dental sibilant s and dental stops (tU) 40 in contact with them 2.108].

1. s+ \bar{s} *vrkṣā+Jas+śdś+Jas* = *vrkṣ-ā-ś śdś+θ¹* (7.1.22); 2. s+tU: *vrkṣā-ś tīk-a-te*; 3. \bar{s} +tU: *piś+Ktā* = *piś-tā*; 4. tU+tU: *agni-cf-t tīk-a-te/īha-kāra-h*; *agni-cf-d dīnā-h* (53)/*dhauk-a-te*; 5. tU+tU: *lih+Ktā* = *liḥ+ttā* (2.31) = *liḥh+dhd-* (2.40) = *liḥh+dha-* = *liḥ-dhd-* (6.3.111).

8.4.42 na pada=ant-āt=tO-r á-n-ām

[Retroflex stops (ṭU) 41] do not (na) replace [dental sibilant and stops (stO-ḥ) 40 occurring after 1.1.67] padá-final retroflex stops (ṭO-ḥ), with the exception of the sixth plural sUP triplet n-ām [in continuous utterance 2.108].

madhu-līṭ tar-a-ti/sar-a-ti/nay-a-ti/dā-dā-ti/dhat-te but *nḍ+ṭ¹+te = n-ṭe* (55);
sārpiṣ-ṭama-; śāṭi+nām = śaṇ-ṇām.

8.4.43 tO-ḥ ṣ-l

[The substitute retroflex stops 41 do not replace padá-final 42] dental stops (tO-ḥ) [before 1.1.67] retroflex sibilant ṣ (of the following padá) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

agni-śī-ti śaṇḍ-e.

8.4.44 ś-āt

[The substitute palatal stops 40 do not replace 42 dental stops 42 co-occurring after 1.1.67] palatal sibilant ś [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prach-ṭnā- = praś-ṭnā- (8.4.19) = praś-nā- 'query'.

8.4.45 yaR-aḥ ānu-nāsik-e ānu-nāskika-ḥ vā

A substitute nasal stop optionally (vā) replaces [a padá-final 42] consonant other than phoneme h (yaR-aḥ) [before 1.1.67 an initial] nasal stop (of the following padá) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vāg/vān nay-a-ti; madhu-līḍ/līn nay-a-ti; agni-śī-ti/'śī-n nay-a-ti; triṣṭūb/triṣṭūm nay-a-ti but *véd-mi, koubh-nā-ti* since the non-nasal stops are not padá-final.

8.4.46 aC-aḥ ¹ra-²hā-bhyām dv-é

[All consonants with the exception of h 45, co-occurring after 1.1.67] phoneme r or h preceded by a vowel (aC-aḥ) are [optionally 45] replaced by gemination (dv-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ark-d/arkk-d- 'light'; brāh-man-/brāh-mman- n. 'the Veda'.

8.4.47 *án-aC-i ca*

[All consonants with the exception of h 45, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel 46 and before 1.1.67] a non-vowel phoneme (*án-aCi*) are [optionally 45 replaced by gemination 46 in continuous utterance 2.108].

dddhi dá-tra = dddhy a-tra (8.1.77)/*ddddhy a-tra*. *mádhv á-tra = mádhv a-tra/máddhv a-tra*.

8.4.48 *ná=ād-ín-ī=ā-kroś-é putrá-sya*

[Substitute gemination 46] does not (*ná*) [replace phoneme t 46 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *putrá-* 'son' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the posterior member in composition] *ād-ín-ī* 'eater' when indicating insult or censure (*ā-kroś-é*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

putrá+ād-ín-ī = putrá-m dt-tum śīla-m a-śyāh = putrá¹+ad+Nini (3.2.78)+*NIP* (4.1.5) = *putr-ā-d-ín-ī tvāṁ asi pāp-e* 'you are a devourer of your son, O vile one (said in derision)', but when it is an actual fact: *putr-ā-dm/puttr-ā-d-ín-ī* '(a feline) eating her cubs'.

8.4.49 *śāR-aḥ aC-i*

Sibilants (*śāR-aḥ*) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/h, preceded by a vowel 46 are not 48 replaced by gemination 46 before 1.1.66] a vowel (*aC-i*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kāre-a-ti, vāre-a-ti, ā-darś-ā- but *dṛś+NIO+yaK+te = darś-f+yāK+te = darś-ḥ-ya-te* (8.4.51) = *darś-yā-te/darśś-ya-te*; exception to 46.

8.4.50 *trī-pra-bhṛ-ti-ṣu śākaṭ-āyana-sya*

[Gemination 46 does not take place 48] within a consonant nexus of three or more (*trī-pra-bhṛ-ti-ṣu*) [consonants excluding h 46 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to the grammarian Śākaṭāyana.

śndra-, cand-rā-, rāṣ-ṭrā-, kāreṇ-ya-, kārien-ya-.

8.4.51 *sarvā-tra śākal-ya-sya*

[Gemination 46 does not 48 take place] everywhere (*sarvā-tra*) according to the grammarian Śākaṭya.

ark-ā-, mark-d- (46), *dādhy ā-tra/mádhv ā-tra* (47) etc.

8.4.52 dīrgh-āt ā-cār-yā-ṇ-ām

[Gemination 47 does not 48 take place after 1.1.67] a long (dīrgh-āt vowel 1.2.28) according to all grammarians [in continuous utterance 2.108].

dā-trā-, dīrghā-, mārkhā- etc.

8.4.53 jhaL-ām jaŚ jhaŚ-i

Substitute voiced un-aspirated stops (jaŚ) replace non-nasal stops and spirants (jhaL-ām) [before 1.1.67] voiced stops (jhaŚ-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

labh+tumyN = lābh+tum = lābh+dhum (2.40) = lāb-dum 'for gaining'; duh+θ¹+te = dugh+te (2.32) = dugh+dhe (2.40) = dug-dhé.

8.4.54 abhy-ās-é caR ca

Substitute unvoiced unaspirated stops and sibilants (caR) as well as (ca) [voiced unaspirated stops (jaŚ) 53 replace non-nasal stops and spirants (jhaL) 53] occurring in the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

By interpretation voiced unaspirated stops (jaŚ) replace voiced aspirated stops (jhaŚ) and unvoiced unaspirated stops replace unvoiced aspirated stops (khaR).

khan+saN = khān-khan+sa (6.1.9) = kān-khan-iT-sa (7.2.35) = cf-khan-i-sa- (7.4.62,79; 8.4.59); bhū+saN = bhū-bhū-sa- (7.4.59) = bū-bhū-sa- (3.59), sthā+saN = sthā-sthā-sa- (7.4.59) = stā-sthā-sa- = tā-sthā-sa- (7.4.61) = tī-sthā-sa- (7.4.79; 8.3.59; 4.41).

8.4.55 khaR-i ca

[Substitute unvoiced unaspirated consonants (caR) 54] also replace [non-nasal stops and sibilants (jhaL) 53 before 1.1.66] unvoiced stops and sibilants (khaR-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhid+tumyN = bhéd+tum = bhēt-tum; labh+syā- = lap-syā-; yudh+saN = yū-yudh+sa- = yū-yut-sa-, etc.

8.4.56 $v\bar{a}$ $ava-s-\acute{a}-n-e$

[Substitute unvoiced unaspirated stops and sibilants 54] optionally ($v\bar{a}$) [replace non-nasal stops and spirants 53] occurring in pausa ($avas\bar{a}n-e$) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Although both caR and kaR sigla include sibilants, their status at pausa is governed by separate rules ('-s 2.66; '-ś 2.36,62) '-s alone is covered by this rule. It also proves that only the unvoiced stops are intended by the siglum caR .
 $v\acute{a}c+eU = v\acute{a}c+\emptyset$ (6.1.68) = $v\acute{a}g$ (2.39) / $v\acute{a}k$; $v\acute{a}c+eU = v\acute{a}p+\emptyset$ (2.36) = $v\acute{a}d/v\acute{a}t$ etc.

8.4.57 $aN\text{-}a\grave{h}$ \acute{a} - $pra-grh\text{-}ya-sya$ $\acute{a}nu-n\bar{a}sika-h$

A substitute nasalized vowel ($\acute{a}nu-n\bar{a}sika-h$) [optionally 56] replaces vowel phoneme-class a, i, u ($aN\text{-}a\grave{h}$) [in pausa 53] when they are not prolated (\acute{a} - $pra-grh\text{-}ya-sya$) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$\acute{a}d\acute{d}hi/m\acute{a}d\acute{d}hu+su/am = \acute{a}d\acute{d}hi/m\acute{a}d\acute{d}hu+\emptyset$ (7.1.23) = $\acute{a}d\acute{d}hi/\acute{a}d\acute{d}hi$, $m\acute{a}d\acute{d}h\bar{u}/m\acute{a}d\acute{d}hu$.

8.4.58 $anu-sv\bar{a}r-\acute{a}$ - $syā$ $y\bar{a}Y-i$ $p\bar{a}ra-sa-varṇ\acute{a}-h$

A substitute (= nasal stop) homophonous with the following semivowel or stop ($y\bar{a}Y-i$) ($p\bar{a}ra-sa-varṇ\acute{a}-h$) replaces an anusvāra (m) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$\acute{a}ak-I$ (I 86)+ $tumuN = \acute{a}d-nuM+k+iT+tum$ (7.1.58) = $\acute{a}d\acute{a}nk-i-tum$ (3.24) = $\acute{a}d\acute{a}nk-i-tum$ 'to doubt'; similarly $uch\bar{I}+tum = \acute{u}n\acute{e}ch-i-tum$ 'to glean'; $ku\acute{d}-I+tum = k\acute{u}nd-i-tum$; $\eta\acute{a}d-\bar{I}+tum = n\acute{a}nd-i-tum$; $kap\bar{I}+tum = k\acute{a}mp-i-tum$ 'to please;/to shake'.

8.4.59 $v\bar{a}$ $pada=ant\acute{a}$ - $syā$

[A substitute nasal stop homophonous with the following semivowel or stop 58] optionally ($v\bar{a}$) replaces $pad\acute{a}$ -final [$anu-sv\bar{a}r-\acute{a}$ m 58 in continuous utterance 2.108].

$k\acute{a}ta-m$ $kar-o-ti/$ $kata-n$ $kar-o-ti$ 'makes a mat'. $t\acute{a}m$ $ka-th\acute{a}m$ $citr\acute{a}-paka\bar{s}am$ $\acute{d}ay-a-m-\acute{a}n\acute{a}m$ $nabhas\acute{t}h\acute{a}m$ $p\bar{u}ru\bar{s}a-h$ $a-vadh-I-t/$ $t\acute{a}n$ $ka-th\acute{a}n$ $citr\acute{a}-paka\bar{s}am$ $\acute{d}aya-m-\acute{a}n\acute{a}n$ $nabhas\acute{t}h\acute{a}m$ $p\bar{u}ru\bar{s}a-h$ $a-vadh-I-t$ 'how did the man kill the speckled-winged bird flying in the sky?'.
-

8.4.60 tO-r l-i

[A substitute phoneme homophonous with the following phoneme 58] 1 replaces a dental stop (tO-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 the semivowel] 1 [in continuous utterance 2.108].

úd+las-a-ti = *úl-las-a-ti* 'shines forth'; *úd+langh-a-ti* = *úl-langh-a-ti* 'oversteps';
agni-cñ lu-nā-ti = *agni-cñ lu-nā-ti*.

8.4.61 úd-aḥ ¹sthā-²stanbhO-ḥ pūrva-sya

[A substitute phoneme homophonous with 58] the preceding phoneme (pūrva-sya) replaces [the initial 1.1.54 of the verbal stems] sthā- 'remain' (I 975) and stanbh(U) 'prop, support, stop' (IX 7) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] úd-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *úd+sthā-* = *út+sthā* (55) = *út-tthā+tumyN* = *ut-thā-tum* (65).
2. *úd+stanbh+tumyN* (3.24) = *ut-tthāmbh-i-tum* = *ut-thāmbh-i-tum*.

8.4.62 jhaY-aḥ ha-ḥ anya-tará-syām

[A substitute phoneme homophonous 58 with the preceding phoneme 61] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces the phoneme h [occurring after 1.1.67] non-nasal stops (jhaY-aḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vág has-a-ti/vág ghas-a-ti; víd has-a-ti/víd dhas-a-ti; agni-cñ has-a-ti/agni-cñ dhas-a-ti; tri-ṣṭúb has-a-ti/tri-ṣṭúb bhas-a-ti.

8.4.63 ś-as cha-ḥ aṭ-i

The substitute phoneme ch [optionally 62] replaces sibilant ś [occurring after 1.1.67 non-nasal stops (jhaY-aḥ) 62 before 1.1.66] vowels and semivowels excluding lateral l [in continuous utterance 2.108].

A vārttika emends [aṭ-i] of this rule to [aṁ-i] which then extends the scope by not only including /l/ but also the nasal stops.

vāk śe-te / vāk che-te; tri-ṣṭúp śe-te/che-te; tāt ślók-ena/chlók-ena; tāt śmáśru-ṇā/chmáśru-ṇā. tāt śndh-an-ena/chndh-an-ena.

8.4.64 haL-aḥ yaM-ām yaM-i lopá-ḥ

The substitute lopa (ḥ) [optionally 62] replaces a semivowel or nasal stop (yaM-ām) [occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [before 1.1.66] a semivowel or nasal stop (yaM-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

śáy-yā (3.3.99)/*śáy-yy-ā*; *ādít-yā* = *ādity-yā*./*aditṭh-yā*.

8.4.65 jhāR-ah̐ jhāR-i śá-varṇ-e

[The substitute lópa (ḥ) 64 optionally 62 replaces] stops and sibilants (jhāR-ah̐) [occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 64, before 1.1.66] homophonous (sa-varṇ-e) stops and sibilants (jhāR-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá-dā+Kta = *prá-ti-ta*- (7.4.47) = *prá-tṭh-ta*- = *prá-ti-ta*- 'donated'.

8.4.66 udātt-āt ánudātta-sya svaritá-h̐

The substitute svaritá accent replaces an ánudātta accent [occurring after 1.1.67] an udātta accent [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhū+ŚaP+tiP = *bhō+a+ti* (7.3.84)+*bhāv-a-ti* (6.1.78) - *bhav-d-ti* in continuous utterance. *agnim ṛ-e* (1.28) *puró-hi-ta-m* = *agni-m ṛ-e puro-hi-tam* (in continuous recitation where the underlined vowels bear the ánudātta accent and the unmarked udātta accent).

8.4.67 na=udātta-svaritá=udayam á-¹gārgya-²kāśyapa-³gālava-n-ām

[A substitute svaritá 66] does not (ná) replace [an ánudātta occurring after an udātta 66] when it is itself followed by an udātta or svaritá (udātta-svaritá=udaya-m) according to the grammarians Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava [in continuous utterance 2.108].

gārgya-a+id-ira = *gārgya-s ta-irā*; *gārgya-a-s kvā* = *gārgyas kvā*.

8.4.68 a a iti

The vowel phoneme short a (which was treated as an open or vi-vṛ-tá vowel) is replaced [in continuous utterance 2.108] by phoneme short a (which is in fact a close = saṁ-vṛ-tá vowel).

In grammatical operations short [a] was treated as an open or vi-vṛ-tá vowel homophonous with the long [ā], so that the notion of śávarṇa would apply to it in defining allophones of phoneme [a] with 3 lengths, 3 accents and ± nasality, but in actual usage it is a close (saṁ-vṛ-tá) vowel. Its inclusion here is to block out this particular character so as to establish its homogeneity with other allophones of this phoneme.

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Pāṇinīya-Dhātu-pāṭha-ḥ

I. bhūv-āday-aḥ

I.A. udāttāḥ

I.A.1. para-smai-bhāṣa-ḥ

1 bhū sattā-y-ām

I.A.2. ta-varg-īya=antāḥ ānudatta=IT-aḥ

2 édhA vṛd-dh-áu; 3 spárdhA sam-gharṣ-é; 4 gádhṚ ¹pra-tiṣṭhá-
²lipsáy-or-³granth-é ca; 5 bádhṚ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 6 nádhṚ 7 náthṚ ¹yāc-nā-
²upa-tāpá=³aśvarya-⁴āsīḥ-ṣu; 8 dádha dhār-aṇ-e; 9 skúdi ā-prāv-aṇ-e;
10 svidi śvaīty-e; 11 vādi ¹abhi-vād-ana-²stu-ty-óḥ; 12 bhádi kalyāṇ-e
sukh-é ca; 13 mádi ¹stu-ti-²móda-³máda-⁴sváp-na-⁵gá-ti-ṣu; 14 spádi
kim-cit=cál-an-e; 15 klídi pari-dév-ane; 16 múda hárṣ-e; 17 dádA dān-é;
18 svádA 19 svárdA ā-svād-an-e; 20 úrdA mán-e kriḍā-y-ām ca; 21
kúrdA 22 khúrdA 23 gúrdA guda-kriḍā-y-ām eva; (24 gúdA kriḍā-y-ām
evá); 25 súda ksār-aṇ-e; 26 hrádA á-vyak-t-e śábd-e; 27 hládi sukh-é ca;
28 svádA ā-svād-an-e; 29 párdA kuts-it-é śábd-e; 30 yátī pra-yat-n-é; 31
yútṚ 32 jútṚ bhās-an-e; 33 víthṚ 34 véthṚ yāc-an-e; 35 sráthi śaṭhily-e;
36 gráthi kaúṭily-e; 37 kátthA ślāghā-y-ām.

I.A.3. ta-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

38 átÁ śtatya-gam-an-e; 39 cítī sam-jñā-n-e; 40 cyútīR ā-séc-an-e;
41 scyútīR ksār-aṇ-e; (42 jyútīR bhās-an-e); 43 mánthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 44
kúthī 45 púthī 46 lúthī 47 máthī ¹himsā-²sam-klés-ay-óḥ; 48 śidhÁ
gá-ty-ām; 49 śidhŪ śās-tr-é māṅgaly-e ca; 50 khādhṚ bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 51
khádÁ sthaīry-e himsā-y-ām ca; 53 gádÁ vyāk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 54 rádÁ
vi-lékh-an-e; 55 nádÁ (á-vyak-t-e) śábd-e; 56 árdÁ gá-t-au yāc-an-e ca;
57 nárdÁ 58 gárdÁ śábd-e; 59 tárdÁ himsā-y-ām; 60 kárdÁ kuts-i-t-é
śábd-e; 61 khárdÁ dan-das-ūk-e; 62 átí 63 ádí bándh-an-e; 64 ídí

parama=aisvary-é; 65 bídí ava-yav-é; 65a gádí vadana=eka-deś-é; 66 nídí kutsā-y-ām; 67 ṬUnádí sám-ṛd-dh-au; 68 cádí āhlād-e dīp-t-aú ca; 69 trádí ceṣṭā-y-ām; 70 kádí 71 krádí 72 kládí ā-hvān-e ród-ane ca; 73 klídí pari-dév-an-e; 74 súndhā súd-dh-au.

I.A.4. ka-varg-īya=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-aḥ

75 śīkṛ sēc-ane; 76 lókṛ dāś-an-e; 77 ślokṛ saṁ-ghāt-é; 78 drékṛ 79 dhrékṛ ¹sābda=²ut-sāhāy-oḥ; 80 rékṛ śaṅkā-y-ām; 81 sékṛ 82 srékṛ 83 srākl 84 śrākl 85 ślākl gā-ty-arthāḥ; 86 śākl śaṅkā-y-ām; 87 ākl lākṣ-an-e; 88 vākl kauṭily-e; 89 mākṛ māṇḍ-an-e; 90 kākA laūly-e; 91 kúka 92 vṛka ā-dān-e; 93 cākA tṛp-t-aú prati-ghāt-é ca; 94 kākṛ 95 vākṛ 96 śvākṛ 97 trākṛ 98 dhaúkṛ 99 traúkṛ 100 ṣvāskA 101 vāskA 102 māska 103 ṭīkṛ 104 ṭṛkṛ (105 tīkṛ 106 tṛkṛ) 107 rāghī 108 lāghī gā-ty-arthāḥ; 109 āghī 110 vāghī 111 māghī ga-ty-ā-kṣep-é; 112 māghī kaītav-e ca; 113 rāghṛ 114 lāghṛ 115 drāghṛ (116 dhrāghṛ) sāmārthy-e; 117 drāghṛ (dhrāghṛ) ā-yām-é ca; 118 ślāghṛ kātth-an-e.

I.A.5. ka-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

119 phākkā nicaīr-gā-t-au; 120 tākā hās-an-e; 121 tākī kṛcchra-jīv-an-e; 122 búkkā bhāṣ-aṇ-e; (123 súkā gā-t-au); 124 kākḥā hās-an-e; 125 ókhṛ 126 rákhṛ 127 lākhṛ 128 drākhṛ 129 dhrākhṛ ¹sós-aṇa=²ālam-arthay-oḥ; 130 śākhṛ 131 ślākhṛ vy-āp-t-au; 132 úkhā 133 úkhī 134 vākhā 135 vākhī 136 mākḥā 137 mākḥī 138 ṇākhā 139 ṇākhī 140 rákhā 141 rákhī 142 lākhā 142 lākhī 144 fkhā 145 fkhī 146 fkhā (147 múkhī/thākl, 148 trākhā 149 trākhī 150 síkhī 151 ríkhā) 152 vālgā 153 rāgī 154 lāgī 155 āgī 156 vāgī 157 mágī 158 tágī 159 tvāgī/trāgī 160 śrāgī 161 śvāgī 162 ślāgī 163 ígī 164 rīgī 165 lígī gā-ty-arthāḥ; 165 tvāgī kámp-an-e ca; 167 yúgī 168 júgī 169 vúgī várj-an-e; 170 ghāghā hās-an-e, (171 dāghī pāl-an-e; 172 lāghī sós-aṇ-e); 173 māghī māṇḍ-an-e; 174 síghī ā-ghrāp-e.

I.A.6. ca-varg-īya=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-aḥ

175 vārcA dīp-t-au; 176 śacA sēc-an-e; 177 lócṛ dāś-an-e; 178 śacA vyāk-tā-y-ām vāc-ī; 179 śvācA 180 śvācī ga-t-aú; 181 kácA bāndh-an-e; 182 kácī 183 kácī ¹dīp-ti-²bāndh-anay-oḥ; 184 mácA 185 múcī kálk-an-e; 186 mácī ¹dhār-aṇa=²uc-chrāyā-³pūj-ane-su; 187 pácī vyak-tī-kār-aṇ-e;

188 štúca pra-sād-é; 189 fja ¹gá-ti-²sthā-na=³árj-ana=⁴upa=árj-ane-su;
190 fji 191 bhfji bhárj-an-e; 192 éjR 193 bhréjR 194 bhrájR dīp-t-au;
(195 réjR dīp-t-au); 196 fja ¹gá-ti-²kút-sanay-oh; (197 vtja gá-t-au).

I.A.7. ca-varg-fya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

198 súcÁ so-k-é; 199 kúcÁ sábd-e tár-e; 200 kúncÁ 201 krúncÁ
¹kaúṭilya=²alpī-bhāváy-oh; 202 lúncÁ apa-náy-an-e; 203 áncŪ ¹gá-ti-
²púj-anay-oh; 204 vancŪ 205 cāncŪ 206 táncŪ 207 tvāncŪ 208 mrúncŪ
209 mlúncŪ 210 mrúcŪ 211 mlúcŪ gá-ty-arthāḥ; 212 grúcŪ 213 glúcŪ
214 kújŪ 215 khújŪ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e; 216 glúncÁ 217 sásjÁ gá-t-au; 218
gújĀ á-vyak-t-e sábd-e; 219 árcÁ pújā-y-ām; 220 mléchÁ á-vyak-t-e
sábd-e; 221 láchÁ 222 láchĪ lākṣ-aṇ-e; 223 váchĪ icchā-y-ām; 224 échĪ
ā-yām-é; 225 hríchÁ lajjā-y-ām; 226 húrčĀ kaúṭily-e; 227 múrchĀ
¹móh-ana=²sam-uc-chrāyáy-oh; 228 sphúrčĀ vi-stġ-t-au; 229 yúchÁ
pra-mād-é; 230 úchĪ uñch-é; 231 úchĪ vi-vās-é; 232 dhrájÁ 233 dhrájĪ
(234 vrájÁ 235 vrájĪ) 236 dhfjÁ 237 dhfjĪ 238 dhvájÁ 239 dhvájĪ
gá-t-au; 240 kŭjÁ (241 kújĪ) á-vyak-t-e sábd-e; 242 árjÁ 243 sárjÁ
árj-an-e; 244 gárjÁ sábd-e; 245 tářjÁ bhárts-an-e; 246 kárjÁ vyáth-an-e;
247 khárjÁ púj-an-e ca; 248 ájÁ ¹gá-ti-²kṣép-aṇay-oh; 249 téjÁ pāl-an-e;
250 khájÁ manth-é; (251 kájÁ mād-e); 252 khájĪ ga-ti-vaikaly-é; 253 éjR
kámp-an-e; 254 ṬU-O-sphúrjĀ vajra-nir-ghoṣ-é; 255 kṣí ksay-é; 256
kṣjĪ á-vyak-t-e sábd-e; 257 lájÁ 258 lájĪ bhárts-an-e; 259 lāja 260 lājĪ
bhárts-an-e ca; 261 jájÁ 262 jájĪ yud-dh-é; 263 tújÁ himsā-y-ām; 264
tújĪ pāl-an-e; 265 gájÁ 266 gájĪ 267 gŭjÁ 268 gŭjĪ 269 mújÁ 270 mújĪ
sábd-a=arthāḥ; gájÁ mād-an-e ca; 271 vájÁ 272 vrájÁ gá-t-au.

I.A.8. ṭa-varg-fya=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-aḥ

273 áttÁ ¹ati-kram-a=²himsáy-oh; 274 vēṣṭÁ vēṣṭ-an-e; 275 céṣṭÁ
ceṣṭā-y-ām; 276 góṣṭÁ 277 lóṣṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 278 gháṭṭÁ cáł-an-e; 279
sphúṭÁ vi-kás-an-e; 280 áṭhĪ gá-t-au; 281 váthĪ eka-caryā-y-ām; 282
máṭhĪ 283 káṭhĪ sók-e; 284 múṭhĪ pāl-an-e; 285 héṭhÁ vi-bādhā-y-ām;
286 éṭhÁ ca; 287 híḍĪ ¹gá-ti-²án-ā-daray-oh; 288 húḍĪ saṁ-ghāt-é; 289
kúḍĪ dāḥ-e; 290 vādĪ vi-bháj-an-e; 291 mādĪ ca; 292 bhādĪ
pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 293 píḍĪ saṁ-ghāt-é; 294 múḍĪ mārj-an-e; 295 túḍĪ
tód-an-e; 296 húḍĪ vár-aṇ-e; (297 sphúḍĪ vi-kás-an-e); 298 cáḍĪ kop-e;
299 sádĪ rujā-y-ām saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 300 táḍĪ táḍ-an-e; 301 páḍĪ gá-t-au;
302 káṇḍÁ mād-e; 303 khádĪ manth-é; 304 héḍR 305 hóḍR án-ā-dar-e;

306 bádR̥ ā-plavy-é; 307 drádR̥ 308 dhrádR̥ vi-sár-an-e; 309 sádR̥ ślāghā-y-ām.

I.A.9. ṭa-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

310 saútR̥ garv-é; 311 yaútR̥ bandh-é; 312 mlétR̥ 313 mrédR̥ (314 mlétR̥) un-mād-é; 315 kátĒ (316 cātĒ) ¹varṣá=²ā-vār-anay-oḥ; 317 átĀ 318 páťĀ gá-t-au; 319 ráťĀ pari-bhāṣ-an-e; 320 láťĀ bály-e; 321 sáťĀ ¹rujā-²vi-sār-apa-³gá-ti=⁴ava-sād-ane-su; 322 váťĀ vēṣṭ-an-e; 323 kíťĀ 324 khítĀ trās-e; 325 sítĀ 326 śítĀ án-ā-dar-e; 327 jáťĀ 328 jhátĀ sam-ghāt-é; 329 bhátĀ bhṭ-t-au; 330 táťĀ uc-chrāy-é; 331 khátĀ kākṣā-y-ām; 332 náťĀ nft-au; 333 píťĀ ¹sábd-²saṁ-ghātáy-oḥ; 334 háťĀ díp-t-au; 335 śáťĀ ava-yáv-e; 336 lúťĀ vi-lód-an-e; 337 cítĀ para-praisy-é; 338 víťĀ sábd-e; 339 bíťĀ ā-kros-é; 340 ítĀ 341 kíťĀ 342 káťĪ gá-t-au; (343 héťĀ vi-bādhā-y-ām); 344 máđĪ bhūṣ-ā-y-ām; 345 kúđĪ vai-kal-ye; 346 múťĀ pra-mārd-an-e; 347 cúđĪ alpī-bhāv-é; 348 múđĪ khāṇḍ-an-e; 349 rúťĪ 350 lúťĪ stó-y-e; (351 váťĪ vi-bhāj-an-e); 352 sphúťĪR vi-sār-an-e; 353 páthĀ vy-akta-y-ām vac-f; 354 vāthĀ sthaúly-e; 355 máthĀ ¹māda-²nī-vāsay-oḥ; 356 káthĀ kṛechra-jīv-an-é; 357 ráthĀ pari-bhāṣ-an-e; 358 háthĀ ¹plú-ti-²śaṭha-tváy-oḥ; 359 rúthĀ 360 lúthĀ 361 úthĀ upa-ghāt-é; 362 píthĀ ¹himsā-²saṁ-klés-an-ay-oḥ; 363 sáthĀ kaitav-e ca; 364 súthĀ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é; 365 kúthĪ ca; 366 lúthĪ ā-lasy-e prati-ghāt-é ca; 367 súthĪ sós-an-e; 368 rúthĪ 369 lúthĪ gá-t-au; 370 cúddĀ bhāva-kār-an-e; 371 áddĀ abhi-yog-e; 372 káddĀ kārkaśy-e; 373 krfdR̥ vi-hār-é; 374 túđR̥ tód-an-e; 375 húđR̥/húđR̥ 376 hóđR̥ gá-t-au; 377 raúđR̥ án-ā-dar-e; 378 róđR̥ 379 lóđR̥ un-mād-é; 380 áđĀ ud-yam-é; 381 láđĀ vi-lās-é; (382 lálĀ ṭp-sā-y-ām); 383 káđĀ mād-e; 384 gáđĪ vad-ana=eka-deś-é.

I.A.10. pa-varg-īya=antāḥ ānudatta=IT-aḥ

385 típR̥ 386 tépR̥ 387 stípR̥ 388 stépR̥ kṣār-ana=arthāḥ; 389 tépR̥ kámp-an-e ca; 390 glépR̥ dañy-e; 391 ṬU-vépR̥ kámp-an-e; 392 képR̥ 393 gépR̥ 394 glépR̥ ca; 395 mépR̥ 396 lépR̥ 397 répR̥ (398 dhépR̥) gá-t-au; 399 trápŪṢ lajjā-y-ām; 400 kápĪ cāl-an-e; 401 rábĪ 402 lábĪ 403 ábĪ sábd-e; 404 lábĪ ava-srāms-an-e ca; 405 kábR̥ várṇ-e; 406 klfbR̥ á-dhārṣṭy-e; 407 kṣfbR̥ mād-e; 408 śfbR̥ kátth-an-e; 409 cfbhR̥ ca; 410 rébhR̥ sábd-e; (411 ábhl 412 rábhl sábd-e); 413 ṣṭábhĪ 414 skábhĪ prati-bandh-é; 415 jábhĪ 416 jfbhl gātra-vi-nām-é; 417 sálbhĀ

kátth-an-e; 418 válbhA bhó-j-an-e; 419 gálbhA dhārṣṭy-e; 420 śrānbhU pra-mād-e; 421 ṣṭúbhU stambh-é.

I.A.11. pa-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

422 gúpŰ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 423 dhúpÁ sam-tāp-é; 424 jápÁ 425 jálpÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 426 cápÁ śāntvan-e; 427 ṣápÁ sam-av-āy-é; 428 rápÁ 429 lápÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 430 cúpÁ mandā-y-ām gá-t-au; 431 túpÁ 432 tūnpÁ 433 trúpÁ 434 trūnpÁ 435 túphÁ 436 tūnpHÁ 437 trúphÁ 438 trūnpHÁ himśā=arthāḥ; 439 párpÁ 440 ráphÁ 441 ráphí 442 árbÁ 443 párbÁ 444 lárBÁ 445 bárbÁ 446 márbÁ 447 kárbÁ 448 khárbÁ 449 gárbÁ 450 sárbÁ 451 sárbÁ 452 cárBÁ gá-t-au; 453 kúbí chād-an-e; 454 lúbí 455 túbí árd-an-e; 456 cúbí vaktra-sam-yog-é; 457 ṣṭbhŰ 458 ṣṭnbhŰ himśā=arth-au; 459 súbhÁ 460 súnbhÁ bhās-an-e.

I.A.12. ānu-nāsika=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-aḥ

461 ghīṇí 461 ghūṇí 463 ghñí gráh-aṇ-e; 464 ghūṇA 465 ghūrṇA bhrám-aṇ-e; 466 pánA vy-ava-hār-é stú-t-au ca; 467 pánA ca; 468 bhāmA kródh-e; 469 kṣámŰṢ sáh-an-e; 470 kámU kán-t-au.

I.A.13. ānu-nasika=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

471 ánÁ 472 ránÁ 473 vánÁ 474 bhánÁ 475 mánÁ 476 kánÁ 477 kvánÁ 478 vránÁ 479 bhránÁ 480 dhvánÁ (481 dhánÁ) sábdā=arthāḥ; 482 onṛṛ apa-nāy-an-e; 483 sónṛṛ ¹vārṇa-²gá-ty-oh; 484 srónṛṛ sam-ghāt-é; (485 slónṛṛ ca); 486 paínṛṛ ¹gá-ti-²pr-é-r-aṇa-³śléṣ-aṇ-e-ṣu; 487 dhránÁ sábd-e; 488 kání ¹dīp-ti-²kán-ti-³gá-ti-ṣu; 489 stánÁ 490 vánÁ sábd-e; 491 vánÁ 492 sánÁ sam-bhák-t-au; 493 ámÁ gá-ty-ādi-ṣu [=gá-t-au, sábd-e, sam-bhák-t-au]; 494 drámÁ 495 hámMÁ 496 mímṛṛ gá-t-au; 497 cámŰ 498 chámŰ 499 jámŰ (500 jímŰ) 501 jhámŰ ád-an-e; 502 krámU pāda-vi-kṣep-é.

I.A.14. ya-ra-la-vā=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-aḥ

503 áyA 504 váyA 505 páyA 506 máyA 507 cáyA 508 táyA 509 náyA gá-t-au; 510 dáyA ¹dānā-²gá-ti-³rákṣ-aṇa-⁴himśā=⁵ā-dāné-ṣu; 511 ráya gá-t-au; 512 ũyí tan-tu-sam-tān-é; 513 púyí vi-sár-aṇ-e dur-gandh-é ca; 514 knŷyí sábd-e únd-e ca; 515 kṣmáýí vi-dhŷ-n-an-e; 516 spháyí 517 O-pyáyí vṛd-dh-au; 518 táyṛṛ ¹sam-tānā-²pāl-anay-oh; 519 sálA ¹cál-ana-

²saṁ-vār-aṇay-oḥ; 520 vála 521 válla saṁ-vār-an-e saṁ-cál-an-e ca; 522 mála 523 málla dhār-aṇ-e; 524 bhála 525 bhállA ¹pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-³himsā=²ā-dānē-su; 526 kála ¹sābda-²saṁ-khyānay-oḥ; 527 kállA á-vy-ak-t-e sābd-e; 528 tévṚ 529 dévṚ dév-an-e; 530 sévṚ 531 gévṚ 532 glévṚ 533 pévṚ (534 mévṚ) 535 mlévṚ (538 sévṚ 537 khévṚ 538 plévṚ 539 kévṚ) sév-an-e; 540 révṚ plav-a-gá-t-au.

I.A.15. ya-ra-la-vá=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

541 mávyÁ bāndh-an-e; 542 sūrksyÁ 543 írksyÁ 544 írṣyÁ Irṣyā=arthāḥ; 545 háyÁ gá-t-au; 546 súcyÁ abhi-ṣav-é; 547 háryÁ ¹gá-ti-²kān-ty-oḥ; 548 álÁ ¹bhū-ṣ-aṇa-²pary-āp-ti-³vār-aṇe-su; 549 ŃI-phálÁ vi-sār-aṇ-e; 550 mlÁ 551 smfÁ 552 smfÁ 553 kṣmfÁ ni-mēṣ-aṇ-e; 554 pflÁ prati-ṣṭambh-é; 555 ṇfÁ vārṇ-e; 556 śfÁ sam-ā-dh-aú; 557 kfÁ bāndh-an-e; 558 kfÁ ā-vār-aṇ-e; 559 śfÁ rujā-y-ām sam-ghāt-é ca; 560 tūfÁ niṣ-karṣ-é; 561 pūfÁ sam-ghāt-é; 562 mūfÁ pra-tiṣṭhā-y-ām; 563 phálÁ niṣ-pāt-t-au; 564 cūllÁ bhāva-kār-aṇ-e; 565 phūllÁ vi-kās-an-e; 566 cūllÁ saithily-e bhāva-kār-aṇ-e ca; 567 tīfÁ gá-t-au; 568 vélṚ 569 céfṚ 570 kélṚ 571 khélṚ 572 kṣvélṚ 573 véllÁ cá-an-e; 574 péfṚ 575 phélṚ 576 sélṚ gá-t-au; 577 skhálÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 578 khálÁ saṁ-cay-é; 579 gálÁ ād-an-e; 580 śálÁ gá-t-au; 581 dálÁ vi-sār-aṇ-e; 582 śválÁ 583 śvállÁ āsu-gām-an-e; 584 khólṚ/khórṚ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é; 585 dhórṚ ga-ti-cātur-é; 586 tsárÁ chad-ma-gá-t-au; 587 kmárÁ hūrch-an-e; 588 ābhrÁ 589 vābhrÁ 590 mābhrÁ 591 cárÁ gāty-arthāḥ; cár-a-tir bhākṣ-aṇa=arthāḥ=api; 592 ṣṭhívÚ/ṣṭhívÚ nir-ās-an-e; 593 jí jay-é; 594 jfvÁ prāṇa-dhār-aṇ-e; 595 pfvÁ 596 mfvÁ 597 tfvÁ 598 ṇfvÁ sthāúy-e; 599 kṣívÚ nir-ās-an-e; 600 úrví 601 túrví 602 thúrví 603 dúrví 604 dhúrví himsā=arthāḥ; 605 gúrví ud-yām-an-e; 606 múrví bāndh-an-e; 607 púrvÁ 608 párvÁ 609 māvÁ pūr-aṇ-e; 610 cāvÁ ād-an-e; 611 bhāvÁ himsā-y-ām; 612 kāvÁ 613 khāvÁ 614 gāvÁ dārp-e; 615 árvÁ 616 sárVÁ 617 śárVÁ himsā-y-ām; 618 íví vy-āp-t-au; 619 píví 620 míví 621 ṇíví sēc-an-e; 622 híví 623 díví 624 dhíví 625 jíví prṇ-aṇa=arthāḥ; 626 ríví 627 ráví 628 dháví gā-ty-arthāḥ; 629 kfví ¹himsā-²kār-aṇay-oṣ ca; 630 māvÁ bāndh-an-e; 631 ávÁ ¹rākṣ-aṇa-²gá-ti=³kān-ti-⁴prf-ti-⁶tṣp-ty-⁶ava-gam-ā-⁷pra-veś-ā-⁸śrāv-aṇa-⁹svāmy-ārtha-¹⁰yāc-ana-¹¹kriyā=¹²icchā-¹³dīp-ti=¹⁴av-ā-p-ti=¹⁵ā-līng-ana-¹⁶himsā-¹⁷dānā-¹⁸bhāga-¹⁹vṛd-dhi-su; 632 dhāvÚ ¹gá-ti-²súd-dhy-oḥ.

I.A.16. ūsmá=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-ah

633 dhúksA 634 dhíksA ¹saṁ-díp-ana-²klés-ana-³jív-ane-ṣu; 635 vfksA vár-aṇ-e; 636 síksA vidyā=up-ā-dān-é; 637 bhíksA bhíksā-y-ām a-lābh-é lābh-é ca; 638 klésA á-vy-ak-tāy-ām vāc-í; 639 dáksA vfd-dh-au śīghrá=arth-e ca; 640 dfksA ¹mauṇḍá=²ŭ-yā=³upa-náy-ana-⁴ni-yam-á-⁵vratá=⁶ā-deśé-ṣu; 641 fksA dārs-an-e; 642 fśA ¹gá-ti-²himsā-³dārs-ane-ṣu; 643 bhāsA vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 644 vārśA snéh-an-e; 645 gésR anv-icchā-y-ām; 646 yésR pra-yat-n-é 647 jésR 648 nésR 649 ésR 650 présR gá-t-au; 651 réśR 652 hésR (653 hrésR) á-vy-ak-te sábd-e; 654 kāsR sábd-a-kutsā-y-ām; 655 bhāsR díp-t-au; 656 ṇāsR 657 rāsR sábd-e; 658 ṇásA kaúṭily-e; 659 bhyásA bhay-é; 660 śN-ah sásI icchā-y-ām; 661 grásU 662 glásU ád-an-e; 663 fhA ceṣṭā-y-ām; 664 bāhI 665 máhI vfd-dh-au; 666 áhI gá-t-au; 667 gārha 668 gálha kutsā-y-ām; 669 bārha 670 bálha prādhāny-e; 671 várha 672 válha ¹pari-bhās-aṇa-²himsā=³ā-cchād-ane-ṣu; 673 plíha gá-t-au; 674 véhR 675 jéhR 676 bāhR pra-yat-n-é; 677 drāhR nidrā-kṣay-e; 678 kāsR díp-t-au; 679 ūha vi-tark-é; 680 gāhŪ vi-lód-an-e; 681 gfhŪ grāh-aṇ-e; 682 ghúsI kān-ti-kār-aṇ-e.

I.A.17. ūsmá=antāḥ udātta=IT-ah

683 ghúsIR á-vi-sábd-an-e; 684 áksŪ vy-āp-t-au; 685 táksŪ 686 tváksŪ tanū-kār-aṇ-e; 687 úksÁ séc-an-e; 688 ráksÁ pāl-an-e; 689 níksÁ cúmb-ane; 690 tḥksÁ 691 ṣṭḥksÁ 692 náksÁ gá-t-au; 693 váksÁ rós-e; 694 mḥksÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 695 táksÁ tvác-an-e; (696 pláksÁ pari-grah-é); 697 sūrksÁ ā-dar-é; 698 káksI 699 vāksI 700 máksI kākḥksā-y-ām; 701 dráksI 702 dhráksI 703 dhvāksI ghora-vās-it-é ca; 704 cūsÁ pān-e; 705 tūsÁ tūs-t-au; 706 pūsÁ vfd-dh-au; 707 mūsÁ ste-y-é; (708 lūsÁ 709 rūsÁ bhū-ṣ-ā-y-ām); 710 sūsÁ pra-sav-é; 711 yūsÁ himsā-y-ām; 712 bhūsÁ (713 tásI) alam-kār-é; 714 ūsÁ rujā-y-ām 715 fśÁ ūñch-e; 716 kásÁ 717 khásÁ 718 síśÁ 719 jásÁ 720 jhásÁ 721 sásÁ 722 vásÁ 723 māsÁ 724 rúsÁ 725 rísÁ himsā=arthah; 726 bhésÁ bhārts-an-e; 727 ūsÁ dāh-é; 728 jísŪ 729 vísŪ 730 mísŪ (731 nísŪ) séc-an-e; 732 pūsÁ pūs-t-au; 733 srisŪ 734 slísŪ 735 prúsŪ 736 plúsŪ dāh-é; 737 pḥsŪ 738 vḥsŪ 739 mḥsŪ séc-an-e ca; i-tar-au ¹himsā-²klés-anay-os ca; 740 ghḥsŪ saṁ-ghārs-e; 741 hḥsŪ āḥk-e; 742 túsÁ 743 hrásÁ 744 hlásÁ 745 rásÁ sábd-e; 746 lásÁ ¹ślés-aṇa-²kríd-anay-os ca; 747 ghásI, ád-an-e; 748 járjÁ 749 cárcÁ 750 jhárjhÁ/jhárjÁ/*jhártsÁ ¹pari-bhās-aṇa-²himsā-³tārj-ane-ṣu; 751 písR 752 pésR

gá-t-au; (753 víśÁ 754 véśÁ 755 bíśÁ 756 béśÁ gá-t-au); 757 hásÉ hás-an-e; 758 nísÁ sam-ā-dh-aú; 759 mísÁ 760 másÁ śábd-e; 761 sávÁ gá-t-au; 762 śásÁ plu-ta-gá-t-au; 763 śásÚ himśā-y-ām; 764 śánsÚ stú-t-au; 765 cáhÁ pari-kálk-an-e; 766 máhÁ pūjā-y-ām; 767 ráhÁ tyāg-é; 768 ráhí gá-t-au; 769 dñhÁ 770 dñhí 771 bñhÁ 772 bñhí vñd-dh-au; 773 túhÍR 774 dúhÍR 775 úhÍR árd-an-e; 776 árĥÁ pūjā-y-ām.

I.A.18. dyútA=āday-aḥ (1.3.91; 3.1.55) śnudātta=IT-aḥ

777 dyútA dñp-t-au; 778 śvītĀ vārṇ-e; 779 ŃI-mídĀ snéh-an-e; 780 ŃI-ṣvídĀ gā-tra-pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 781 rúcA dñp-t-au abhi-prñt-t-au ca; 782 ghútA pari-várt-an-e; 783 rúġA 784 lútA 785 lúthA prati-ghāt-é; 786 śúbhA dñp-t-au; 787 kśúbhA sam-cál-an-e; 788 nábhA 789 túbhA himśā-y-ām; 790 sránsU 791 dhvánsU 792 bhránsU ava-sráṁs-an-e; 793 dhvánsU gá-t-au ca; 794 sránbhU vi-śvās-é; 795 vñtU várt-an-e; 796 vñdhU vñd-dh-au; 797 śñdhU śabda-kutsā-y-ām; 798 syándŪ pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 799 kñpŪ śāmarthy-e.

I.A.19. ghātA=āday-aḥ M-IT-aḥ (6.4.92)

I.A.19.a. śnudātta=IT-aḥ

800 ghātA ceṣṭā-y-ām; 801 vyáthA ¹bhayá-²saṁ-cál-anay-oḥ; 802 práthA pra-khyān-e; 803 práśA vi-stār-é; 804 mrádA márd-an-e; 805 skhádA skhád-an-e; 806 kśáJI ¹gá-ti-²dānáy-oḥ; 807 dáksA ¹gá-ti-²śās-anay-oḥ; 808 krápA kñpā-y-ām gá-t-au; 809 kádI 810 krádI 811 kládI vaí-klavy-e; 812 ŃI-tvárĀ sam-bhram-é; ghātA=āday-aḥ M-IT-aḥ.

I.A.19.b. udātta=IT-aḥ

813 jvárĀ róg-e; 814 gádĀ sēc-an-e; 815 hédĀ vēṣt-an-e; 816 vátĀ 817 bhātĀ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 818 nātĀ nñt-t-au; 819 ṣṭákĀ prati-ghāt-é; 820 cákĀ tñp-t-au; 821 kákhÉ hás-an-e; 822 rágÉ śaṅkā-y-ām; 823 lágÉ śāṅg-e; 824 hrágÉ 825 hlágÉ 826 ṣágÉ 827 ṣṭhágÉ sam-vár-aṇ-e; 828 kágÉ ná=uc-yá-te; 829 ákĀ 830 ágĀ kutijā-y-ām gá-t-au; 831 kápĀ 832 rāpĀ gá-t-au; 833 cāpĀ 834 śāpĀ 835 śrāpĀ dān-é ca; 836 śráthĀ (837 knáthĀ) 838 kráthĀ 839 kláthĀ himśā=arthāḥ; 840 cānĀ ca; 841 vānŪ ca ná=úpa-labḥ-ya-te; 842 jválĀ dñp-t-au; 843 hválĀ 844 hmálĀ cál-an-e;

845 smṛ ā-dhyā-ne; 846 dṛ bhay-é; 847 nṛ nay-é; 848 śrā pāk-é; 849 'mār-aṇa-²tōṣ-aṇa-³ni-sām-ane-su jñā; 850 kámp-an-e cáliḥ; 851 chádī-r ūj-an-e; 852 jihvā=un-máth-an-e laḍiḥ; 853 mādī ¹hārṣa-²glép-anay-oḥ; 854 dhvánÁ sábd-e; ghátA=āday-aḥ MIT-aḥ.

(855 ránÁ sábd-e; 856 dálī 857 válī 858 skhálī 859 trápī 860 kṣáp-ay-as ca; 861 svánÁ ava-tāms-an-e)

862 jánī- 863 jṛṣ- 864 knásÚ- 865 ránj-aḥ-866 ám-antās ca; 867 jválÁ-hválÁ-hmálÁ-nám-ām án-upa-sarg-āt=vā; 868 glā-snā-vánÚ-vam-ām ca; 869 ná kāmī=āmī-cám-ām; 870 sam-aḥ dárś-an-e; 871 yam-aḥ=á-pari-veṣ-aṇ-e; 872 skhádīr ¹áva-²pári-bhyām ca; 873 phánÁ gát-au; vṛt.

I.A.20. phaṇA=āday-aḥ (6.4.125)

873 phánÁ gát-au; 874 rájṚ dṛp-t-au (svarita=IT); 875 ṬU-bhráj-R 876 ṬU-bhrás-R 877 ṬU-bhlás-R dṛp-t-au; 878 syámÚ 879 svánÁ sábd-e (udátta=IT-au); (880 ṣtánÁ) 881 DHvánÁ sábd-e (udátta=IT); 882 ṣámÁ 883 ṣtámÁ vaikaly-e.

I.A.21. jválÁ=āday-aḥ (3.1.140)

I.A.21.a. udāttāḥ udátta=IT-aḥ

884 jválÁ dṛp-t-au; 885 cálá kámp-an-e; 886 jálÁ ghát-an-e; 887 tálÁ 888 ṭválÁ vaiklavy-e; 889 ṣthálÁ sthān-e; 890 hálÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 891 ṇálÁ gandh-é; 892 pálÁ gát-au; 893 bálÁ pr-āṇ-an-e dhānya=ava-rodh-é ca; 894 púlÁ mahat-tv-e; 895 kúlÁ sam-styā-n-é; 896 sálÁ 897 húlÁ 898 pátī gát-au; húlÁ himśā-sam-vár-aṇay-oś ca; 899 kváthÉ niṣ-pāk-é; 900 páthÉ gát-au; 901 máthÉ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 902 ṬU-vámÁ ud-gír-aṇ-e; 903 bhrámÚ cáł-an-e; 904 kṣárÁ sam-cál-an-e;

I.A.21.b. udāttāḥ=ánudātta=IT

905 ṣáhA mārṣ-an-e;

I.A.21.c. án-udāttāḥ ánudātta=IT

906 ramA krīḍā-y-ām;

I.A.21.d. ánudāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

907 ṣadĪ ¹vi-sār-ana-²gá-ti=³ava-sād-ane-su; 908 ṣadĪ ṣāt-an-e; 909 kruśÁ ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca.

I.A.21.e. udāttau udātta=IT-au

910 kúcÁ ¹sam-pārc-ana-²kaúṭīlya-³prati-ṣṭambhá-⁴vi-lékh-ane-su; 911 búdhÁ ava-gám-an-e;

I.A.21.f. ánudāttāḥ udātta=IT

912 ruhÁ bĪja-jānman-i prādur-bhāv-é ca;

I.A.21.g. udāttah udātta=IT

913 kásÁ gá-t-au; vṛt.

I.A.22. svartitá=IT-aḥ

914 híkkÁ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e; 915 áñcŪ gá-t-au yāc-an-e ca; 916 ṬU-yácĪ yāc-nā-y-ām; 917 rétĪ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 918 cáttĒ/cádĒ yāc-an-e ca; 919 próthĪ pary-āp-t-au; 920 mídĪ/médĪ ¹medhá-²hīms-anay-oḥ; 921 nídĪ/nédĪ ¹kutsá-²sam-ni-kāṣ-ay-oḥ; 922 śṛdhŪ 923 mṛdhŪ únd-an-e; 924 búdhĪR bódh-an-e; 925 U-búndĪR ni-sām-an-e; 926 vénĪ ¹gá-ti-²jñāna-³cintá-⁴ni-sām-ana-⁵vād-i-tra-⁶gráh-aṇe-su; 927 khánŪ ava-dār-aṇ-e; 928 cívĪ ¹ā-dāná-²sam-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 929 cāyĪ ¹pūjā-²ni-sām-anay-oḥ; 930 vyáyÁ gá-t-au; 931 dāsĪ dān-é; 932 bhésĪ bhay-é; 933 bhrésĪ/bhlésĪ gá-t-au; 934 ásÁ ¹gá-ti-²dīp-ti=³ā-dāné-su; (935 áyÁ gá-t-au); 936 spásÁ ¹bādh-ana-²spárs-anay-oḥ; 937 lāsÁ kán-t-au; 938 cāsÁ bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 939 chāsÁ hīmsā-y-ām; 940 jhāsÁ ¹ā-daná-²sam-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 941 bhákÁ ád-an-e; 942 dśāĪ dān-é; 943 māhĪ mán-e; 944 gúhŪ sam-vár-aṇ-e; 945 śrīŪ sevā-y-ām.

I.B. ánudāttāḥ

I.B.1. áC=antāḥ

I.B.1.a. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

946 bhṛÑ bhár-aṇ-e; 947 hṛÑ hár-aṇ-e; 948 dhṛÑ dhár-aṇ-e; (949 kṛÑ kár-aṇ-e); 950 ṛiÑ pr-áp-aṇ-e;

I.B.1.b. parasmai-padín-aḥ

951 dheṬ pán-e; 952 glai 953 mlai harṣa-ksay-é; 954 dyai nyak-kár-aṇ-e; 955 drai svap-n-é; 956 dhrai tṛp-t-au; 957 dhyai cintā-y-ām; 958 rai sábd-e; 959 styal/ṣṭyal ¹sábd-a-²saṃ-ghātáy-oḥ; 960 khai khád-ane; 961 kṣai 962 jai 963 ṣai kṣay-é; 964 kai 965 gai sábd-e; 966 sai 967 śrai pāk-é; 968 pai 969 O-vai sóṣ-aṇ-e; 970 ṣṭai véṣt-an-e; 971 daiP sódh-an-e; 972 pā pán-e; 973 ghrā ghrāṇ-é; 974 dhmā ¹sábd-a-²agni-saṃ-yog-áy-oḥ; 975 ṣṭhā gati-ni-vṛt-t-aú; 976 mnā abhy-ās-é; 977 dāÑ dān-é; 978 hvṛ kauṭily-e; 979 svṛ ¹sábd-a-²upa-tāp-ay-oḥ; 980 smṛ cintā-y-ām; (981 dvṛ vár-aṇ-e); 982 ṣṛ gá-t-au; 983 ṛ ¹gá-ti-²pr-áp-aṇay-oḥ; 984 gṛ 985 ghṛ sēc-an-e; 986 dhvṛ hūrch-an-e; 987 sru gá-t-au; 988 ṣu ¹pra-sav-á-²aiśvāyay-oḥ; 989 sru srāv-aṇ-e; 990 dhru sthāiry-e; 991 du 992 dru gá-t-au; 993 ji 994 jri abhi-bhav-é; (995 ju iti sautrā-ḥ dhātu-ḥ gá-ti=artha-ḥ);

I.B.1.c. ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

996 smiÑ īṣad-dhás-an-e; 997 guÑ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e; 998 gāÑ gá-t-au; 999 kuÑ 1000 ghuÑ 1001 uÑ 1002 nuÑ (1003 khuÑ) sábd-e; 1004 cyuÑ 1005 jyuÑ 1006 pruÑ 1007 pluÑ gá-t-au; 1008 ruÑ ¹gá-ti-²rós-aṇay-oḥ; 1009 dhṛÑ ava-dhvāms-an-e; 1010 meÑ pra-ṇi-dān-é; 1011 deÑ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 1012 śyaiÑ gá-t-au; 1013 pyaiÑ vṛd-dh-au; 1014 traiÑ pái-an-e;

I.B.1.d. udāttāḥ atmane-pad-ín-aḥ

1015 púÑ páv-an-e; 1016 múÑ bāndh-an-e; 1017 ḍiÑ vīhāyas-ā gá-t-au;

I.B.1.e. udāttah paramai-pad-ī

1018 tī¹plāv-ana-²tār-aṇay-oḥ;

I.B.2. hāL=antāḥ

I.B.2.a. ānudātta=IT-aḥ

1019 gupA góp-an-e; 1020 tija ni-sān-e; 1021 mānA pūjā-y-ām; 1022 badhA bāndh-an-e; 1023 rabhA rābh-asy-e; 1024 ḌU-labhaṢ pra=āp-t-au; 1025 svanjA pari-ṣvang-é; 1026 hadÁ purīṣa=ut-sarg-é; (udātta=IT ca)

I.B.2.b. udātta=IT-aḥ

(1026 hadÁ purīṣa=ut-sarg-é); 1027 ŃI-kṣvid-Ā á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e (udāttah), 1028 skandĪR ¹gá-ti-²sós-aṇay-oḥ; 1029 yabhÁ vi-par-t-ta-maithun-é; 1030 ṇamÁ pra-hva-tvé sábd-e ca; 1031 gamĪ.1032 sṛpĪ gá-t-au; 1033 yamÁ upa-ram-é; 1034 tapÁ sam-tāp-é; 1035 tyajÁ hān-au; 1036 ṣanjÁ sāṅg-e; 1037 dṛśĪR pr-éks-aṇ-e; 1038 danśA dās-an-e; 1039 kṛṣÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 1040 dahÁ bhasm-i-kār-aṇ-e; 1041 mihÁ séc-an-e; 1042 kitA ni-vās-e roga=apa-náy-an-e ca;

I.B.2.c. svar-ita=IT-aḥ

1043 dānÀ khāṇḍ-an-e; 1044 sānÀ téj-an-e; 1045 ḌU-pac-ÀṢ pāk-é; (1046 ṣacÀ sam-av-ay-ē); 1047 bhajÀ sevā-y-ām; 1048 ranjÀ rāg-é; 1049 śapÀ Ē-kroś-é; 1050 tvisÀ dīp-t-au;

I.B.2.d. yajÀ=ād-ay-aḥ (6.1.15)

I.B.2.d.i. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

1051 yajÀ ¹deva-pūjā-²saṁ-ga-ti-kār-aṇa-³dāné-ṣu; 1052 ṬU-vapÀ bīja-saṁ-tān-é; 1053 vahÀ pr-āp-aṇ-e; 1054 vasÁ ni-vās-e (udātta=IT); 1055 veŃ tan-tu-saṁ-tān-é; 1056 vyeŃ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e; 1057 hveŃ spardhā-y-ām sábd-e ca;

I.B.2.d.ii. udāttau parsmāi-pad-in-au

1058 vādĀ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-ī; 1059 ṬU-O-svī ¹gā-ti-²vfd-dhy-oh.

II. Ad=āday=aḥ

II.A. ānudattāḥ

II.A.1. udātta=IT-au

1 adĀ bhākṣ-aṇ-e; 2 hanĀ ¹himsā-²gā-ty-oh;

II.A.2. svar-itā=IT-aḥ

3 dviṣĀ á-prī-t-au; 4 duhĀ pra-pūr-aṇ-e; 5 dihĀ upa-cay-é; 6 lihĀ ā-svād-an-e;

II.A.3. ānudātta=IT

7 cakṣīṆ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-ī;

II.B. udāttāḥ

II.B.1. ānudātta=IT-aḥ

8 írĀ gā-t-au; 9 ídĀ stú-t-au; 10 íśĀ aśvāry-e; 11 śśĀ upa-vés-an-e; 12 āṆ-aḥ śśśU icchā-y-ām; 13 vāsĀ ā-cchād-an-e; 14 kāsī ¹gā-ti-²śśś-anay-oh; 15 nīśī cúmb-an-e; 16 pījī súd-dh-au; 17 śījī á-vy-ak-te śābd-e; 18 pījī vārṇ-e; 19 vījī vārj-an-e; 20 pīcī sam-park-é; 21 śūṆ prāṇi-garbha-vī-móc-ane; 22 śīṆ sváp-n-e;

II.B.2. parasmāi-pad-in-aḥ

23 yú mīśr-aṇ-e; 24 rú śābd-e; (25 tú vfd-dhy-arthā-ḥ); 26 nū stú-t-au; 27 ṬUkṣú śābd-e; 28 kṣnū téj-an-e; 29 ṣnu pra-srāv-aṇ-e;

II.B.3. ubha-ya-pad-ī

30 ūṇuṇ ā-cchād-an-e

II.C. ānudāttāḥ parasmai-pad-īn-aḥ (excepting 34,35,37)

31 dyu abhi-gām-an-e; 32 ṣu ¹pra-savá=²āisvāyay-oḥ; 33 ku śábd-e; 34 ṣtuṇ stú-t-au; 35 brūṇ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 36 iṇ gá-t-au; 37 iṇ adhy-áy-an-e; 38 iK smār-aṇ-e; 39 vī ¹gá-ti=²pra-janá=³kān-ti=⁴ás-ana=⁵khād-ane-ṣu; 40 yā pr-āp-aṇ-e; 41 vā ¹gá-ti=²gāndh-anay-oḥ; 42 bhā dīp-t-au; 43 śnā śauc-é; 44 śrā pāk-é; 45 drā kutsā-y-ām gá-t-au; 46 psā bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 47 pā rákṣ-aṇ-e; 48 rā dan-é; 49 lā ā-dān-é; 50 dāP lāv-an-e; 51 khyā pra-kāth-an-e; 52 prā pūr-aṇ-e; 53 mā mán-e; 54 vacÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 55 vídÁ jñān-e (udātta-ḥ); 56 asÁ bhuv-í; 57 mṛjŪ súd-dh-au.

II.C.1. rud=āday-aḥ (7.2.76; 3.98,99)

58 rúdīr āru-vi-móc-an-e (udātta-ḥ); 59 Ūi-ṣvapÁ śay-é (ānu-dātta-ḥ); 60 śvāsÁ pr-āṇ-an-e; 61 ánÁ ca; 62 jákṣÁ ¹bhákṣa=²hās-anay-oḥ (60-62 udātt-āḥ).

II.C.2. jákṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ (6.1.6)

62 jákṣÁ ¹bhákṣa=²hās-anay-oḥ; 63 jāgr nidrā-kṣay-é; 64 dāridrā dur-gá-t-au; 65 cākāśŪ dīp-t-au; 66 śásŪ anu-śiṣ-t-au; 67 dīdhŪ ¹dīp-ti=²dév-anay-oḥ; 68 vévīṇ vé-ti-nā túl-y-e (62-68 udatt-āḥ; 67-68 chānd-as-au).

II.C.3. chāndas-au

69 śásÁ (śás-ti) sváp-n-e; 70 vāsÁ kán-t-au. 71 cár-kar-ī-taṁ ca; 72 hnuṇ āpa-náy-an-e (ānudātta-ḥ).

III. Ju-hó-ti=āday-aḥ

III.A. ánudāttāḥ

1 hu ¹dānā=²ád-anay-oḥ; 2 ŃI-bhṛ bhay-é; 3 hr̥ lajjā-y-ām; 4 pṛ ¹pāl-ana-²pūr-aṇay-oḥ; 5 ḌU-bhṛÑ ¹dhār-aṇa-²pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 6 māÑ mán-e śábd-e ca; 7 O-hāÑ gá-t-au; 8 O-hāK tyāg-é; 9 ḌUdāÑ dān-é; 10 ḌU-dhāÑ ¹dhār-aṇa-²pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 11 ṇij̐R̥ ¹śaucā-²pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 12 vij̐R̥ pṛthag-bhāv-é; 13 viṣ̐ vy-āp-t-au (11-13 svar-ita=IT-aḥ).

III.B. chāndasāḥ parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

14 ghṛ ¹kṣár-aṇa-²dīp-ty-oḥ; 15 hṛ pra-sah-ya-kár-aṇ-e; 16 ḡ 17 ṣḡ gá-t-au; 18 bhasÁ ¹bhárts-ana-²dīp-ty-oḥ; 19 ki (20 kitÁ) jñān-e; 21 turÁ tvár-aṇ-e; 22 dhiśÁ śábd-e; 23 dhanÁ dhāny-e; 24 janÁ ján-an-e; 25 gā stú-t-au.

IV. Dív-āday-aḥ

IV.A. udāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

1 dívÚ ¹kṛidā-²vi-ji-gī-ṣ-ā-³vy-ava-hāra-⁴dyú-ti-⁵stú-ti-⁶mód-a-⁷mád-a-⁸sváp-na-⁹kán-ti-¹⁰gá-ti-ṣu; 2 śívÚ tan-tu-sam-tān-e; 3 srívÚ ¹gá-ti-²sós-aṇay-oḥ; 4 ṣthívÚ ṣthívÚ nir-ás-an-e; 5 ṣṇúṣÚ ád-an-e; ā-dān-é ity ék-e; á-darś-an-e ity ápar-e; 6 knásÚ ¹hvár-aṇa-²dīp-tyo-ḥ; 7 v́yusÁ dāh-é; 8 pĺṣÁ ca; 9 n̐t̐l̐ gā-tra-vi-ksep-é; 10 trás̐ ud-veg-é; 11 kúthÁ pū-ti-bhāv-é; 12 púthÁ h́msā-y-ām; 13 gúdhÁ pari-vest-an-e; 14 kṣ́pÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 15 púṣpÁ vi-kás-an-e; 16 tímÁ 17 ṣ́tímÁ/ṣ́tīmÁ ārdṛt-bhāv-é; 18 vr̐ḑÁ cód-an-e (lajjā-y-ām ca); 19 íṣÁ gá-t-au; (20 śáhÁ) 21 śúhÁ caky-arṭh-e; 23 j̐ṣ̐ 23 jh̐ṣ̐ vayo-hā-n-aú.

IV.B. sú=āday-aḥ (oT=IT-aḥ) ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

IV.B.1. udāttau

24 sūÑ prāṇi-pra-sav-é; 25 dūÑ pari-tāp-é.

IV.B.2. ánudāttāḥ

26 dīN kṣay-é; 27 dīN víhāyas-ā gá-t-au; 28 dhīN ā-dhār-é; 29 mīN hīmsā-y-ām; 30 rīN śrāv-aṇ-e; 31 līN śléṣ-aṇ-e; 32 vīN vṛ-nó-ty=arth-e; sú=āday-aḥ oT=IT-aḥ.

33 pīN pān-e; 34 māN mán-e; īN gá-t-au; 36 prīN prī-t-au;

IV.C. ánudāttāḥ parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

37 śo tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 38 cho chéd-an-e; 39 ṣo anta-kar-mán-i; 40 do ava-khāṇd-an-e.

IV.D. udāttāḥ

IV.D.1. ánudatta=IT-aḥ

41 jāNī prādur-bhāv-é; 42 dīpī dīp-t-au; 43 pūrī ā-pyāy-an-e; 44 tūrī ¹gā-ti-tvár-aṇa-²hīms-anay-oḥ; 45 dhūrī 46 gūrī ¹hīmsā-²gá-ty-oḥ; 47 ghūrī 48 jūrī ¹hīmsā-²vayo-hā-ny-oḥ; 49 sūrī ¹hīmsā-²stambhāy-oḥ; 50 cūrī dāh-é; 51 tapA aśvāy-e vā (ánudatta-ḥ); 52 vṛtU vart-an-e; 52a klīśA upa-tāp-é; 53 kāsṚ dīp-t-au; 54 vāsṚ śābd-e;

IV.D.2. svar-itá=IT-au

55 mṛṣÀ titikṣā-y-ām; 56 ī-súcīṚ pūt-bhāv-é;

IV.E. ánudāttāḥ

IV.E.1. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

57 ṇahÀ bāndh-ane; 58 ranjÀ rāg-é; 59 śapÀ ā-krós-e;

IV.E.2. ánudatta=IT-aḥ

60 padA gá-t-au; 61 khidA daíny-e; 62 vidA sattā-y-ām; 63 budhA ava-gám-an-e; 64 yudhA sam-pra-hār-é; 65 ánoḥ=rudhA kām-é; 66 anA pr-āṇ-an-e; 67 manA jñān-e; 68 yujA sam-ā-dh-aú; 69 sṛjA vi-sarg-é; 70 liśA alpī-bhāv-é;

IV.E.3. udātta=IT-au

71 rādhÁ=ḥ á-karma-k-āt vḥd-dh-āv evá; 72 vyadhÁ táḍ-an-e;

IV.F. puṣÁ=āday-aḥ (3.1.55) udātta=IT-aḥ

IV.F.1. ānudāttāḥ

73 puṣÁ pús-t-au; 74 śuṣÁ sóṣ-aṇ-e; 75 tuṣÁ prf-t-au; 76 duṣÁ vaí-kṛ-t-y-e; 77 śliṣÁ ā-līṅ-an-e; 78 śakÁ ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-ḥ mārṣ-aṇ-e; 79 śvidÁ gā-tra-pra-kṣár-aṇ-e; 80 krudhÁ kópe; 81 kṣudhÁ bubhuk-ṣā-yā-m; 82 sudhÁ sauc-é; 83 śidhÚ sam-rād-dh-au;

IV.F.2. radhA=āday-aḥ (7.2.45)

84 radhÁ ¹himsā-²saṁ-rād-dhy-oḥ; 85 ṇasÁ á-dars-an-e; 86 tṛpÁ prf-an-e; 87 dṛpÁ ¹hārṣa-²móh-anay-oḥ; 88 druhÁ jighamṣā-y-ām; 89 muhÁ vaicitty-e; 90 ṣṇuhÁ ud-gír-aṇ-e; 91 ṣṇihÁ prf-t-au;

IV.F.3. udāttāḥ

IV.F.3.a. sám=āday-aḥ (3.2.141; 7.3.74)

92 sámÚ upa-sám-é; 93 támÚ kāṅkṣā-y-ām; 94 dāmÚ upa-sám-é; 95 śramÚ táp-aṣ-i khed-é ca; 96 bhrámÚ án-ava-sthān-e; 97 kṣámÚ sáh-an-e; 98 klámÚ glā-n-aú; 99 mādÍ háṛṣ-e;

100 ásÚ kṣép-aṇ-e; 101 yásÚ pra-yat-n-é; 102 jásÚ mókṣ-aṇ-e; 103 tásÚ upa-kṣay-é; 104 dásÚ ca; 105 vásÚ stambh-é; 106 vyúsÁ ví-bhāḡ-é; 107 plúsÁ dāh-é; 108 bísÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 109 kúsÁ ślēs-aṇ-e; 110 búsÁ ut-sarg-é; 111 músÁ khāṇḍ-an-e; 112 māsÍ pari-mān-e; 113 lútÁ ví-lóḍ-an-e; 114 úcÁ sam-av-āy-é; 115 bhḥśÚ/bhḥṇśÚ adhaḥ-pát-an-e; 116 vḥśÁ vár-aṇ-e; 117 kḥśÁ tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 118 Ńl-tḥśÁ pipā-sā-y-ām; 119 hḥśÁ túṣ-t-au; 120 rúsÁ rós-e; 121 dípÁ kṣép-e; 122 kúpÁ kródh-e; 123 gúpÁ vy-ā-kula-tv-é; 124 yúpÁ 125 rúpÁ 126 lúpÁ ví-móh-ane; (127 ṣtúpÁ sam-uc-chrṣ-y-é); 128 lúbhÁ gārd-dhy-e; 129 kṣúbhÁ sam-cál-an-e; 130 ṇábhÁ 131 túbhÁ himsā-y-ām; 132 klídÚ ārdri-bhāv-é; 133 Ńl-míd-Á snéh-an-e; 134 Ńl-kṣvíd-Á ¹snéh-ana-²móc-anay-oḥ; 135 ḡdhÚ vḥd-dh-au; 136 ḡḡdhÚ abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām; vṛt.

V. Su=āday=aḥ

V.A. ānudāttāḥ

V.A.1. ubha-ya-pad-in-aḥ

1 ṣuṆ abhi-ṣav-é; 2 ṣiṆ bāndh-an-e; 3 śiṆ ni-sān-e; 4 DU-miṆ pra-kṣép-aṇ-e; 5 ciṆ cáy-an-e; 6 stjṆ ā-cchād-an-e; 7 kṛṆ hiṁsā-y-ām; 8 vṛṆ vár-aṇ-e (udātta-ḥ); 9 dhuṆ kámp-an-e;

V.A.2. parasmai-pad-in-aḥ

10 ṬU-du upa-tāp-é; 11 hi gá-t-au vṛd-dh-au ca; 12 pṛ prí-t-au; 13 spṛ ¹prí-ti-²pāl-anay-oḥ; ¹prí-ti-²cál-anay-or ity ány-e; smṛ ity ék-e; 14 āpṛ vy-āp-t-au; 15 śakṛ śák-t-au; 16 rādhÁ 17 sādhaÁ saṁ-síd-dh-au;

V.B. udāttāḥ

V.B.1. ān-udātta=IT-au

18 ásŪ vy-āp-t-au saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 19 ṣṭighA ā-skánd-an-e;

V.B.2. udātta=IT-aḥ

20 tíkÁ/tígÁ gá-t-au; 21 ṣághÁ hiṁsā-y-ām; 22 ņi-dhṛṣ-À prá-galbhy-e; 23 dánbhŪ dambh-é; 24 ḥdhŪ vṛd-dh-au; 25 tṛpÁ prīṇ-an-e;

V.B.3. chándas-i

26 áhÁ vy-āp-t-au; 27 dághÁ ghāt-an-e pāl-an-e ca; 28 cāmŪ bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 29 rí 30 kṣí 31 círi 32 jírí 33 dásÁ 34 dṛ hiṁsā-y-ām; vṛt.

VI. Tudà=āday-aḥ

VI.A. áṇ-udattāḥ svarīta=IT=aḥ

1 tudÀ vyáth-an-e; 2 ṇudÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 3 diśÀ ati-sárj-an-e; 4 bhrasjÀ pāk-é; 5 kṣipÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 6 kṛṣÀ vi-lékh-an-e;

VI.B. udāttāḥ

VI.B.1. udātta=IT

7 ḡṣī ḡá-t-au;

VI.B.2. áṇ-udātta=IT-aḥ

8 júṣī ¹prī-ti-²sév-anay-oḥ; 9 O-vīj-ī ¹bhay-á-²cál-anay-oḥ; 10 O-láj-ī/O-lásj-ī vrīḡ-é;

VI.B.3. udātta=IT-aḥ

11 O-vrásč-Ū chéd-an-e; 12 vyácÁ vyāḡi-kár-aṇ-e; 13 úchī uñch-é; 14 úchī vi-vás-é; 15 ḡchÁ ¹ḡá-ti-²indr-īya-pra-lay-á-³mūrti-bhāve-ṣu; 16 míchÁ ut-kles-é; 17 járjÁ/cárcÁ/jhárjhÁ ¹pari-bhāṣ-a-²bhāṛts-anay-oḥ; 18 tvácÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 19 ḡcÁ stú-t-au; 20 úbjÁ ārjav-é; 21 údjhÁ ut-sārg-e; 22 lúbhÁ vi-móh-an-e; 23 ríphÁ ¹kátth-ana-²yuddhá-³nindá-⁴himsā-⁵dāné-ṣu; 24 tḡphÁ 25 tḡṇphÁ tḡp-t-au; 26 túpÁ/túnphÁ/ 27 túphÁ/túnphÁ himsā-y-ām; 28 dḡphÁ 29 dḡṇphÁ ut-klés-e; 30 ḡphÁ/ḡṇphÁ himsā-y-ām; 31 gúphÁ/gúnphÁ granth-é; 32 úbhÁ/únbhÁ pūr-aṇ-e; 33 súbhÁ/súnbhÁ śobhā=arth-e; 34 dḡbhī granth-é; 35 cḡtī ¹himsā-²grānth-anay-oḥ; 36 vídhÁ vidhān-é; 37 júḡÁ ḡá-t-au; 38 mḡḡÁ súkh-an-e; 39 pḡḡÁ ca; 40 pḡṇÁ prīṇ-an-e; 41 mḡṇÁ himsā-y-am; 42 dúṇÁ kaūṭīl-y-e; 43 púnÁ kár-maṇ-i śubh-é; 44 múnÁ prati-jñān-e; 45 kúnÁ ¹śabda=²upa-tāpay-óḥ; 46 śunÁ ḡá-t-au; 47 drúnÁ ¹himsā-²ḡá-ti-³kaūṭīlye-ṣu; 48 ghúnÁ 49 ghūrṇÁ bhrām-aṇ-e; 50 śúrÁ ¹aśvarya-²dḡp-ty-oḥ; 51 kúrÁ śābd-e; 52 khúrÁ chéd-an-e; 53 múrÁ saṁ-veṣṭ-an-e; 54 kśúrÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 55 ghúrÁ ¹bhīmá=artha-²śābd-e; 56 púrÁ agra-gamane; 57 vḡhŪ ud-yām-an-e; 58 tḡhŪ/stḡhŪ/tḡṇhŪ himsā=arthāḥ; 59 īśÁ icchā-y-ām; 60 mīśÁ spardhā-y-ām; 61 kílÁ śvāity-e; 62 tílÁ snéh-an-e; 63 cílÁ vás-an-e; 64 cālÁ vi-lás-an-e; 65 ílÁ ¹svāp-na-²kṣép-aṇay-oḥ; 66 vílÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 67 bílÁ bhéd-an-e; 68 ṇílÁ gāh-an-e; 69 hílÁ bhāva-kár-aṇ-e; 70 śílÁ śílÁ uñch-é; 71 mílÁ slés-aṇ-e; 72 líkhÁ akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é.

VI.C. kútÁ=āday-aḥ (1.2.1)

VI.C.1. udāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

73 kútÁ kaṭṭily-e; 74 pútÁ saṁ-sleṣ-aṇ-e; 75 kúcÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 76 gújÁ sábd-e; 77 gúdÁ rakṣā-y-āṁ; 78 dípÁ kṣép-e; 79 chúrÁ chéd-an-e; 80 sphútÁ vi-kás-an-e; 81 mūtÁ ¹ā-kṣep-á-²pra-márd-anay-oḥ; 82 trútÁ chéd-an-e; 83 tútÁ kalaha-kár-maṇ-i; 84 cúťÁ/chúťÁ chéd-an-e; 85 júďÁ bándh-an-e; 86 káďÁ mad-é; 87 lútÁ saṁ-sleṣ-aṇ-e; 88 kďďÁ ghana-tv-é; 89 kúďÁ bály-e; 90 púďÁ ut-sárg-e; 91 ghúťÁ prati-ghāt-é; 92 túďÁ tód-an-e; 93 thúďÁ 94 sthúďÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 95 sphúrÁ 96 sphúlÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 97 sphúďÁ 98 cúďÁ 99 vrúďÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; (100 krúďÁ 101 bhďďÁ ni-máj-j-an-e; 102 húďÁ saṁ-ghā-té); 103 gúrĪ ud-yám-an-e; 104 nú stú-t-au; 105 dhú vi-dhūn-an-e; 106 gú purīṣa=ut-sargé; 107 dhru ¹gāti-²sthairya-y-oḥ (ánudātta-ḥ).

VI.C.2. ātmane-pad-í

108 kúĪ sábd-e;

VI.D. ánudāttāḥ

VI.D.1. ātmane-pad-ín-au

109 pṛĪ vy-ā-yām-é; 110 mṛĪ prāṇa-tyāg-é;

VI.D.2. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

111 ri 112 pi gá-t-au; 113 dhi dhār-aṇ-e; 114 kṣi ¹ni-vās-á-²gá-ty-oḥ; 115 sú pr-ér-aṇ-e (udātta-ḥ);

VI.D.3. kir-āday-aḥ (7.2.75)

116 kṛ vi-kṣép-e; 117 gṛ ni-gár-aṇ-e; 118 đṛĪ ā-dar-é; 119 dhṛĪ ava-sthān-e; 120 prachA jñīpsā-y-āṁ; [116-17 udātta-au; 118-19 ātmane-pad-in-au].

VI.D.4. udātta=rr-ah

121 sṛjÁ vi-sárg-e; 122 ṭU-masj-Ó súd-dh-au; 123 rujÓ bhaṅg-é; 124 bhujÓ kauṭily-e; 125 chupÁ sparsé; 126 ruśÁ/riśÁ himsā-y-ām; 127 liśÁ gá-t-au; 128 sprśÁ sam-spárs-an-e; 129 vichÁ gá-t-au; 130 viśÁ pra-vés-an-e; 131 mṛśÁ ā-mārṣ-aṇ-e; 132 ṇudÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 133 ṣadĴ¹ vi-sār-aṇa-²gá-ti=³ava-sād-ane-ṣu; 134 śadĴ śāt-an-e;

VI.D.5. svar-īta=IT

135 mīlÀ sam-gám-an-e (udātta-ḥ);

VI.D.6. muc=āday-ah (7.1.59)

VI.D.6.a. svar-ita-it-ah

136 mucĴ mokṣ-aṇ-e; 137 lupĴ chéd-an-e; 138 vidĴ lābh-é; 139 lipÀ upa-déh-e; 140 ṣicÀ kṣār-aṇ-e;

VI.D.6.b. udātta=IT-ah

141 kṛtĪ chéd-an-e; 142 khidÁ pari-ghāt-é; 143 písÁ ava-yav-é. vrt.

VII. Rudh=āday-ah

VII.A. ānudattāḥ svar-īta=IT-ah

1 rudhĪR ā-vár-aṇ-e; 2 bhidĪR vi-dār-aṇ-e; 3 chidĪR dvaidhī-kār-aṇ-e; 4 ricĪR vi-réc-an-e; 5 vicĪR pṛthag-bhāv-é; 6 kṣudĪR sam-pr-éṣ-aṇ-e; 7 yujĪR yóg-e;

VII.B. udāttāḥ

VII.B.1. svar-īta=IT-au

8 UchġdĪR¹ dġp-ti-²dév-anay-oḥ; 9 UtġdĪR¹ himsā=²án-ā-dar-ay-oḥ;

VII.B.2. udātta=IT

10 kṛtī vest-an-e;

VII.B.3. ānudātta=IT

11 Ņl-indh-ī dīp-t-au;

VII.C. ānudāttāḥ

VII.C.1. ānudātta=IT-au

12 khidA daīny-e; 13 vidA vi-cār-aṇ-e;

VII.C.2. udātta=IT-aḥ

14 śiṣṭī vi-śeṣ-aṇ-e; 15 piṣṭī sam-cūrṇ-an-e; 16 bhanjÓ ā-mārd-an-e; 17 bhujÁ ¹pāl-ana=²abhy-ava-hār-āy-oḥ;

VII.D. udāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

18 tṛhÁ himśā-y-ām; 19 hīsī himśā-y-ām; 20 úndī kléd-an-e; 21 ānjŪ ¹vy-āk-ti-²mrākṣ-aṇa-³kān-ti-⁴gā-ti-ṣu; 22 táncŪ sam-kóc-an-e; 23 O-vīj-ī ¹bhayá-²cāl-anay-oḥ; 24 vṛjī várj-an-e; 25 pṛcī sam-park-é; vṛt.

VIII. Tan-āday-aḥ

VIII.A. udāttāḥ

VIII.A.1. svar-īta=IT-aḥ

1 tánŪ vi-stār-é; 2 śánŪ dān-é; 3 kṣánŪ himśā-y-ām; 4 kṣṇŪ ca; 5 ṛṇŪ gā-t-au; 6 tṛṇŪ ád-an-e; 7 ghṛṇŪ dīp-t-au;

VIII.A.2. ānudātta=IT-au

8 vánŪ yác-an-e; 9 mánŪ ava-bódh-an-e;

VIII.B. ánudāttāḥ=ubha-ya-to-bhāṣā-ḥ

10 ḍU-kṛ-Ñ kár-aṇ-e.

IX. Kṛī=aday-aḥ

IX.A. ánudāttāḥ svar-íta=IT-aḥ

1 ḍU-kṛī-Ñ dravya-vi-ni-may-é; 2 prīÑ tárp-aṇ-e kán-t-au ca; 3 sṛīÑ pāk-é; 4 mīÑ mán-e; 5 ṣīÑ bándh-an-e; 6 skuÑ ā-práv-aṇ-e; (7 stanbhŪ stunbhŪ 8 skanbhŪ skunbhŪ ródh-an-e); 9 yuÑ bándh-an-e;

IX.B. udāttāḥ

IX.B.1. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

10 knŪÑ sábd-e; 11 drŪÑ himsā-y-ām;

IX.B.2. pŭ=āday-aḥ (7.3.80)

IX.B.2.a. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

12 pŭÑ páv-an-e; [12-33: pŭ=aday-aḥ].

IX.B.2.b. lŭ=āday-aḥ (8.2.44: 13-33)

13 lŭÑ chéd-an-e; 14 stŕÑ ā-echād-an-e; 15 kŕÑ himsā-y-ām; 16 vŕÑ vár-aṇ-e; 17 dhŭÑ kámp-an-e;

IX.B.3. udātta=IT-aḥ

18 śŕ himsā-y-ām; 19 pŕ ¹pāl-ana-²pŭr-aṇay-oḥ; 20 vŕ vár-aṇ-e; 21 bhŕ bhárts-an-e; 22 mŕ himsā-y-ām; 23 dŕ vi-dār-aṇ-e; 24 jŕ vayo-hā-n-áu; 25 nŕ nay-é; 26 kŕ himsā-y-ām; 27 ŕ gá-t-au; 28 gŕ sábd-e;

IX.C. ánudāttāḥ udātta-it-aḥ

29 jyā vayo-hā-n-áu; 30 rī-¹gá-ti-²rēs-aṇay-oḥ; 31 ḥ ślēṣ-aṇ-e; 32 vī vár-aṇ-e; 32a pī gá-t-au; vŕt. 33 vī vár-aṇ-e; 34 bhrī bhay-é; 35 kṣī himsā-y-ām; 36 jñā ava-bódh-an-e; 37 bandhÁ bándh-an-e;

IX.D. udāttah

IX.D.1. ātmane-pad-f

38 vṛṇ sam-bhák-t-au;

IX.D.2. udātta=it-ah

39 śránthÁ ¹vi-móc-ana-²prati-harṣáy-oh; 40 mánthÁ vi-lód-ane; 41 gránthÁ sam-darbh-é; 42 kúnthÁ sam-sleş-aṇ-e; 43 mṛdÁ kṣód-e; 44 mṛdÁ ca; 45 gúdhÁ rós-e; 46 kúṣÁ niṣ-karṣ-é; 47 kṣúbhÁ sam-cál-an-e; 48 nábhÁ 49 túbhÁ himsá-y-ām; 50 klísŪ vi-bādh-an-e; 51 ásÁ bhóḥ-an-e; 52 údhrasÁ uñch-é; 53 ṣṣÁ ābhīksny-e; 54 vísÁ vi-pra-yog-é; 55 prúṣÁ 56 plúṣÁ ¹snéh-ana-²sév-ana-³pūraṇe-ṣu; 57 púṣÁ púṣ-t-au; 58 múṣÁ sté-y-e; 59 khácÁ bhūta-prādur-bhāv-é; (60) hédhÁ ca;

IX.D.3. svar-íta=it

61 gráhÁ up-ā-dān-é.

X. Cur-āday-ah

X.A. parasmai-pad-fn-ah

1 curÁ ste-y-é; 2 cití smṛ-ty-ām; 3 yatrí sam-kóc-an-e; 4 sphuḍí pari-hās-é; 5 lakṣÁ ¹dárs-ana-²ānk-ānay-oh; 6 kudrí an-ṛta-bhās-aṇ-e; 7 laḍÁ upa-sevā-y-ām; 8 midí snéh-an-e; 9 olaḍí ut-kṣép-aṇ-e; 10 jalÁ apa-vār-aṇ-e; 11 pīḍÁ ava-gāh-an-e; 12 naṭÁ ava-syānd-an-e; 13 śrathÁ pra-yat-n-é; 14 badhÁ sam-yām-an-e; 15 pṛ pūr-aṇ-e; 16 ūrjÁ ¹bála-²pr-āṇ-anay-oh; 17 pakṣÁ pari-gráh-e; 18 varṇÁ cūrṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 19 prathÁ pra-khyān-e; 20 pṛthA pra-kṣep-é; 21 śambÁ sam-bāndh-an-e; 22 bhakṣÁ ād-an-e; 23 kuṭṭÁ ¹chéd-ana-²bhārts-anay-oh; 24 puṭṭÁ cuṭṭÁ alpi-bhāv-é; 25 aṭṭÁ 26 suṭṭÁ ān-ā-dar-e; 27 luṇṭhÁ sté-y-e; 28 śaṭhÁ 29 śvathÁ ¹ā-sam-s-kār-a-²gā-ty-oh; 30 tují 31 pijí ¹himsá-²bála-³ā-dānā-⁴ni-két-ane-ṣu; 32 piśa gā-t-au; 33 śāntvÁ sāma-pra-yog-é; 34 śvalkÁ 35 valkÁ pari-bhās-aṇ-e; 36 ṣṇihÁ snéh-an-e; 37 smīṭÁ ān-ā-dar-e; 38 śliṣÁ śleş-aṇ-e; 39 pathí ga-t-au; 40 picḥÁ kúṭṭ-an-e; 41 chaḍí sam-vār-aṇ-e; 42 śraṇÁ dān-é; 43 taḍÁ ā-ghāt-é; 44 khaḍÁ khaḍí kaḍí khāṇḍ-an-e; 45 kuḍí rákṣ-aṇ-e; 46 guḍí vēṣṭ-an-e; 47 khuḍí khāṇḍ-an-e; 48 vaṭí

vi-bháj-an-e; 49 mađí bhūsá-y-ām; 50 bhađí kalyāṇ-e; 51 chardÁ vām-an-e; 52 pustÁ bustÁ ¹ā-darā=²ān-ā-daray-oh; 53 cudÁ saṁ-cód-an-e; 54 nakkÁ 55 dhakkÁ nás-an-e; 56 cakkÁ cukká vyáth-an-e; 57 ksalÁ śauca-kār-maṇ-i; 58 talÁ pra-tiṣṭhā-y-ām; 59 tulÁ un-mān-e; 60 dulÁ ut-kṣep-é; 61 pulÁ mahat-tv-é; 62 culÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é; 63 mūlÁ rōh-aṇ-e; 64 kalÁ 65 vilÁ kṣep-e; 66 bilÁ bhéd-an-e; 67 tilÁ snéh-an-e; 68 calÁ bhṭ-t-au; 69 palÁ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 70 luśÁ himśá-y-ām; 71 sulbÁ mān-e; 72 cuṭÁ chéd-an-e; 73 muṭÁ saṁ-cūrṇ-an-e; 74 pađí paśí nás-an-e; 75 vrajá ¹mārga-saṁ-s-kār-a-²gá-ty-oh; 76 sulká ati-sárj-an-e; 77 capí gá-ty-ām; 78 kṣapí kṣān-ty-ām; 79 kṣají kṣcchra-jīv-an-e; 80 svartÁ gá-ty-ām; 81 jñapÁ M-IT=ca jñapÁ ¹jñāna-²jñāp-ana-³mār-aṇa-⁴tōṣ-aṇa-⁵ni-sāna-⁶ni-sām-ane-ṣu 82 yamÁ ca pari-vēṣ-aṇ-e; 83 cahá pari-kálk-an-e; 84 rahÁ tyāg-é; 85 balÁ pr-āṇ-an-e; 86 ciñ cáy-an-e; na-āny-e M-IT-aḥ.

87 ghaṭṭÁ cáł-an-e; 88 mustÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 89 khaṭṭÁ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e; 90 ṣaṭṭÁ 91 sphittÁ 92 cubí himśá-y-ām; (93 puśÁ) 94 pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 95 puśmÁ abhi-vārdh-an-e; (96 vyapÁ kṣep-e); 97 takí bāndh-an-e; 98 dhūsÁ kān-ti-kār-aṇ-e; 99 kṭtÁ vārṇ-e; 100 cūrṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 101 pūjÁ pūjā-y-ām; 102 arkÁ stāv-an-e; 103 śuṭhÁ ā-lasy-e; 104 śuṭhí śōṣ-aṇ-e; 105 juḍÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 106 gajÁ 107 mārjÁ śabda-arṭh-au; 108 gḥṛ pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 109 pací vi-stāra-vāc-an-e; 110 tijÁ ni-sān-e; 111 kṛtÁ saṁ-śābd-an-e; 112 vardhÁ ¹chéd-ana-²pūr-aṇay-oh; 113 kubí chād-an-e; 114 lubí 115 tubí ā-darś-an-e; 116 hlapÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-i; 117 cuṭí chéd-an-e; (118 mṛđí tuđí) 119 ilÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 120 mrakṣÁ mlecch-an-e; 121 mlechÁ ā-vy-ak-tā-y-ām vāc-i; 122 brūsÁ 123 barhÁ himśá-y-ām; (124 garjÁ gardÁ śābd-e; 125 gardhÁ abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām); 126 gurdÁ 127 pūrvā ni-két-an-e; 128 jasí rákṣ-aṇ-e; 129 ṭḍÁ stú-t-au; 130 jasÚ himśá-y-ām; 131 piđí saṁ-ghāt-é; 132 ruśÁ rōṣ-e; 133 ḍipÁ kṣep-e; 134 ṣṭūpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é.

X.B. ātmane-pad-in-aḥ

ā kusm-āt=ātmane-pad-in-aḥ: 135 citÁ saṁ-cét-an-e; 136 daśí dáśś-an-e; 137 dasí ¹dárs-ana-²dāśś-anay-oh; 138 ḍapÁ ḍipÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 139 tatrí kuṭumba-dhār-aṇ-e; 140 matrí gup-ta-bhāṣ-aṇ-é; 141 spaśÁ ¹grāh-aṇa-²saṁ-ślēs-aṇay-oh; 142 tarjÁ 143 bhartsÁ saṁ-tārj-an-e; 144 hastÁ 145 gandhÁ ārd-an-e; 146 viṣkÁ himśá-y-ām; 147 niṣkÁ pari-māṇ-e; 148 lalÁ ṭp-sā-y-ām; 149 kuṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 150

tūṇA pūr-aṇ-e; 151 bhrūṇA āśā-y-ām; 152 śaṭhA ślāghā-y-ām; 153 yakṣA pūjā-y-ām; 154 syamA vi-tārke; 155 gūrA ud-yām-an-e; 156 śamA 157 lakṣA ā-lōc-an-e; 158 kutsA ava-kṣép-aṇ-e; 159 truṭA chéd-an-e; 160 galA srāv-aṇ-e; 161 bhalA ā-bhāṇḍ-an-e; 162 kuṭA ā-pra-dān-e; 163 vancU pra-lāmbh-an-e; 164 vṛṣA śak-ti-bāndh-an-e; 165 madA tṛp-ti-yog-é; 166 divU pari-kūj-an-e; 167 gṛ vi-jñan-é; 168 vidA ¹cét-ana=²ā-khyā-na-³ni-vāsé-ṣu; 169 manA stambh-é; 170 yu jugup-sā-y-ām; 171 kusma nāmn-aḥ vā [kuts-ita-smāy-an-e].

X.C. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

172 carcÁ adhy-áy-an-e; 173 bukkÁ bhaṣ-aṇ-e; 174 śabdÁ śabda-kriy-ā-y-ām; upa-sarg-āt=āviṣ-kār-é ca; 175 kaṇÁ ni-mṛl-an-e; 176 jabhí nās-an-e; 177 ṣudÁ kṣár-aṇ-e; 178 jasÚ tād-an-e; 179 paśÁ bāndh-an-e; 180 amÁ róg-e; 181 caṭÁ 182 sphuṭÁ bhéd-an-e; 183 ghaṭÁ sam-ghāt-é; 184 hán-ti=arth-ās=ca; 185 divÚ márd-an-e; 186 arjÁ pra-yat-n-é; 187 ghuṣíR vi-śabd-an-e; 188 āñ-aḥ krandÁ sā-ta-ty-e; 189 lasA śilpa-yog-é; 190 tasí bhūśÁ alam-kār-é; 191 mokṣA ās-an-e; 192 arhÁ pūjā-y-ām; 193 jñā ni-yog-é; 194 bhajÁ vi-srāṇ-an-e; 195 ṣṛdhÚ pra-sāh-an-e; 196 yatÁ ¹ni-kār-á=²upa-s-kār-áy-oḥ; 197 rakÁ lagÁ ā-svād-an-e; 198 ancÚ vi-sés-aṇ-e; 199 ligí citrī-kār-aṇ-e; 200 mudÁ sam-sarg-é; 201 trasÁ dhār-aṇ-e; 202 udhrasÁ uñch-é; 203 mucÁ pra-móc-an-e mód-an-e ca; 204 vasÁ ¹sneh-á=²ched-á=³apa-hár-aṇ-e-ṣu; 205 carÁ sam-say-é; 206 cyu-hás-an-e; sáh-an-e ca ity ék-e; 207 bhuv-aḥ ava-kálk-an-e; 208 kṛpé ca.

X.C.1. ā svad-aḥ sa-kar-ma-k-āt

209 grasÁ grāh-aṇ-e; 210 puṣÁ dhār-aṇ-e; 211 dalÁ vi-dār-aṇ-e; 212 paṭÁ 213 puṭÁ 214 luṭÁ 215 tují 216 mijí 217 pijí 218 lují 219 bhají 220 laghí 221 trasí 222 piśí 223 kuśí 224 daśí 225 kuśí 226 ghaṭÁ 227 ghaṭí 228 bṛhí 229 barhÁ 230 balhÁ 231 gupÁ 232 dhupÁ 233 vichÁ 234 civÁ 235 puthÁ 236 lokṛ 237 locṛ 238 ṇadÁ 239 kupÁ 240 tarkÁ 241 vṛtÚ 242 vṛdhÚ bhāśā=arth-aḥ; (243 ruṭÁ 244 lají 245 ají 246 daśí 247 bhṛśí 248 ruśí 249 śikÁ 250 naṭÁ 251 puṭí 252 juśí 253 raghí 254 laghí 255 ahí 256 rahí 257 mahí bhāśā=arth-aḥ; 258 laḍí 259 taḍÁ 260 nalÁ ca); 261 pūrí ā-pyāy-an-e; 262 rujÁ hīmsā-y-ām; 263 ṣvadÁ ā-svād-an-e; svād-Á ity ék-e.

X.C.2. á dhṛṣ-āt vā

264 yujÁ 265 pṛcÁ saṁ-yám-an-e; 266 arcÁ pūjÁ-y-ām; 267 ṣahÁ máṛṣ-aṇ-e; 268 IrÁ kṣép-e; 269 Ir dravī-kár-aṇ-e; 270 vṛñ ā-vár-aṇ-e; 271 vṛjī várj-an-e; 272 jṛ vayo-hā-n-aú; 273 ricÁ ¹vi-yó-j-ana-²saṁ-párc-anay-oḥ; 274 śiṣÁ á-sarva=upa-yog-e; 275 tapÁ dāh-é; 276 tṛpÁ tṛp-t-au; 277 chṛdī saṁ-dīp-an-e; 278 dṛbhī bhay-é; 279 dṛbhÁ saṁ-dárbh-e; 280 śrathÁ mókṣ-aṇ-e; 281 mI gá-t-au; 282 granthÁ bándh-an-e; 283 śrkÁ ā-máṛṣ-aṇ-e; 284 cṛkÁ ca; 285 ardÁ himśá-y-ām; 286 hiś himśá-y-ām; (287 arhÁ pūjÁ-y-ām); 288 śñ-ah ṣad-Á padī=arth-é; 289 śundhÁ śauca-kár-maṇ-i; 290 chadÁ apa-vár-aṇ-e; 291 juṣÁ pari-tárk-aṇ-e; 292 dhūñ kámp-an-e; 293 pṛñ tárp-aṇ-e; 294 śranthÁ granthÁ saṁ-dárbh-e; 295 āpḷ lāmbh-an-e (svar-it=IT ca); 296 tanÚ ¹śrad-dhā=²upa-kár-anay-oḥ; upa-sárg-āt ca daírghy-e; 297 vadÁ saṁ-deśa-vác-an-e; 298 vacÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 299 mānÁ pūjÁ-y-ām; 300 bhū pr-āp-t-au ātmane-pad-ī vā; 301 garhÁ vi-nínd-an-e; 302 mārgÁ anv-és-aṇ-e; 303 kathī sók-e; 304 mṛjÁ ¹saucá=²alam-kār-áy-oḥ; 305 mṛṣA titik-ṣá-y-ām (ánudātta=IT/mṛṣÁ svar-ita=IT); 306 dhṛṣÁ pra-sáh-an-e.

X.D. aT=ant=āḥ

X.D.1. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

307 katha vāk-ya-pa-bándh-e; 308 vara Ip-sá-y-ām; 309 gaṇa saṁ-khyān-e; 310 śāṭha śvāṭha samyag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 311 paṭa vaṭa grānth-e; 312 raha tyāg-é; 313 stana 314 gadī deva-sabd-é; 315 pata gá-t-au vā; 316 paṣa án-upa-sarg-āt; 317 svara ā-kṣep-é; 318 raca prati-yat-n-é; 319 kala gá-t-au saṁ-khyān-e ca; 320 caha pari-kálk-an-e; 321 maha pūjÁ-y-ām; 322 sara 323 kṛpa 324 śratha daur-bal-y-e; 325 spṛha Ip-sá-y-ām; 326 bhāma kródh-e; 327 sūca paśuny-e; 328 kṣeta bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 329 kṣoṭa kṣép-e; 330 goma upa-lép-an-e; 331 kumāra krīdā-y-ām; 332 śīla upa-dhār-a-ṇ-e; 333 sāma sántva-pa-yog-é; 334 vela kāla=upa-deś-é; 335 palyūla ¹láv-ana-²páv-anay-oḥ; 336 vāta ¹sukhá-²sév-anay-oḥ; 337 gaveṣa mār-g-aṇ-e; 338 vāsa upa-sév-á-y-ām; 339 nivāsa ā-cchād-an-e; 340 bhāja pṛthak-kár-maṇ-i; 341 sabhāja ¹pṛ-ti-²dárs-anay-oḥ; 342 ūna pari-hā-ṇ-é; 343 dhvana śabd-e; 344 kūṭa pari-tāp-é; 345 saṁketa 346 grāma 347 kuṇa guṇa ca ā-māntr-aṇ-e; (348 kūṇa saṁ-kóc-an-e); 349 ste-na caúry-e.

X.D.2. ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

X.D.2.a. ā garv-āt ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

350 pada gá-t-au; 351 gr̥ha gráh-aṇ-e; 352 mṛga anv-éṣ-aṇ-e; 353 kuha vi-smā-p-an-e; 354 sūra 355 vīra vi-krān-t-au; 356 sthūla pari-bṛm̐h-aṇ-e; 357 artha upa-yac-ñā-y-ām; 358 sattra sam-tāna-kriyā-y-ām; 359 garva mán-e;

360 sūtra véṣt-an-e; 361 mūtra pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 362 rūkṣa páruṣy-e; 363 pāra 364 tīra kar-ma-sam-āp-t-aú; 365 puṭa sam-sarg-é; 366 kattrā śaithily-e.

368 prātipadik-āt dhātv-arth-é bahulām iṣṭa-vát=ca; tát kar-ó-ti tád ā-caṣ-te; t-éna áti-krām-a-ti; dhātu-rūpā-m ca; kartṛ-kar-aṇ-āt dhātv=arth-é.

369 baṣka dārs-ane; 370 citra citṛ-kár-aṇ-e; kadā-cid dārs-an-e; 371 aṁsa sam-ā-ghāt-é; 372 vaṭa vi-bhāj-an-e; (373 raṭa pari-bhāj-aṇ-e); 374 laja pra-kās-an-e; 375 mīśra sam-park-é; 376 sam-grāma yud-dh-é; 377 stoma ślāgh-ā-y-ām; 378 chidra karṇa-bhéd-an-e; (379 karṇa bhéd-an-e); 380 andha dṛṣ-ṭi=upa-ghāt-é; 381 daṇḍa daṇḍa-ni-pāt-é; 382 aṅka pad-é lāks-aṇ-e ca; 383 sukha 384 duḥkha tat-kriyā-y-ām; 385 rasa ¹ā-svād-ana-²snēh-anay-oḥ; 386 vyaya vitta-sam-ut-sarg-é; 387 rūpa rūpa-kriyā-y-ām; 388 cheda dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e; 389 lābha pr-ér-aṇ-e; 390 vṛaṇa gātra-vi-cūṛṇ-an-e; 391 varṇa ¹varṇa-kriyā-²vistār-á-³guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu; bahulām étaḍ ni-dārs-an-am; 392 parṇa harita-bhāv-é; viśka dārs-an-e; kṣapa pr-ér-aṇ-e; vasa ni-vās=e; tuttha ā-vár-aṇ-e.

393 Niñ āṅg-āt nir-ās-an-e; 394 ¹śveta=aśvá=²aśva-tará-³gālodi-tá=⁴ā-hvar-akā-ṇ-ām ¹ásva-²ará=³itá-⁴ká-lop-a-s ca; 395 púccha=ādi-ṣu dhātv=arthá ity evá siddhám.

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 chéd-an-e VI 141; kṛtí vēṣṭ-an-e VII 10; kṛpÚ sāmāthy-e I 799; kṛpA
 kṛpā-y-ām gá-t-au I 808; kṛpa daūr-balye X 323; kṛśÁ tanū-kár-aṇ-e IV
 117; kṛśÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 1039; VI 6. kṛ vi-kṣep-é VI 116; kṛ himsā-y-ām
 IX 26; kṛN himsā-y-ām IX 15; kṛtÁ saṃ-sábd-an-e X 111; kēpR
 kámp-an-e I 392; kélR cáI-an-e I 570; (kévR sév-an-e I 539); kai sábd-e I
 964; knásÚ ¹hvar-aṇa-²díp-ty-oh IV 6; I 864; (knáthÁ himsā=arth=aḥ I
 837); knúN sábd-e IX 10; knúyÍ sábd-e únd-e ca I 514; kmárÁ
 hūrch-an-e I 587; kráthÁ himsā=artha-h I 838; (kránd) = krádí ā-hvān-e
 ród-an-e ca I 71; (kránd) = krádI vai-klavye I 810; śN-aḥ krandÁ
 śātaty-e X 188; krápA kṛpā-y-ām gá-t-au I 808; krámÚ pād-a-vi-kṣep-é I
 502; ḌU=krī-Ñ drav-ya-vi-ni-may-é IX 1; krīḍR vi-hār-é I 373; krúncÁ
¹kaūṭilya=²alpī-bhāv-ay-oh I 201; (krúdÁ ni-májj-an-e VI 100); krudhÁ

kóp-e IV 80; (krušÁ ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca I 909); kláthÁ himsā-artha-h I 839; (klánd) = kládĭ ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca I 72; (klánd) = kládĭ vai-klavy-e I 811; klámŪ glān-aú IV 98; klídŪ ādrī-bhāv-é IV 132; (klīnd) = klīdĭ pari-dév-an-e I 15; (klīnd) = klídĭ pari-dév-an-e I 73; klísA upa-tāp-é IV 52a; klísŪ vi-bādh-an-e IX 50; klībṚ ā-dhārṣṭy-e I 406; klísA á-vy-ak-tā-y-ām vāc-i I 638; kvāṇÁ sábdā=artha-h I 477; kvathE niṣ-pāk-e I 899; (kṣañj) = kṣajĭ kṛcchra-jīv-an-e X 79; (kṣanj) = kṣajĭ ¹gá-ti-²dān-áy-oḥ I 806; kṣāṇŪ himsā-y-ām VIII 3; (kṣapi) I 860; kṣapa pr-ér-aṇ-e X 392; kṣámŪ sáh-an-e IV 97; kṣámŪṢ sáh-an-e I 469; (kṣamp) = kṣapĭ kṣān-ty-ām X 78; kṣárÁ saṁ-cál-an-e I 904; kṣalÁ śauca-kār-maṇ-i X 57; kṣi kṣay-é I 225; kṣi ¹ni-vās-á-²gá-ty-oḥ VI 114; kṣi himsā-y-ām V 30; kṣiS himsā-y-ām IX 35; kṣiṇŪ himsā-y-ām VIII 4; kṣípÁ pr-ér-an-e IV 14; kṣipÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 5; kṣívŪ nir-ās-an-e I 599; kṣiṢ himsā-y-ām IX 35; kṣijÁ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 256; kṣībṚ mād-e I 407; kṣívŪ nir-ās-an-e I 599; ṬU-kṣú sábd-e II 27; kṣudĭR saṁ-pr-éṣ-aṇ-e VII 6; kṣudhÁ bubhuksā-y-ām IV 81; kṣúbhÁ saṁ-cál-an-e IV 129; IX 47; kṣurÁ vi-lékh-an-e VI 54; kṣai kṣay-e I 961; kṣoṭa kṣép-e X 329; kṣnú téj-an-e II 28; kṣmāyĭ vi-dhūn-an-e I 515; kṣmĭlA ni-méṣ-aṇ-e I 553; Ōi-kṣvidÁ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 1027; Ōi-kṣvidÁ ¹snéh-ana-²móh-anay-oḥ I 780; IV 134; kṣvéṛĭ cál-an-e I 527.

KH

khácÁ bhū-ta-prādur-bhāv-é IX 59; khájÁ manth-é I 250; (khānj) = khájĭ ga-ti-vai-kaly-é I 252; khátÁ kāṅkṣā-y-ām I 331; khaṭtÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e X 89; khaṭÁ bhéd-an-e X 44; (khaṇḍ) = khaḍĭ bhéd-an-e X 44; (khāṇḍ) = khādĭ manth-é I 303; khádÁ sthāry-e I 51; khānŪ ava-dār-aṇ-e I 927; khárjÁ pūj-an-e ca I 247; khárdÁ dandaś-ūk-e I 61; khárbÁ gá-t-au I 448; khárvÁ dārp-e I 613; khálÁ saṁ-cay-é I 578; khásÁ himsā-artha-h I 717; khādṚ bhakṣ-aṇ-e I 50; khítÁ trās-é I 324; khidA daíny-e IV 61; VII 12; khidÁ pari-ghāt-é VI 142; khújŪ ste-ya-kār-aṇ-e I 215; (khuṇḍ) = khuḍĭ khāṇḍ-an-e X 47; khúrÁ chéd-an-e VI 52; khúrdA guda-kṛtā-y-ām I 22; kheṭa bhákṣ-aṇ-e X 328; khélĭR cál-an-e I 571; (khévṚ sév-an-e I 537); khai khád-an-e I 960; khórĭ ga-ti-pra-ghāt-é I 584; khólĭR ga-ti-pra-ghāt-é I 584; khyā pra-kāth-an-e II 51.

G

gájÁ sábd-a-*artha*-h I 265, gajÁ sábd-a-*artha*h X 106; (gañj) = gájí sábd-a-*artha*-h I 266; gádÁ sác-an-e I 814; gaṇa saṁ-khyān-e X 309; (gāṇḍ) = gádí vad-ana-eka-deś-é I 85a, 384; gádÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 53; gada deva-sábd-é X 314; gandhÁ árd-an-e X 145; gamĪ gá-t-au I 1031; gárjÁ sábd-e I 244, X 124; gárdÁ sábd-e I 58, X 124; gardhA abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām X 125; gárbÁ gá-t-au I 449; gárvÁ dárp-e I 614; garva mán-e X 359; gárhA kutsā-y-ām I 687; garhÁ vi-nínd-an-e X 301; gálÁ ád-an-e I 579; galA sráv-aṇ-e X 160; gálbhA dhārṣṭy-e I 419; gálhA kutsā-y-ām I 688; gaveṣa márg-aṇ-e X 337; gā stú-t-au III 25; gāN ga-t-au I 998; gādhṚ ¹pra-tiṣṭhā-²lipsāy-oḥ I 4; gāloḍa X 394; gāhŪ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 680; gú puriṣa-ut-sarg-é VI 106; guN ā-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 997; gújÁ ā-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e VI 76; (gúnj) = gújí ā-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 218; gúdÁ rakṣā-y-ām VI 77; guṇa ā-mántr-aṇ-e X 347; (guṇḍ) = guḍí vēṣṭ-an-e X 46; gúdhÁ pari-vēṣṭ-an-e IV 13; gúdhÁ róṣ-e IX 45; gúnphÁ granth-é VI 31; gupA góp-an-e I 1019; gupÁ bhāṣā-*artha*-h X 231; gúpÁ vy-ā-kula-tv-é IV 123; gúpŪ rákṣ-aṇ-e I 422; gúphÁ granth-é VI 31; (gumph) = gún-phÁ granth-é VI 31; gúrĪ ud-yám-an-e VI 103, X 155; gúrDA guda-kriḍā-y-ām I 23; gurdÁ ni-két-an-e X 126; gúrvĪ ud-yám-an-e I 605; gúhŪ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 944; gūrĪ ¹himsā-²gáty-oḥ IV 46; gūrÁ ud-yám-an-e X 155; gṛ vi-jñān-e X 167; gṛjÁ sábd-a-*artha*-h I 267; (gṛñj) = gṛjí sábd-a-*artha*-h I 268; gṛdhŪ abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām IV 136; gṛhŪ gráh-aṇ-e I 681; gṛha gráh-aṇ-e X 351; gṛ ni-gár-aṇ-e VI 117; gṛ sábd-e IX 28; gépṚ kámp-an-e I 393; gévṚ sác-an-e I 531; géṣṚ anv-icchā-y-ām I 645; gai sábd-e I 965; goma upa-lép-an-e X 339; góṣṬA saṁ-ghāt-é I 276; (gránth) = gráthĪ kauṭily-e I 36; gránthÁ saṁ-darbh-é X 41, 294; granthA bāndh-an-e X 282; grasÁ gráh-aṇ-e X 209; grásU ád-an-e I 661; gráhA up-ā-dān-é IX 81; grāma ā-mántr-aṇ-e X 346; grúcŪ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e I 212; glásU ád-an-e I 662; glúcŪ ste-ya-kár-an-e I 213; glúncÁ gá-t-au I 216; glépṚ kámp-an-e I 394; glépṚ daṇy-e I 390; glévṚ sév-an-e I 532; glai harṣa-kṣay-é I 868, 952.

GH

ghághÁ hás-an-e I 170; ghátA ceṣṭā-y-ām I 800; ghaṭÁ bhāṣā-*artha*-h X 226; ghaṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 163; ghátĪA cáł-an-e I 278, X 87; (ghaṇṭ) = ghaṭí bhāṣā-*artha*-h X 227; ghásĪ ad-an-e I 747; (ghinṇ) = ghínĪ gráh-an-e I 461; ghuN sábd-e I 1000; (ghúmṣ) = ghúsĪ kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e I

882; ghútA pari-várt-an-e I 782; ghútÁ prati-ghāt-é VI 91; ghuṇA bhrám-aṇ-e I 464; ghúṇA bhrám-aṇ-e VI 47; (ghúnṇ) = ghúnI gráh-aṇ-e I 462; ghúrÁ ¹bhīmá-artha-²sábday-oḥ VI 55; ghúsíR á-vi-sábd-an-e I 683; ghuśíR vi-sábd-an-e X 187; ghūrĪ ¹himsā-²vayo-hā-ny-oḥ IV 48; ghūrṇA bhrám-aṇ-e I 465; ghūrṇÁ bhrám-aṇ-e VI 49; ghṛ ¹ksár-aṇa-²dīp-ty-oḥ III 14; ghṛ pra-srāv-aṇ-e X 108; ghṛṇŪ dīp-t-au VIII 7; (ghṛṇṇ) = ghṛní gráh-aṇ-e I 463; ghṛṣŪ saṁ-ghárṣ-e I 740; ghrā gandha-up-ā-dān-é I 973.

N

ñuÑ sábd-e I 1002.

C

cákA tṣp-t-auprati-ghāt-é ca I 93; cákÁ tṣp-t-au I 820; cākāsŔ dīp-t-au II 65; cakkÁ vyáth-an-e X 56; cakṣIN vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í II 7; cáñcŪ gá-ty-artha-h I 205; caṭÁ bhéd-an-e X 181; cáṭĒ varṣá-ā-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 833; cápÁ dān-é I 316; (cāṇḍ) = cáḍI kóp-e I 298; cáṭĒ yác-an-e I 918; cáḍĒ yác-an-e I 918; cánÁ himsá-artha-h I 840; (cāṇḍ) = cáḍI ā-hlād-é I 68; cáncŪ gá-ty-artha-h I 205; cápÁ sántv-an-e I 426; cáṁŪ ád-an-e I 497, 869; cáṁŪ bhákṣ-aṇ-e V 28; (camp) = capĪ gá-ty-ām X 77; cáyA gá-t-au I 507; cárÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 591; carÁ saṁ-sáy-é X 205; carcÁ adhy-áy-an-e X 172; cárcÁ ¹pari-bhás-aṇa-²bhártṣ-anay-oḥ VI 17; cárcÁ ¹pari-bhás-aṇa-²himsá-³tárj-ane-ṣu I 749; carbÁ gá-t-au I 452; cárvÁ ád-an-e I 610; calÁ kámp-an-e I 850,885; calÁ bhṛ-t-au X 68; calÁ vi-lás-an-e VI 64; cáṣÀ bhákṣ-aṇ-e I 938; cáhÁ pari-kálk-an-e I 765; caha pari-kálk-an-e X 83; caha pari-kálk-an-e X 320; cáyŔ ¹pūjā-²ni-sām-anay-oḥ I 929; ciÑ cáy-an-e V 5, X 86; ciṭa para-praiṣy-é I 337; citÁ saṁ-cét-an-e X 135; citĪ saṁ-jñān-e I 39; citra citr-kár-aṇ-e X 370; (cint) = citi smṛ-ty-ām X 2; círi himsá-y-ām V 31; cílÁ vás-an-e VI 63; cíllÁ saithilye bhāva-kár-aṇ-e ca I 566; cíkÁ ā-márs-aṇ-e X 284; cívÁ bhāṣá-artha-h X 234; cívŔ ¹ā-dānā-²saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 928; cukkÁ vyáth-an-e X 56; cúṭÁ chéd-an-e VI 84; cuṭÁ chéd-an-e X 72; cuṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é X 24; cuṭṭA alpī-bhāv-é X 24; cúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 98; cúḍḍA bhāva-kár-aṇ-e I 370; (cunṭ) = cuṭĪ chéd-an-e X 117; (cunṭ) = cuṭĪ alpī-bhāv-é I 347; (cunḍ) = cúḍĪ alpī-bhāv-é I 347; cudÁ saṁ-cód-an-e X 53; cúpÁ mandā-y-ām gá-t-au I 430; (cumb) = cubĪ vak-tra-saṁ-yog-é I 456; (cumb) = cubĪ himsa-y-ām X 92; curÁ ste-y-é X 1; culÁ

sam-uc-cchrāy-é X 62; cúllÁ bhāva-kār-aṇ-e I 564; cūrĪ dāh-é IV 50; cūrṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 18; cūrṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e X 100; cúṣÁ pān-e I 704; cŕtĪ ¹himsā-²grānth-anay-oḥ VI 35; cṛpÁ saṁ-dīp-an-e X 277; céllĪ cáI-an-e I 569; céṣṭÁ céṣṭā-y-ām I 275; cyu hās-an-e X 206; cyuṆ gá-t-au I 1004; cyútĪR ā-séc-an-e X 206.

CH

chadÀ apa-vār-aṇ-e X 290; chadi ūrj-an-e I 851; chadÁ apa-vār-aṇ-e X 290; (chand) = chadĪ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e X 41; chámÚ ád-an-e I 498; chardÁ vām-an-e X 51; cháṣÁ himsā-y-ām I 939; chidĪR dvaidhī-kār-aṇ-e VIII 3; chidra karṇa-bhéd-an-e X 378; chúṭÁ chéd-an-e VI 84; chupÁ sparś-é VI 125; churÁ chéd-an-e VI 79; U-chŕdĪR ¹dīp-ti-²dév-anay-oḥ VII 8; chŕdi saṁ-dīp-an-e X 277; cheda dvaidhī-kār-aṇ-e X 388; cho chéd-an-e IV 38; (chyuṆ gá-t-au I 1005).

J

(jāms) = jasĪ rákṣ-aṇ-e X 128; jákṣÁ ¹bhákṣa-²hās-anay-oḥ II 62; jájÁ yud-dh-é I 261; (jānj) = jájĪ yud-dh-e I 262; jáṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 327; jánÁ ján-an-e III 24; jánĪ prādur-bhāv-é IV 41; I 862; jápÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 424; jámÚ ád-an-e I 499; (jāmbh) = jábhĪ gātra-vi-nām-é I 176; (jambh) = jabhĪ nās-an-e X 176; járjÁ ¹pari-bhās-aṇa-²himsa-³tārj-an-e-ṣu I 748; jalÁ apa-vār-aṇ-e X 10; jálÁ ghāt-an-e I 886; jálpÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 425; jáṣÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 719; jasÚ táḍ-an-e X 178; jáśÚ mókṣ-aṇ-e IV 102; jasÚ himsā-y-ām X 130; jāgr nidrā-kṣay-é II 63; ji abhi-bhav-é I 993; jí jay-é I 59; (jīnv) = jīvĪ prīṇ-ana-artha-ḥ I 625; (jīnv) = (jīvĪ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 252); jírĪ himsā-y-ām V 32; jīsÚ sēc-an-e I 728; jīvÁ pr-āṇa-dhār-an-e I 594; ju sautró dhātuh gá-ty-artha-ḥ; vega-vāc-ana ity ānye I 1005; (júng) = júgĪ várj-an-e I 168; (juñc) = juclĪ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 252; júḍÁ gá-t-au VI 37; juḍÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 105; júḍÁ bāndh-an-e VI 85; júṭĪ bhās-an-e I 32; juṣÁ pari-tárk-aṇ-e X 291; júṣĪ ¹prf-ti-²sév-anay-oḥ VI 8; júṛĪ ¹himsā-²vayo-hāny-oḥ IV 48; júṣÁ himsā-y-am I 711; (jŕmbh) = jŕbhĪ gātra-vi-nām-é I 416; jŕ vayo-hā-n-aú IX 24; jŕ vayo-hā-n-aú X 272; jŕṢ vayo-hā-n-aú I 863, IV 22; jēsĪR gá-t-au I 647; jéhĪR pra-yat-n-é I 675; jai kṣay-é I 962; jñapÁ M-IT ca X 81; jñā ava-bódh-an-e IX 36; jñā ni-yog-é X 193; jñā ¹mār-aṇa-²tós-aṇa-³ni-sām-an-e-ṣu I 849; jyā vayo-hā-n-aú IX 29; jyuṆ gá-t-au I 1005; jri abhi-bhav-é I 994; jvárÁ róg-e I 813, jválÁ dīp-t-au I 842, 867, 884.

jhátÁ sam-ghāt-é I 328; jhámÚ ád-an-e I 501; jhárjhÁ ¹pari-bhāṣ-ana-
²bhārta-anay-oḥ VI 17; jhárjhÁ ¹pari-bhāṣ-ana-²himsā-³tārj-ane-ṣu I 750;
 jhāsÀ ¹ā-dānā-²sam-vār-aṇay-oḥ I 940; jhāsÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 720; jhṛṣ
 vayo-hā-n-aú IV 23.

T

(taṅk) = ṭakī bāndh-an-e X 97; ṭálÁ vaḥ-klavy-e I 887; ṭkṚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ
 I 103; ṭkṚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 104; ṭválÁ vaḥ-klavy-e I 888.

Ḍ

ḍapÁ sam-ghāt-é X 138; ḍípÁ kṣép-e IV 121; VI 78; ḍípÁ kṣép-e X 133;
 ḍipÁ sam-ghāt-é X 138; ḍiṆ víhāyas-ā gá-t-au I 1017; IV 27.

ḌH

ḍhaúṛ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 98.

N

nákṣÁ gá-t-au I 692; nákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 138; (nánkh) = nákhī
 gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 139; nátÁ nṭt-au I 332; nadÁ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 238; nádÁ
 sábd-e I 55; nábhA himsā-y-ām I 788; nábhÁ himsā-y-ām IV 130; IX 48;
 namÁ pra-hva-tv-é sábd-e ca I 867, 1030; náyA gá-t-au I 509; násÁ
 á-dars-an-e IV 85; násA kauṭily-e I 658; nahÀ bāndh-an-e IV 57; nāthṚ I
 7 nādhṚ I 6 bāndh-an-e; nāsṚ sábd-e I 656; níṣÁ cúmb-an-e I 687;
 ñijṚ ¹saucā-²póṣ-aṇay-oḥ III 11; ñijI súd-dh-au II 16; ñidṚ ¹kutsā-
²sam-ni-kāṣ-ay-oḥ I 921; ñilÁ gáh-an-e VI 68; ñisÁ sam-ā-dh-aú I 758;
 ñiṆ pr-āp-aṇ-e I 950; ñilÁ vár-aṇ-e I 555; ñivÁ sthaúly-e I 598; nú stú-t-au
 II 26; nudÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 2; nudÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 132; nú stáv-an-e VI
 104; nédṚ ¹kutsā-²sam-ni-kāṣ-ay-oḥ I 921; nesṚ gá-t-au I 648. [See un-
 der N: cf. 8.4.65 for ṇ—n].

(taṁs) = taśí alaṁ-kār-é X 190; (táṁs) = (tásí alaṁ-kār-e I 713); tákÁ háś-an-e I 120; táksÁ tvác-an-e I 695; táksŰ tanū-kār-aṇ-e I 685; (tánK) = tákí kṛcchra-jívaṇ-e I 121; (táng) = tágí gá-ty-artha-h I 158; (tāñc) = táncŰ gá-ty-artha-h I 206; táncŰ saṁ-kóc-an-e VII 22; tátÁ uc-chrāy-é I 330; taḍÁ ā-ghāt-é X 43; (taḍÁ bhāṣā-artha-h X 259); tánŰ vi-stār-é VIII 1; tanŰ ¹srad-dhā-²upa-kār-aṇay-oḥ X 296; (tantr) = tatrí kuṭumba-dhār-aṇ-e X 139; tapÁ aśvāy-e IV 51; tapÁ dāh-e X 275; tapÁ saṁ-tāp-e I 1034; támŰ kāṅksā-y-ām IV 93; táyÁ gá-t-au I 508; tarkÁ bhāṣā-artha-h X 240; tárjÁ bhārta-an-e I 245; tarjÁ saṁ-tárj-an-e X 142; tárdÁ hīmsā-y-ām I 59; talÁ pra-tiṣṭhā-y-ām X 58; tásŰ upa-kṣay-é IV 103; táyṚ ¹saṁ-tānā-²pāl-anay-oḥ I 518; tíkÁ ā-skānd-an-e V 20; tíkṚ gá-ty-artha-h I 105; tígÁ ā-skānd-an-e V 20; tija ni-sān-e I 1020; X 110; tīpṚ kṣār-aṇa-artha-h I 385; tímÁ ārdri-bhāv-é IV 16; tilÁ gá-t-au I 567; tilÁ snēh-an-e X 67; tīra kar-ma-saṁ-āp-t-au X 364; tīvÁ sthāul-y-e I 597; (tu vṛd-dhy-artha-h II 25), tújÁ hīmsā-y-ām I 263; (tuñj) = tújí pāl-an-e I 264; (tuñj) = tújí ¹hīmsā-²bāla-³ā-dānā-⁴ni-két-an-e-su X 30; (tuñj) = tújí bhāṣā-artha-h X 215; túṭÁ kalaha-kār-maṇ-i VI 83; túḍÁ tód-an-e VI 92; túḍṚ tód-an-e I 374; túṇÁ kaūṭily-e VI 42; (tuṇḍ) = (túḍl chéd-an-e X 118); (túṇḍ) = túḍl tód-an-e I 295; tuttha ā-vār-aṇ-e X 392; tudÁ vyāth-an-e VI 1; túpÁ hīmsā-y-ām VI 26; túpÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 431; túphÁ hīmsā-y-ām VI 27; túphÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 435; túbhÁ hīmsā-y-ām I 789; túbhÁ hīmsā-y-ām IV 131; IX 49; (tump) = túnpÁ hīmsā-y-ām VI 26; (tump) = túnpÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 432; (tumph) = túnpÁ hīmsā-artha-h VI 27; (tumph) = túnpÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 436; (tumb) = tubí á-dars-an-e X 115; (tumb) = tubí árd-an-e I 455; túrÁ tvār-aṇ-e III 21; túrví hīmsā-artha-h I 601; tulÁ un-mān-e X 59; tuṣÁ prī-t-au IV 75; túsÁ śābd-e I 742; túhíR árd-an-e I 773; tūpÁ pūr-aṇ-e X 150; túrī ¹ga-ti-tvār-aṇa-²hīma-anay-oḥ IV 44; tulÁ niṣ-karṣ-é I 560; tūṣÁ tūṣ-t-au I 705; (tṛmh) = tṛnhŰ hīmsā-artha-h VI 58; (tṛmh) = tṛhí hīmsā-artha-h VII 18; tṛksÁ gá-t-au I 690; tṛñŰ ád-an-e VIII 6; U-tṛd-īR ¹hīmsā-²ān-ā-dar-ay-oḥ VII 9; tṛpÁ tṛp-t-au VI 24; trpÁ tṛp-t-au X 276; tṛpÁ prīṇ-an-e IV 86; (tṛpÁ prīṇ-an-e V 25); (tṛmph) = tṛnpÁ tṛp-t-au VI 25; űl-tṛṣ-Á pipāsā-y-ām IV 118; tṛhÁ hīmsā-y-ām VII 18; tṛhŰ hīmsā-artha-h VI 58; tṛ ¹plāv-ana-²tār-aṇay-oḥ I 1018; téjÁ pāl-an-e I 249; tépṚ kámp-an-e I 389; tepṚ kṣār-aṇa-artha-h X 221; tévṚ dév-an-e I 528; tyajÁ hā-n-aú I 1035; (traṁs) = traśí bhāṣā-artha-h X 221; (trákhÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 148); (tráñk) = trakí gá-ty-artha-h I 97; (trañkh)

= (trákhí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 149); (traṅg) = trágí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 159; (tránd) = trádí ceṣṭā-y-ām I 69; (trapī śábd-e I 859); trápūṣ lajjā-y-ām I 399; trasÁ dhār-aṇ-e X 201; trásí ud-veg-é IV 10; trúṭÁ chéd-an-e VI 82; truṭÁ chéd-an-e X 159; trúpÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 433; trúphÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 437; (trump) = trúnphÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 434; (trumph) = trúnphÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 438; traiṆ pāl-an-e I 1014; traúkṛṭ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 99; tvákṣŪ tanū-kār-aṇ-e I 886; (tvaṅg) = tvágí kámp-an-e ca I 166; (tvaṅg) = tvágí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 159; tvácÁ sam-vār-aṇ-e VI 18; (tvaṅc) = tváncŪ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 207; ṆI-tvár-Ā sam-bhram-é I 812; tviṣÀ dīp-t-au I 1050; tsárÁ chad-mə-gá-t-au I 586.

TH

(thanḥk) = thákí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 147; thúḍÁ sam-vār-aṇ-e VI 93; thúrví himsā-artha-ḥ I 602.

D

(daṁś) = daśí dāṁś-an-e X 136; (daṁś) = daṁśÁ dās-an-e I 1038; (daṁś) = daśí bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 224; (daṁś) = daśí ¹dāś-ana-²dāṁś-anay-oḥ X 137; (daṁś) = daśí bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 246; dáksA ¹gá-ti-²śās-anay-oḥ I 807; dáksA vfd-dh-au I 639; dághÁ ghāt-an-e V 27; daṇḍa daṇḍa-ni-pāt-an-e X 381; dádA dān-é I 17; dádha dhār-aṇ-e III 8; dāmŪ upa-sam-é IV 94; (dāmbh) = dānbhŪ dāmbh-an-e V 23; dáyA ¹dānā-²gá-ti-³rākṣ-aṇa-⁴himsā-⁵ā-dān-ṣu I 510; dāridrā dur-gá-tau II 64; dalÁ vi-dār-aṇ-e X 211; dálÁ vi-sār-aṇ-e I 581; (dalí śábd-e I 856); dásŪ upa-kṣay-é IV 104; dahÁ bhasmī-kār-aṇ-e I 1040; DŪ-dā-Ṇ dān-é III 9; dāṆ dān-é I 977; dāP lāv-an-e II 50; dānÁ khāṇḍ-an-e I 1043; dāsÁ himsā-y-ām V 33; dāsṚ dān-é I 931; dāsṚ dān-é I 942; (dínv) = díví prīṇ-ana-artha-ḥ I 623; dívŪ ¹krīḍā-²vi-ji-gī-śā-³vy-ava-hār-ā- " . . . IV 1; dívŪ pari-kūj-an-e X 166; dívŪ márd-an-e X 185; díśÁ ati-sārj-an-e VI 3; diḥÁ upa-cay-é II 5; dīṆ kṣay-é IV 26; dīkṣA ¹mauṇḍā-²ijyā-³upa-náy-ana- " . . . I 640; dīdhiṆ ¹dīp-ti-²dév-anay-oḥ II 67; dīpĪ dīp-t-au IV 42; du gá-t-au I 991; TŪ-du upa-tāp-é V 10; duḥkha tat-kri-yā-y-ām X 384; dúrví himsā-artha-ḥ I 603; dulÁ ut-kṣep-é X 60; duṣÁ val-kṛ-t-y-e IV 76; duḥÁ pra-pūr-aṇ-e II 4; dúhĪR árd-an-e I 774; dúṆ pari-tāp-é IV 25; dī himsā-y-ām V 34; dṛṆ ā-dar-é VI 118; (dīmbh) = dīhī vfd-dh-au I 770; dṛpÁ ¹hārṣa-²móh-anay-oḥ IV 87; dṛphA ut-kleś-é VI 28; dṛbhÁ

saṁ-darbh-é X 279; dḥbhĪ granth-é VI 34; dḥbhĪ bhay-é X 278; (dḥmḥ) = dḥnphÁ ut-kles-é VI 29; dḥśĪR pr-éks-aṇ-e I 1037; dḥhÁ vḥd-dh-au I 769; dḥ bhay-é I 846; dḥ vi-dḥr-aṇ-e IX 23; deÑ ráks-aṇ-e I 1011; dévR dév-an-e I 529; daiP sódh-an-e I 971; do ava-khāṇḍ-an-e IV 40; dyu abhi-gám-an-e II 31; dyútA dḥp-t-au I 777; dyai nyak-kár-aṇ-e I 954; drámÁ gá-t-au I 494; drā kutsá-y-ām gá-t-au II 45; drākhR ṽśś-aṇa-²álam-arthay-oḥ I 128; drāghR ā-yām-é ca I 117; (drāghR sām-arthy-e I 115); (drāñks) = drākśĪ ghora-vās-i-té I 701; drādR vi-sár-aṇ-e I 307; drāhR nidrā-kṣay-é I 877; dru gá-t-au I 992; (dru himśá-y-ām V 34); drúnÁ ṽhimśá-²gá-ti-³kaúṭilye-ṣu VI 47; drúhÁ jighāmsá-y-ām IV 88; druÑ himśá-y-ām IX 11; drékR ṽśabda-²ut-sāháy-oḥ I 78; drai sváp-n-e I 955; dviśÁ ā-prṭ-t-au II 3; (dvṛ vár-aṇ-e I 981).

DH

dhakkÁ nās-an-e X 55; (dhāpÁ sábd-e I 481); dhánÁ dhāny-e III 23; (dhānv) = dhávĪ gá-ty-artha-h I 628; ḌU-dhā-Ñ ṽdhār-aṇa-²pós-aṇay-oḥ III 10; dhāvÚ ṽgá-ti-²súd-dhy-oḥ I 632; dhi dhār-aṇ-e VI 113; dhíkṣA ṽsaṁ-dīp-ana-²klés-ana-³jīv-ane-ṣu I 634; (dhínv) = dhívĪ prīṇ-ana-artha-h I 624; dhīśÁ sábd-e III 22; dhīÑ ā-dhār-é IV 28; dhuÑ kamp-an-e V 9; dhukṣA ṽsaṁ-dīp-ana-²klés-ana-³jīv-ane-ṣu I 633; dhúrvĪ himśá-artha-h I 604; dhú vi-dhūn-an-e VI 105; dhūÑ kámp-an-e (V 9); IX 17; dhūÑ kámp-an-e X 292; dhūpÁ bhāśá-artha-h X 232; dhúpÁ saṁ-tāp-é I 423; dhūrĪ himśá-artha-h IV 45; dhūsÁ kán-ti-kár-aṇ-e X 98; dhṛÑ ava-dhvāms-an-e I 1009; dhṛÑ ava-sthān-e VI 119; dhṛÑ dhār-aṇ-e I 948; dhṛjÁ gá-t-au I 236; (dhṛñj) = dhṛjĪ gá-t-au I 237; dhṛśÁ pra-sāh-an-e X 306; ÑI-dhṛś-Ā prā-galbhy-e V 22; dheṬ pán-e I 951; dhórR ga-ti-cāturý-é I 585; dhmā ṽśabda-²agni-saṁ-yog-áy-oḥ I 974; dhyaí cintá-y-ām I 957; dhrájÁ gá-t-au I 232; (dhrāñj) = dhrájĪ gá-t-au I 233; dhrápÁ sábd-e I 487; ÚdhrasÁ uñch-é IX 52; UdhrasÁ uñch-é X 202 (cf. udhrasA under U above); drākhR ṽśś-aṇa-²álam-arthay-oḥ I 129; (dhrāghR sām-arthy-e I 116); (dhrāghR ā-yām-é ca I 117); (dhrāñks) = dhrākśĪ ghora-vās-i-té I 702; dhrādR vi-sár-aṇ-e I 308; dhru ṽgá-ti-²sthaíryay-oḥ VI 107; dhru sthaíry-e I 990; dhrékR ṽśabda-²ut-sāháy-oḥ I 79; dhrai tḥp-t-au I 956; (dhvāms) = dhvāmsU ava-sráms-an-e I 791; (dhvāms) = dhvāmsU gá-t-au ca I 793; dhvájÁ gá-t-au I 238; (dhvāñj) = dhvájĪ gá-t-au I 239; dhvánÁ sábd-a-artha-h I 480; dhvánÁ sábd-e I 854, 881; dhvanÁ sábd-e X 33; (dhvāñks) = dhvākśĪ ghora-vās-i-té I 703; dhvṛ hūrch-an-e I 986.

N

nakkÁ náś-an-e X 54; naṭÁ ava-syánd-an-e X 12; (naṭÁ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 250) ṬU-nád-Í sam-ḥd-dh-au I 67; nárdÁ śábd-e I 57; (nalÁ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 260) náthṚ ṽāc-ñā-²upa-tāpá-³aiśvarya-⁴śīḥ-ṣu I 7; nádhṚ ṽāc-ñā-²upa-tāpá-³aiśvarya-⁴śīḥ-ṣu I 6; nídÍ kutsā-y-ām I 86; nivāsa ā-cchād-an-e X 339; nṭÍ gātra-vi-kṣep-é IV 9; nṛ nay-é I 847; IX 25; (cf. under N above).

P

(paṁs) = paśÍ náś-an-e X 74; (pákṣÁ pari-grah-é I 696); pakṣÁ pari-grah-é X 17; ḌU-pac-ĀṢ pāk-é I 1045; (pañc) = paćÍ vi-stāra-vác-an-e X 109; (pañc) = paćÍ vy-ak-ti-kár-aṇ-e I 187; páṭÁ gá-t-au I 318; paṭÁ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 212; paṭa grānth-e X 311; páthÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vác-í I 466; pāṇA vy-ava-hār-é stú-t-au ca I 466; (pāṇḍ) = páḍÍ gá-t-au I 301; (paṇḍ) = paḍÍ náś-an-e X 74; pata gá-t-au X 315; páṭÍ gá-t-au I 898, páthÉ gá-t-au I 900; padA gá-t-au IV 60; pada gá-t-au X 350; pānA stú-t-au I 467; páyA gá-t-au I 505; paṇa harita-bhāv-é X 392; párdA kuts-i-t-é śábd-e I 29; párpÁ gá-t-au I 439; párbÁ gá-t-au I 443; párvÁ pūr-aṇ-e I 608; pālÁ gá-t-au I 892, palyūla ṽāvana-²pāv-anay-oḥ X 335; paśÁ bāndh-an-e X 179; paṣa gá-t-au X 316; paśÁ bāndh-an-e X 179; pā pān-e I 972; pā rákṣ-aṇ-e II 47; pāra kar-ma-sam-āp-t-au X 363; pālÁ rákṣ-aṇ-e X 69; pi gá-t-au VI 112; (pims) = piśÍ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 222; pichÁ kúṭṭ-an-e X 40; (piñj) = pijÍ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 217; (piñj) = pijÍ várṇ-e II 18; (piñj) = pijÍ ṽhimsā-²bāla-³ā-dānā-⁴ni-két-ane-ṣu X 31; pīṭÁ ṽśabda-²saṁ-gharṣ-āy-oḥ I 333; pīṭhÁ ṽhimsā-²saṁ-klés-anay-oḥ I 362; (pīṇḍ) = píḍÍ saṁ-ghāt-é I 293; (piṇḍ) = píḍÍ saṁ-ghāt-é X 131; (pīnv) = píví sēc-an-e I 619; písÁ ava-yav-é VI 143; piṣÍ saṁ-cūrṇ-an-e VII 15; piśÁ gá-t-au X 32; piśṚ gá-t-au I 751; pīN pān-e IV 33; píḍA ava-gāh-an-e X 11; píḷÁ prati-ṣṭambh-é I 554; pīvÁ sthaúly-e I 595; puṁsÁ abhi-vārdh-an-e X 95; puccha X 395; puṭÁ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 213; pūṭÁ saṁ-śléś-aṇ-e VI 74; puṭa saṁ-sarg-é X 365; puṭṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é X 24; puḍÁ ut-sarg-e VI 90; pūṇÁ kár-maṇ-i śubh-é VI 43; (puṇṭ) = puṭÍ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 251; puthÁ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 235; puthA ṽhimsā-y-ām IV 12; (pūnth) = pūthÍ ṽhimsā-²saṁ-klés-anay-oḥ I 45; pūrÁ agra-gām-an-e VI 56; púrvÁ pūr-aṇ-e I 607; púlÁ mahat-tv-é I 894; pulÁ mahat-tv-é X 61; puṣA dhār-aṇ-e X 210; púśÁ púṣ-t-au I 732; IX 57; puśÁ púṣ-t-au IV 73; púṣpÁ vi-kás-an-e IV 15; (pusÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X

93); pustÁ ¹ā-darā-²ān-ā-daray-oh X 52; pūN páv-an-e I 1015; pūN páv-an-e IX 12; pūjÁ pūjā-y-ām X 101; pūyĪ vi-sār-aṇe dur-gandh-é ca I 513; pūrĪ ā-pyāy-an-e IV 43; pūrĪ ā-pyāy-an-e X 261; pūrvÁ ni-két-an-e X 127; pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 561; pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 94; pūṣÁ vṛd-dh-au I 706; pṛ prī-t-au V 12; pṛN vy-ā-yām-é VI 109; pṛcÁ saṁ-yām-an-e X 265; pṛcĪ sam-park-é VII 25; pṛcĪ sam-pārc-an-e II 20; pṛdÁ súkh-an-e VI 39; pṛṇÁ prīn-an-e VI 40; pṛthÁ pra-kṣ-ep-é X 20; pṛṣÚ śéc-an-e I 737; pṛ ¹pāl-ana-²pūr-aṇay-oh III 4, IX 19; pṛ pūr-aṇ-e X 15; pélĪ gá-t-au I 574; pévĪ sév-an-e I 533; péṣĪ gá-t-au I 752; pai śós-aṇ-e I 968; paínĪ ¹gá-ti-²pr-ér-aṇa-³śléṣ-aṇe-su I 486; O-pyāy-Ī vṛd-dh-au I 517; pyaiN vṛd-dh-au I 1013; prachÁ jñāpsā-y-ām VI 120; práthA pra-khyān-e I 802; prathÁ pra-khyān-e X 19; prásA vi-stār-é I 803; prā pūr-aṇ-e II 52; prīN prī-t-au IV 36; prīN tārp-aṇ-e IX 2; X 293; pruN gá-t-au I 1006; prūsÁ ¹snéh-ana-²sév-ana-³pūr-aṇe-su IX 55; prūsÚ dāh-é I 735; próthĪ pary-āp-t-au I 919; plīhA gá-t-au I 673; plī gá-t-au IX 32; pluN gá-t-au I 1007; plūsÁ dāh-é IV 8,107; plūsÁ ¹snéh-ana-²sév-ana-³pūr-aṇe-su IX 56; (plévĪ gá-t-au I 538); psā bhāṣ-aṇ-e II 46.

PH

phákkÁ mīcair-gá-t-au I 119; phāṇÁ gá-t-au I 873; phālÁ niṣ-pát-t-au I 563; Ńl-phāl-Ā vi-sār-aṇ-e I 549; phūllÁ vi-kās-an-e I 565; phélĪ gá-t-au I 575.

B

(bámh) = bāhĪ vṛd-dh-au I 664; bádÁ sthāry-e I 52; badhA bāndh-an-e I 1022; badhÁ bāndh-an-e X 14; badhÁ saṁ-yām-an-e X 14; bandhÁ bāndh-an-e IX 37; bárBÁ gá-t-au I 445; bárhA prā-dhāny-e I 669; barhÁ bhāṣā=arth-aḥ X 229; barhÁ himsā-y-ām X 123; balÁ pr-āp-an-e I 893; balÁ pr-aṇ-an-e X 85; bālhA prā-dhāny-e I 670; balhÁ bhāṣā=artha-h X 230; baṣka dārs-an-e X 369; bastÁ árd-an-e X 144; bādĪ a-plavy-è I 306; bādĪ lód-an-e I 5; bāhĪ ā-kroś-é I 676; bíĪ ā-kroś-é I 339; (bīnd) = bīdĪ ava-yav-é I 65; bílÁ bhéd-ane VI 67; bílÁ bhéd-ane X 66; bíáÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e IV 108; búkkÁ bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 122; bukkÁ bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 173; búdhÁ ava-gám-an-e I 911; budhA ava-gám-an-e IV 63; búdhĪR bódh-ane I 924; U-búnd-ĪR ni-sām-an-e I 925; búśÁ ut-sarg-é IV 110; bustÁ ¹ā-darā-²ān-ā-daray-oh X 52; (bṛm̐h) = bṛhĪ bhāṣā=artha-h X 228;

(bḡmh) = bḡhÍ vḡd-dh-au I 772; bḡhÁ vḡd-dh-au I 771; (bésÁ gá-t-au I 756); brūŃ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í II 35; brūsÁ himsā-y-ām X 122.

BH

bhaksÁ ád-an-e X 22; bháksÁ ád-an-e I 941; bhajÁ vi-srāṇ-an-e X 194; bhajÁ sevā-y-ām I 1047; (bhañj) = bhajÍ bhāsā=artha-h X 219; bhanjÓ ā-márd-an-e VII 16; bhátÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 817; bhátÁ bhḡ-t-au I 329; bhánÁ sábdā-artha-h I 474; *(bhaṇṭ) = *bhaṭÍ pra-tār-aṇ-e X 50; (bhāṇḍ) = bhádÍ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 292; (bhaṇḍ) = bhaḍÍ kalyāṇ-e X 50; (bhánd) = bhádÍ kalyāṇ-e I 12; bhartsÁ saṁ-tārj-an-e X 143; bhárVÁ himsā-y-ām I 611; bhalÁ ā-bhāṇḍ-an-e X 161; bhála ¹pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-²himsā=³ā-dané-ṣu I 524; bhállA ¹pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-²himsā=³ā-dané-ṣu I 525; bhásÁ bhárts-an-e I 726; bhásÁ ¹bhárts-ana-²dīp-ty-oḥ III 18; bhā dīp-t-au II 42; bhāja pṛthak-kār-aṇ-e X 340; bhāmA kródh-e I 468; bhāma kródh-e X 326; bhāsA vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 643; bhāsṚ dīp-t-au I 655; bhīksA bhīksā-y-ām I 637; bhidÍR vi-dār-aṇ-e VII 2; ŃI-bhī bhay-é III 2; bhujÁ ¹pāl-ana=²abhy-ava-hārāy-oḥ VIII 17; bhujO kauṭily-e VI 124; bhū ava-kalk-an-e X 207; bhū pr-āp-t-au X 300; bhū sattā-y-ām I 1; bhūsÁ alaṁ-kār-é I 712; bhūsÁ alaṁ-kār-é X 190; bhṛŃ bhār-aṇ-e I 946; ḌU-bhṛ-Ń ¹dhār-aṇa-²pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ III 5; (bhṛms) = (bhṛsÍ bhāsā=artha-h X 247); bhṛjÍ bhārj-an-e I 191; (bhṛḍÁ ni-mājj-an-e VI 101); bhṛsU adhaḥ-pāt-an-e IV 115; bhṛ bhárts-an-e IX 21; bhésṚ bhay-é I 932; bhyásA bhay-é I 659; (bhrāms) = bhrānsÚ adhaḥ-pāt-an-e IV 115; *(bhrāms) = *bhrānsÚ ava-srāms-an-e I 792; (bhrāms) = bhrānsÚ ava-srāms-an-e I 792; (bhrajj) = bhrasjÁ pāk-é VI 4; bhrāṇÁ sábdā=artha-h I 479; bhrāmÚ ān-ava-sthān-e IV 96; bhrāmÚ cāl-an-e I 903; ṬU-bhrāj-Ṛ dīp-t-au I 875; bhrājṚ dīp-t-au I 194; bhrī bhay-é IX 34; bhrūṇA āśā-y-ām X 151; bhréjṚ dīp-t-au I 193; bhrésṚ gá-t-au I 933; bhláksÁ ád-an-e I 941; ṬU-bhlás-Ṛ dīp-t-au I 877; bhlésṚ gá-t-au I 933.

M

(mamh) = mahÍ vḡd-dh-au I 665; (mamh) = mahÍ bhāsā=artha-h X 257; mákhÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 136; (mánk) = mákÍ máṇḍ-an-e I 89; (mánkh) = mákhÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 137; (mánḡ) = mágÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 157; (mángh) = mágÍ káitav-e ca I 112; (mángh) = mágÍ ga-ti=ā-kṣep-e I 111; (mángh) = mágÍ máṇḍ-an-e I 173; macA káik-an-e I 184; (majj) =

ʔU-masj-Ó súd-dh-au VI 122; (mañc) = mácl ¹dhár-aṇa=²uc-chrāyá-
²pūj-ane-ṣu I 186; máthÁ ¹máda-²ni-vāsáy-oḥ I 355; mánÁ sábdá=artha-ḥ
 I 457; (mánth) = máthI sók-e I 282; (mánḍ) = máḍI bhūṣá-y-ām I 344;
 (maṇḍ) = maḍI bhūṣá-y-ām X 49; (mánḍ) = máḍI vi-bháj-an-e I 291;
 máthÉ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 901; madÁ ʔp-ti-yog-é X 165; máḍI ¹háṣa-
²glép-anay-oḥ I 853; máḍI háṣ-e IV 99; manÁ jñān-e IV 67; manÁ
 stambh-é X 169; mánU ava-bódh-an-e VIII 9; (mantr) = matrI
 gup-ta-bhās-aṇ-e X 140; (mánth) = máthI ¹himsá-²klés-anay-oḥ I 47;
 mánthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 43; manthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e X 40; (mánḍ) = máḍI
¹stú-ti-²móda-³máda-⁴sváp-na-⁵gá-ti-ṣu I 13; mábhrÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 590;
 máyÁ gá-t-au I 506; márbÁ gá-t-au I 446; márvÁ pūr-aṇ-e I 609; málÁ
 dhár-aṇ-e I 522; málÁ dhár-aṇ-e I 523; mávÁ bándh-an-e I 630; mavyÁ
 bándh-an-e I 541; másÁ sábd-e I 760; másÁ himsá=artha-ḥ I 723; másI
 pari-māṇ-e IV 112; máskÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 102; máhÁ pūjá-y-ām I 766;
 maha pūjá-y-ām X 321; mā mán-e II 53; māN mán-e IV 34; māN mán-e
 sábd-e ca III 6; (māñkṣ) = māksI kāñkṣá-y-ām I 700; mānÁ pūjá-y-ām I
 1021; mānÁ pūjá-y-ām X 299; mārgÁ anv-és-aṇ-e X 302; mārgÁ
¹sañ-s-kār-á-²gá-ty-oḥ X 75; mārjÁ sábdá=artha-ḥ X 107; māhṚ mán-e I
 943; ʔU-mi-N pra-kṣép-aṇ-e V 4; míchÁ ut-kleś-é VI 16; (miñj) = mijI
 bhāsá=artha-ḥ X 216; ŃI-míd-Ā snéh-an-e I 799; ŃI-míd-Ā snéh-an-e IV
 133; míḍṚ ¹medhá-²hims-anay-oḥ I 920; (mind) = midI snéh-an-e X 8;
 (mínv) = mívI séc-an-e I 620; mílÁ slés-aṇ-e VI 71; mílÁ sañ-gám-an-e
 VI 135; mísÁ sábd-e I 759; misra sañ-park-é X 375; miṣÁ spardhá-y-ām
 VI 60; miṣŪ séc-an-e I 730; mihÁ séc-an-e I 1041; mī gá-t-au X 281; mīN
 himsá-y-ām IV 29; mīN himsá-y-ām IX 4; mīmṚ gá-t-au I 496; mílÁ
 ni-meṣ-aṇ-e I 550; (múnkh) = (múkhI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 147); mucI
 mókṣ-aṇ-e VI 136; mucÁ pra-móc-an-e mód-an-e ca X 203; mújÁ
 sábdá=artha-ḥ I 269; (múñc) = múcl kálk-an-e I 185; (múñj) = mújI
 sábdá=artha-ḥ I 270; múṭÁ ¹kṣepá-²pra-márd-anay-oḥ VI 81; muṭÁ
 sañ-cūrṇ-an-e X 73; múṇÁ prati-jñān-e VI 44; (múnth) = múthI pāl-an-e
 I 284; (múnḍ) = múḍI khāṇḍ-an-e I 348; (múnḍ) = múḍI mārj-an-e I 294;
 múḍÁ háṣ-e I 16; mudÁ sañ-sarg-é X 200; múrÁ sañ-véṣṭ-an-e VI 53;
 múrchĀ ¹móha-²sañ-uc-chrāyáy-oḥ I 227; múrvI bándh-an-e I 606;
 músÁ sté-y-e IX 58; músÁ khāṇḍ-an-e IV 11; mustÁ sañ-ghāt-é X 88;
 múhÁ vái-citty-e IV 89; mūtra pra-srāv-aṇ-e X 361; múlÁ
 pra-tiṣṭhá-y-ām I 562; múlÁ róh-aṇ-e X 63; mūsÁ sté-y-e I 707; mṛN
 pr-āṇa-tyāg-é VI 110; mṛksÁ sañ-ghāt-é I 694; mṛgÁ anv-és-aṇ-e IV 137;
 mṛga anv-és-aṇ-e X 352; mṛjŪ súd-dh-au II 57; mṛjŪ ¹saucá=

²alam-kār-áy-oḥ X 304; mḥdÁ kṣód-e IX 44; mḥdÁ súkh-an-e VI 38; mḥnÁ himśā-y-ām VI 41; (mḥnd = mḥdī chéd-an-e X 118); mḥnÁ kṣód-e IX 43; mḥdhŰ únd-an-e I 923; mḥráÁ ā-māṣ-aṇ-e VI 131; mḥṣÀ titikṣā-y-ām X 305; mḥṣŰ séc-an-e sáh-an-e ca I 739; meŊ pra-ṇi-dān-é I 1010; (mētṚ un-mād-é I 314); mēdṚ ¹medhā-²hims-anay-oḥ I 920; mēdhṚ ¹medhā-²hims-anay-oḥ I 920; mēpṚ gá-t-au I 395; (mévṚ sév-an-e I 534); mokṣÁ ās-an-e X 191; mnā abhy-ās-é I 976; mrakṣÁ mlécch-an-e X 120; (mrákṣÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 694); mrádA márd-an-e I 804; mrúcŰ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 210; mrúncŰ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 208; mrédṚ un-mād-é I 313; mlúcŰ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 211; mlúncŰ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 209; mléchÁ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 220; mlechÁ á-vy-ak-tā-y-ām vāc-í X 121; mlétṚ un-mād-é I 312; mlévṚ sév-an-e I 535; mlai harṣa-kṣay-é I 953.

Y

yakṣÁ pūjā-y-ām X 153; yajÀ ¹deva-pūjā-²saṁ-ga-ti-kār-aṇa-³dān-é-ṣu I 1051; yatA ¹ni-kārā-²upa-s-kārāy-oḥ X 196; yātī pra-yat-n-é I 30; (yantr) = yatrī saṁ-kóc-an-e X 3; yabhA vi-par-i-ta-maithun-é I 1029; yamÁ á-pari-veṣ-aṇ-e I 871; yamA pari-veṣ-aṇ-e X 82; yamÁ upa-ram-é I 1033; yásŰ pra-yat-n-é IV 101; yā pr-áp-aṇ-e II 40; ṬU-yāc-Ṛ yāc-ñā-y-ām I 916; yu jugupsā-y-ām X 170; yu mīsr-aṇ-e II 23; yuŊ bāndh-an-e IX 9; (yúṅg) = yúgī várj-an-e I 167; yúchÁ pra-mād-é I 229; yujA saṁ-yám-an-e X 264; yujA sam-ā-dh-aú IV 68; yujīR yóg-e VII 7; yútṚ bhās-an-e I 31; yudhA sam-pra-hār-é IV 64; yúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 124; yúsÁ himśā-y-ām I 711; yésṚ pra-yat-n-é I 646; yaútṚ bandh-é I 311.

R

(rámh) = ráhī gá-t-au I 768; (ramh = rahī bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 256); rakÁ ā-svād-an-e X 197; rákṣÁ pāl-an-e I 688; rákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 140; rágÉ śaṅká-y-ām I 822; (ráṅkh) = rákhī gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 141; (raṅg) = rágī gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 153; (ráṅgh) = rághī gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 107; (raṅh = raghī bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 253); raca pra-yat-n-é X 318; (rañj) = ranjÀ rāg-é I 865,1048; IV 58; ráṭÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 319; (raṭa pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 373); ráṭhÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 357; ránÁ gá-t-au I 832; ránÁ sábd=artha-ḥ I 855; (raṇv) = rávī gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 627; rádÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 54; rádhÁ ¹himsā-²saṁ-rád-dhyo-ḥ IV 84; rapÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 428; ráphÁ gá-t-au I 440; rabhÁ rábhas-y-e I 1023; ramA krīḍā-y-ām I 906; (ramph)

= ráphí gá-t-au I 441; (rámb) = rábÍ sábd-e I 401; (rámbh = rábhÍ sábd-e I 412); ráyA gá-t-au I 511; rásÁ sábd-e I 745; rasa ¹ā-svād-ana-²snéh-anay-oḥ X 385; ráhÁ tyāg-é I 767; rahÁ tyāg-é X 84; raha tyāg-é X 312; rā dan-e II 48; rákhṚ ¹sós-ana=²álam-arthay-oḥ I 126; rághṚ sám-arthay-e I 113; rájṚ dīp-t-au I 874; rādhA vīd-dh-au IV 71; rādhÁ sam-síd-dh-au V 16; rāsṚ sábd-e I 657; rī gá-t-au VI 111; (ríkhÁ gá-ty-arthā-h I 151); (ring) = rígÍ gá-ty-arthā-h I 164; ricA ¹vi-yój-ana-²sam-pārc-anay-oḥ X 273; ricṚ vi-réc-an-e VII 4; (rínv) = rívÍ gá-ty-arthā-h I 626; ríphÁ ¹kátth-ana-²yuddhá-³nindá-⁴himsá-⁵ā-dāné-su VI 23; rísÁ himsá-y-ām VI 126; rísÁ himsá=arthā-h I 725; rī ¹gá-ti-²rēs-anay-oḥ IX 30; rīN śráv-an-e IV 30; ruN ¹gá-ti-²rēs-anay-oḥ I 1008; rú sábd-e II 24; rúC dīp-t-au abhi-prī-t-au ca I 781; rujÁ himsá-y-ām X 262; rujÓ bhaṅg-é VI 123; rūtA prati-ghāt-é I 783; rúthÁ apa-ghāt-é I 359; (rúṇt) = rúṭI sté-y-e I 349; (rúṇth) = rúṭhÍ gá-t-au I 368; rúdÍR asru-vi-móc-an-e II 58; áno(h) rudhA kām-é IV 65; rudhÍR ā-vár-an-e VII 1; rúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 125; rusÁ himsá-y-ām VI 126; rúsÁ rós-e IV 120; rusÁ rós-e X 132; ruhÁ bīja-ján-man-i I 912; rūkṣa páruṣ-y-e X 362; rūpa rūpa-kri-yā-y-ām X 387; (rúsÁ bhūṣá-y-ām I 709); rékṚ sáñká-y-ām I 80; (réjṚ dīp-t-au I 195); réṭṚ pari-bhāṣ-an-e I 917; répṚ gá-t-au I 396; rébhṚ sábd-e I 410; révṚ plava-gá-t-au I 540; rēsṚ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 651; rai sábd-e I 958; ródṚ un-mād-é I 378; raúdṚ án-ā-dar-e I 377.

L

lakṣÁ ā-lóc-an-e X 157; lakṣÁ ¹dárs-ana=²ā-kāñksáy-oḥ X 5; lákhÁ gá-ty arthā-h I 142; lagA ā-svād-an-e X 197; lágÉ sáñg-e I 823; (láñkh) = lákhÍ gá-ty-arthā-h I 143; (láñg) = lágÍ gá-ty-arthā-h I 154; (lañgh) = laghÍ gá-ty-arthā-h I 108; (lañgh) = laghÍ bhāṣá-arthā-h X 220 (254); (láñgh) = lágghÍ sós-an-e I 172); láchÁ lákṣ-an-e I 221; lájÁ bhārts-an-e I 257; (lajj) = O-lásj-Í vīd-é VI 10; (láñj) = lájÍ bhārts-an-e I 258; (lañj = lajÍ bhāṣá=arthā-h X 244); (lañj) = *lájÍ ¹himsá-²bála=³ā-danā-⁴ni-két-ane-su X 39; látÁ bály-e I 320; laḍÁ upa-sevā-y-ām X 7; laḍÁ vi-lās-é I 381; laḍi jihvā=un-máth-an-e I 852; (laṇḍ) = O-laḍ-Í ut-kṣép-an-e X 9; (laṇḍ = laḍÍ bhāṣá=arthā-h X 258); lapA vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 429; DU-labh-A-Ṣ pr-āp-t-au I 1024; (lám̐b) = lábI ava-sráms-an-e I 404; (lám̐b) = lábI sábd-e I 402; lárBÁ gá-t-au I 444; laIÁ ṭp-s-ā-y-ām X 148; (lálÁ vi-lās-é I 382); lāsÀ kán-t-au I 937; lasÁ śilpa-yog-é X 189; lāsÁ ¹ślés-ana-²krīd-anay-oḥ I 746; lā ā-dan-é II 49; lákhṚ ¹sós-ana=²álam-arthay-oḥ I

127; lāghR sám-arthy-e I 114; lājÁ bhárts-an-e I 259; (lāñch) = lāchÍ lāks-aṇ-e I 222; (lāñj) = lājÍ bhárts-an-e I 260; lābha pr-ér-aṇ-e X 389; líkhÁ akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é VI 72; (líng) = lígÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 165; (líng) = lígÍ citrī-kár-aṇ-e X 199; lipÁ upa-deh-é VI 139; liśÁ alpī-bhāv-e IV 70; liśÁ gá-t-au VI 127; lihÁ ā-svād-an-e II 6; ḥ dravī-kár-aṇ-e X 269; ḥ ślēs-aṇ-e IX 31; ḥÑ ślēs-aṇ-e IV 31; (lūñc) = lūncÁ apa-náy-an-e I 202; (luñj) = lujÍ bhāṣā=artha-h X 218; lútA prati-ghāt-é I 784; lútÁ vi-lód-an-e I 336; IV 113; lútÁ saṁ-ślēs-aṇ-e VI 87; luṭÁ bhāṣā=artha-h X 214; lúṭhÁ upa-ghāt-é I 360; lúṭhA prati-ghāt-é I 785; (lúṇṭ) = lúṭÍ sté-y-e I 350; (luṇṭÁ sté-y-e X 27); (lúṇṭh) = lúṭhÍ ā-lasy-e prati-ghāt-é ca I 366; (lúṇṭh) = lúṭhÍ gá-t-au I 369; luṇṭhA sté-y-e X 27; (lúnth) = lúṭhÍ ¹himśā-²saṁ-klēs-anay-oḥ I 46; lúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 126; lupḷ chéd-an-e IV 137; lúbhÁ gārdhhy-e IV 128; lúbhÁ vi-móh-an-e VI 22; (lúmb) = lúbÍ árd-an-e I 454; (lumb) = lubÍ ā-dars-an-e X 144; lūÑ chéd-an-e IX 13; (lūsÁ bhūṣā-y-ām I 708); luṣA himśā-y-ām X 70; lépR gá-t-au I 397; lókR dārs-an-e I 76; lokR bhāṣā=artha-h X 236; lócR dārs-an-e I 177; locR bhāṣā=artha-h X 237; lódR un-mād-é I 379; lōṣta saṁ-ghāt-é I 277.

V

vāksÁ rōṣ-e I 693; vākhÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 134; (vānk) = vākl kaúṭīly-e I 88; (vānk) = vākl gá-ty-artha-h I 95; (vānkh) = vākhÍ gá-ty artha-h I 135; (vāng) = vāgÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 156; (vāngh) = vāghÍ ga-ti-ā-kṣep-é I 110; vacÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e II 54; vājÁ gá-t-au I 271; (vajÁ ¹mārga-saṁ-s-kārā-²ga-ty-oḥ X 75); vāncÚ gá-ty-artha-h I 204; vancÚ pra-lāmbh-an-e X 163; vātÁ vēṣṭ-an-e I 322; vātÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 816; vaṭa grānth-e X 311; vaṭa vi-bhāj-an-e X 372; vāṭhÁ sthāury-e I 354; vāṇÁ śābda=artha-h I 473; (vaṇṭ) = vaṭÍ vi-bhāj-an-e X 48; (vāṇṭ) = vaṭÍ vi-bhāj-an-e I 351; (vaṇṭ) = vaṭÍ vi-bhāj-an-e X 372; (vāṇṭh) = vāṭhÍ eka-caryā-y-ām I 281; (vāṇḍ) = vādÍ vi-bhāj-an-e I 290; (vaṇḍ) = vadÍ vi-bhāj-an-e X 48; vādÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 1058; vadÁ saṁ-deś-a-vāc-an-e X 297; vānÁ śābd-e I 490; vānÁ sam-bhāk-t-au I 491; vānU yāc-an-e VIII 8; vānÚ ca ná=úpa-labh-ya-te I 841, 868; vanA ¹śrad-dhā-²upa-hán-anay-oḥ X 296; (vānd) = vādÍ ¹abhi-vād-ana-²stú-ty-oḥ I 11; ḍU-vap-À bīja-saṁ-tān-é I 1052; vābhrÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 589; ṭU-vam-Á ud-gīr-aṇ-e I 868, 902; vāyA gá-t-au I 504; vara ṭp-sā-y-ām X 308; vārcA dīp-t-au I 175; varṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 18; varṇa ¹varṇa-kri-yā-²vi-stārā-³guṇa-vāc-ane-ṣu X 391; vardhÁ ¹chéd-ana-

²pūr-anay-oh X 112; várṣA snéh-an-e I 644; várhA ¹pari-bhāṣ-ana-
²himsā=³ā-dānē-ṣu I 671; vála sam-vár-an-e I 520; (vali sábd-e I 857);
 valká pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 35; válgÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 152; válbhA bhó-j-an-e I
 418; válla sam-vár-aṇ-e I 521; válhA ¹pari-bhāṣ-ana-²himsā=³ā-dānē-ṣu I
 672; (válhA prá-dhāny-e I 670); vásÁ kán-t-au II 70; vásÁ himsā=artha-h
 I 722; vásA ā-cchād-an-e II 13; vasÁ ni-vās-é I 1054; vasÁ ¹snehā=
²chedā=apa=hár=aṇ-e-ṣu X 204; vásÚ stambh-é IV 105; váskA
 gá-ty-artha-h I 101; vahÀ pr-āp-aṇ-e I 1053; vā ¹ga-ti-²gāndh-anay-oh II
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 vāta ¹sukhā-²séc-anay-oh X 336; vāsṚ sábd-e IV 54; vāsa upa-sevā-y-ām
 X 338; vicīR prthg-bhāv-é VII 5; víchÁ gá-t-au VI 129; vichÁ
 bhāṣā=artha-h X 233; vijīR prthag-bhāv-é III 12; O-vīj-ī ¹bhayá-
²cál-anay-oh VI 9; O-vīj-ī ¹bhayá-²cál-anay-oh VII 23; víṭÁ sábd-e I 338;
 víthṚ yác-an-e I 33; vidÁ ¹cet-ana=²ā-khyāna-³ni-vās-é-ṣu X 168; vídÁ
 jñān-e II 55; vidA vi-cār-aṇ-e VII 18; vidA sattā-y-ām IV 627; vidḷ lābh-é
 VI 138; vídhÁ vidhān-é VI 36; vilÁ kṣép-e X 65; vílÁ sam-vár-aṇ-e VI 66;
 viśÁ pra-vés-an-e VI 130; viṣÁ vi-pra-yog-é IX 54; viṣÚ sác-an-e I 729;
 viṣḷ vy-āp-t-au III 13; (viśÁ gá-t-au I 753); vī ¹gá-ti-²pra-janá-³kān-ti=
⁴ās-ana-⁵khād-ane-ṣu II 39; (vījA gá-t-au I 197); víra vi-krān-t-au X 355;
 (vúng) = vūgī várj-an-e I 169; vṛN sam-bhák-t-au IX 38; vṛN vár-aṇ-e V
 8; vṛN ā-vár-aṇ-e X 271; vṛkA ád-an-e I 92; vṛkṣA vár-aṇ-e I 635; vṛjī
 várj-an-e II 19; vṛjī várj-an-e VII 24; vṛjī várj-an-e X 270; vṛtÚ
 bhāṣā=artha-h X 241; vṛtU vár-aṇ-e IV 52; vṛtU vart-an-e I 795; vṛdhÚ
 bhāṣā=artha-h X 242; vṛdhU vṛd-dh-au I 796; vṛṣÁ vár-aṇ-e IV 116;
 vṛṣÁ sak-ti-bāndh-an-e X 164; vṛṣÚ sác-an-e I 738; vṛhŪ ud-yám-an-e VI
 57; vṛ vár-aṇ-e IX 20; vṛN vár-aṇ-e IX 16; veN tan-tu-sam-tān-é I 1055;
 (vekṣá dārs-an-e X 392); venṚ ¹gá-ti-²jñāna-³cintā-⁴ni-sām-ana-⁵vād-itra-
⁶gráh-aṇ-e-ṣu I 926; véthṚ yác-an-e I 34; ṬU-vép-Ṛ kámp-an-e I 391; vela
 kāla=upa-deś-é X 334; vélṚ cál-an-e I 568; véllÁ cál-an-e I 573; vevN
 vé-ti-nā túly-e (= ¹gá-ti-²pra-janá-³kān-ti=⁴ās-ana-⁵khād-ane-ṣu) II 68;
 vēṣṬA vēṣṬ-an-e I 274; (vésÁ gá-t-au I 754); véhṚ pra-yat-n-é I 674; O-vai
 sós-aṇ-e I 969; vyácÁ vyāji-kār-aṇ-e VI 12; vyáthA ¹bhayá-
²sam-cál-anay-oh I 801; vyadhÁ táḍ-an-e IV 72; (vyapÁ kṣay-é X 96);
 vyáyÀ gá-t-au I 930; vyaya ¹vittá-²sam-ut-sarg-áy-oh X 386; vyúsÁ dāh-é
 IV 7; vyúsA vi-bhāg-é IV 106; vyeN sam-vár-aṇ-e I 1056; vrájÁ gá-t-au I
 272; (vrájÁ gá-t-au I 234); vrajÁ ¹mārga-sam-s-kārā-²gá-ty-oh X 75;
 (vrāñj = vrājī gá-t-au I 235); vrāpÁ sábd-a=artha-h I 478; vrapa
 gātra-vi-cūrṇ-an-e X 390; O-vrás-Ū chéd-an-e VI 11; vrī vár-aṇ-e IX 33;

vrñN vṛ-ṇó-ti=arth-e IV 32; vrñdÁ cód-an-e VI 18; vrñdÁ sam-vár-aṇ-e VI 99; vrñsA himśá-y-ām X 122; vñ vár-aṇ-e IX 32.



(ā+śams) = āñah śásI icchā-y-ām I 660; (śams) = śánsU stú-t-au I 764; śakÀ márs-an-e IV 78; śakĪ śák-t-au V 15; (śáñk) = śákI śañkā-y-ām I 86; śacA vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-I I 178; śatÁ ¹rujā-²vi-sár-aṇa-³gá-ti= 'ava-sád-ane-su I 321; śathÁ ¹á-sam-s-kāra-²gá-tyo-ḥ X 28; śathÁ kañtav-e ca I 363; śathÁ ślaghā-y-ām X 152; śatha samyag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 310; śaṇÁ dān-é I 834; (śāñḍ) = śádI rujā-y-ām I 299; śadĪ śāt-an-e I 908; VI 134; śapÀ ā-kroś-é I 1049; śapÀ ā-kroś-é IV 59; śabdÁ śabda-kri-yā-y-ām X 174; śamA ā-lóc-an e X 156; śamÚ upa-sam-é IV 92; śamÁ dārs-an-e I 870; (śambÁ sam-bāñdh-an-e X 21); śarbÁ gá-t-au I 450; śarvÁ himśá-y-ām I 616; śálÁ gá-t-au I 896; śálÁ ¹cál-ana-²sam-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 519; śálbhA kátth-an-e I 417; śávÁ gá-t-au I 781; śásÁ himśá=artha-ḥ I 721; śásÁ plu-ta-gá-t-au I 762; śásÚ himsa-y-ām I 763; śakhĪ vy-āp-t-au I 130; śādĪ ślaghā-y-ām I 309; śāñ téj-an-e I 1044; śāsÚ anu-śis-t-au II 66; āñ-ah śásU icchā-y-ām II 12; śññ ni-sān-e V 3; śíkṣA vidyā=up-ā-dān-é I 636; (śíñkh) = śíkhI ga-ti=artha-ḥ I 150; (śíñgh) = śíghI ā-ghrāṇ-é I 174; (śññj) = śññI á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e II 17; śitÁ ān-ā-dar-e I 325; śilÁ unñh-é VI 70; śisÁ á-sarva=upa-yog-e X 274; śisÁ himśá=artha-ḥ I 718; śisĪ vi-śeṣ-aṇ-e VII 14; śññ sváp-n-e II 22; śíkÁ ā-márs-aṇ-e X 283; śíkĪ sēc-an-e I 75; (śíkÁ bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 249); śíbhĪ kátth-an-e I 408; śflÁ sam-ā-dh-aú I 556; śila upa-dhár-aṇ-e X 332; (śúkÁ gá-t-au I 123); śúcÁ sók-e I 198; Ī-śúc-ĪR putt-bhāv-é IV 56; śúcyÁ abhi-ṣav-é I 546; śuñhÁ ā-lasy-e X 103; śuñhÁ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é I 364; (śuññh) = śuññI śoṣ-aṇ-e I 367; (śuññh) = śuññI śoṣ-aṇ-e X 104; śúnÁ gá-t-au VI 46; súdhÁ śauc-é IV 82; súndhÁ súd-dh-au I 74; sundhÁ śauca-kár-maṇ-I X 289; súbhÁ díp-t-au I 459; súbhÁ śobhā=arth-e VI 33; (śumbh) = śunbhÁ śobhā=arth-e VI 33; (śumbh) = śunbhA bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 460; śulkÁ ati-spárs-an-e X 76; śulbÁ mān-é X 71; śusÁ śoṣ-aṇ-e IV 74; śūra vi-krán-t-au X 354; śūrĪ ¹himsā-²stāmbh-anay-oḥ IV 49; śúlÁ rujā-y-ām I 559; śūsÁ pra-sav-é I 710; śfdhÚ únd-an-e I 922; śfdhÚ pra-sāh-an-e X 195; śṛdhÚ śabda-kutsā-y-ām I 797; śṛ himśá-y-ām IX 18; śélĪ gá-t-au I 576; (śévĪ sév-an-e I 536); śai pāk-é I 906; śo tanū-kár-aṇ-e IV 37; śónĪ ¹vārṇa-²gá-ty-oḥ I 483; śaútĪ garv-é I 310; ścyútĪ kṣár-aṇ-e I 41; śmflÁ ni-més-aṇ-e I 551; śyaiñ gá-t-au I 1012;

(śrāṇK) = śrāṇI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 84; (śrāṅg) = śrāṅgI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 160; śrāṇĀ dān-é I 835; śrāṇĀ dān-é X 42; śrathĀ pra-yat-n-é X 13; śrathĀ mókṣ-aṇ-e X 280; śrathĀ himśā=artha-ḥ I 836; śratha daúr-baly-e X 324; (śrānth) = śrāthĪ śaithily-e I 35; śrānthĀ ¹vi-móc-ana-²prati-harṣáy-oḥ IX 39; śrānthĀ saṁ-darbh-é X 294; śrāmŪ táp-as-i khed-é ca IV 95; (śrámbh) = śrámbhU pra-māḍ-é I 420; śrā pāk-é I 848; II 44; śrīÑ sevā-y-ām I 945; śrīṣŪ dāh-e I 733; śrīÑ pāk-é IX 3; śru śrāv-aṇ-e I 989; śrai pāk-é I 966, 967 (cf. śrā pak-e I 848); śrónŔ saṁ-ghāt-e I 484; (ślāṅk) = ślāṅI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 85; (ślāṅg) = ślāṅgI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 162; ślākhŔ vy-āp-t-au I 131; ślāghŔ kátth-an-e I 118; śliṣĀ ā-līṅg-an-e IV 77; śliṣĀ ślēs-aṇ-e X 38; śliṣŪ dāh-é I 734; ślókŔ saṁ-ghāt-é I 77; ślónŔ saṁ-ghāt-é I 485; (śvāṅk) = śvāṅI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 96; (śvāṅg) = śvāṅgI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 161; śvācA gá-t-au I 179; (śvāñc)=śvācI gá-t-au I 180; śvaṭhĀ ¹á-saṁ-s-kārā-²gá-ty-oḥ X 29; śvaṭha samyag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 310; śválĀ āsu-gám-an-e I 582; (śvalkĀ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 34); svállĀ āsu-gám-an-e I 583; śvāsĀ pr-āṇ-an-e II 60; ṬU-O-śvĪ ¹gá-ti-²vṛd-dhy-oḥ I 1059; śvītĀ vārṇ-e I 778; (śvīnd) = śvīdI śvaity-e I 10; śveta=(śva) X 394.

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śágĒ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e I 826; śāghĀ himśā-y-ām V 21; śácĀ sam-av-āy-é I 1046; śácA śéc-an-e I 176; (śáj) = śásjĀ gá-t-au I 217; (sañj) = sanjĀ sāṅg-e I 1036; śatĀ ava-yav-é I 335; śatṭĀ himśā-y-ām X 99; śadŔ ¹vi-sār-aṇa-²gá-ti-³ava-sād-ane-ṣu I 907; śadŔ ¹vi-sār-aṇa-²gá-ti-³ava-sād-ane-ṣu VI 133; (āñ-aḥ śad-aḥ padī=arth-e X 288); śāṇĀ sam-bhák-t-au I 492; śāṇŪ dān-e VIII 2; śápĀ sam-av-āy-é I 427; śámĀ vai-klavy-e I 882; śambĀ sam-bāndh-an-e X 21; śarjĀ árj-an-e I 243; śárbĀ gá-t-au I 451; śárvĀ himśā-y-ām I 617; śálĀ gá-t-au I 580; śásĀ sváp-n-e II 69; śáhA máṛṣ-aṇ-e I 905; śahĀ máṛṣ-aṇ-e X 267; (śáhĀ cakj-arth-e IV 20); śādhĀ saṁ-síd-dh-au V 17; śāntvĀ sāma-pra-yog-é X 33; śiÑ bāndh-an-e V 12; IX 5; śicĀ kṣar-aṇ-e VI 140; śitĀ án-ā-dar-e I 326; śidhĀ gá-ty-ām I 48; śidhŪ saṁ-rād-dh-au IV 83; śilĀ uñch-é VI 70; śivŪ tan-tu-saṁ-tān-é IV 2; ṣu ¹pra-savá-²aiśvaryay-oḥ I 988; II 32; ṣuÑ abhi-sav-é V 1; ṣuṭṭĀ án-ā-dar-e X 26; śúrĀ ¹aiśvarya-²dīp-ty-oḥ VI 50; śúhĀ cakj=arth-e IV 21; śú pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 115; śúÑ prāṇi-garbha-vi-móc-an-e II 21; śúÑ prāṇi-pra-sav-é IV 24; śúdA kṣar-aṇ-e I 25; śúdĀ kṣár-aṇ-e X 177; śúrksyĀ Irṣyā=artha-ḥ I 542; śévŔ śév-an-e I 530; śai kṣay-é I 963; ṣo anta-kár-maṇ-i IV 39; ṣṭákĀ

prati-ghāt-é I 819; ṣṭánÁ vaí-klavy-e I 883; ṣṭíghA ā-skánd-an-e V 19; ṣṭípṚ kṣár-ana=artha-h I 387; ṣṭímÁ ārdri-bhāv-é IV 17; ṣṭímÁ ārdri-bhāv-é IV 17; ṣṭuÑ stú-t-au II 34; ṣṭúcA pra-sād-é I 188; ṣṭúbhU stambh-é I 421; ṣṭúpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é IV 127; ṣṭūpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é X 134; ṣṭṛkṣÁ gá-t-au I 691; ṣṭṛhŪ himśā=artha-h VI 58; ṣṭṛÑ ā-cchād-an-e IX 14; ṣṭépṚ kṣár-ana=artha-h I 388; ṣṭai vēṣṭ-an-e I 970; ṣṭyai ¹sábdar²sañ-ghātáy-oḥ I 959; ṣṭhívŪ nir-ās-an-e I 592; ṣṭhívŪ nir-ās-an-e IV 4; ṣṇásŪ ád-an-e IV 5; ṣṇihÁ prī-t-au IV 91; ṣṇihÁ snéh-an-e X 36; ṣṇú pra-srāv-aṇ-e II 29; ṣṇúsU ad-an-e IV 5; ṣmiÑ ṭṣad-dhās-an-e I 998; ṣvādA ā-svād-an-e I 18; ṣvadÁ ā-svād-an-e X 263; Ñi-ṣvap-Á śay-é II 59; ṣváskA gá-ty-arth-h I 100; Ñi-ṣvíd-Ā gātra-pra-srāv-aṇ-e I 780; ṣvíd-Ā gātra-pra- kṣár-aṇ-e IV 79.

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sañ-keta ā-mántr-aṇ-e X 345; sañ-grāma yud-dh-é X 376; sattra sañ-tāna-kri-yā-y-ām X 358; sa-bhāja ¹prī-ti-²dárs-anay-oḥ X 341; sāma sántva-pra-yog-é X 333; sukha tat-kri-yā-y-ām X 383; sūca paísuny-e X 327; sūtra vēṣṭ-an-e X 360; sūrksÁ ā-dar-é I 697; sūsÁ pra-sav-é I 710; sṛ gá-t-au I 982; III 17; sṛjÁ vi-sarg-é VI 121; sṛpĴ gá-t-au I 1032; sṛbhŪ himśā=artha-h I 457; (sṛmbh) = sṛnbhŪ himśā=artha-h I 458; sékṚ gá-ty-arth-h I 81; sélṚ gá-t-au I 576; skandĪR ¹gá-ti-²sós-aṇay-oḥ I 1028; (skámbh) = skábhī prati-bandh-é I 414; (skambh) = skanbhŪ ródh-an-e IX 8; skuÑ ā-práv-aṇ-e IX 6; (skúnd) = skúdl ā-práv-aṇ-e I 9; (skumbh = skunbhŪ ródh-an-e IX 8); skhádA skhád-an-e I 805; skhadīr ¹áva-²pári-bhyām ca I 872; skhálÁ sañ-cál-an-e I 577; skhālī sábd-e I 858; stana deva-sábd-é X 313; (stambh = stanbhŪ ródh-an-e IX 7); stṛÑ ā-cchād-an-e V 6; ṣṭṛÑ ā-cchād-an-e IX 14; stena caúry-e X 349; stoma ślāghā-y-ām X 377; sthálÁ sthān-é I 889; sthā ga-ti-ni-vṛt-t-au I 975; sthúdÁ sañ-vár-aṇ-e VI 94; sthūla pari-bṛmb-aṇ-e X 358; snā sauc-e I 868; II 43; spárdhA sañ-gharṣ-é I 3; spaśÁ ¹gráh-aṇa-²sañ-ślés-aṇay-oḥ X 141; spaśÁ ¹bándh-ana-²spárs-enay-oḥ I 936; spr ¹prī-ti-²pál-anay-oḥ V 13; sprsÁ sañ-spárs-an-e VI 128; sprha ṭp-sā-y-ām X 325; (sphátA vi-sar-aṇ-e I 352); sphāy-Ī vṛd-dh-au I 516; sphittÁ himśā-y-ām X 91; sphutÁ bhéd-an-e X 182; sphútA vi-kás-an-e VI 80; sphút-ĪR vi-sár-aṇ-e I 352; sphúdÁ sañ-vár-aṇ-e VI 97; (sphunḍ) = sphuḍī pari-hās-é X 4; (sphúṇḍ) = sphúdl vi-kás-an-e I 297; sphúrÁ sañ-cál-an-e VI 95; sphúrchĀ vi-ṣṭṛ-t-au I 228; ṬU-O-sphúrjÁ vajra-nir-ghoṣ-é I 254; sphúlÁ sañ-cál-an-e VI 96; smitÁ án-ā-dar-e X 37; smílÁ ni-més-aṇ-e I 552; smṛ

ā-dhyān-é I 845; smṛ cintā-y-ām I 980; syāndŪ pra-srāv-aṇ-e I 798; syamÁ vi-tark-é X 154; syāmŪ śābd-e I 878; (srāms) = srānsU ava-srāms-an-e I 790; (sraṁs) = *srānsU pra-mad-e I 420; (sraṅk) = srākI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 83; (sraṁbh) = srānbhU pra-mād-é I 420; srīvŪ ¹gá-ti-²śós-aṇay-oḥ IV 3; sru gá-t-au I 987; srékṚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 82; srai pāk-é I 987; svánÁ śābd-e I 879; (svánÁ ava-tāms-an-e I 861); svara ā-kṣep-é X 317; svādA ā-svād-an-e I 18; svādÁ ā-svād-an-e X 263.

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haṭÁ dṛp-t-au I 334; háthÁ ¹plú-ti-²ṣaṭha-tváy-oḥ I 358; hadA purṣa=ut-sarg-é I 1027; hanÁ ¹himsā-²gá-ty-oḥ II 2; hámmÁ gá-t-au I 465; háyÁ gá-t-au I 545; háryÁ ¹gá-ti-²kān-ty-oḥ I 547; hálÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 890; hásÉ hás-an-e I 757; O-hā-K tyāg-é III 8; O-hā-Ñ gá-t-au III 7; hi gá-t-au vṛd-dh-au ca V 11; (hims) = hísÍ himsā-y-ām VII 19; (hims) = hisI himsā-y-ām X 286; híkkÀ á-vy-ak-t-e śābd-e I 914; (hīṇḍ) = híḍI ¹gá-ti-²ān-ā-daray-oḥ I 287; (hīnv) = híví prīṇ-ana=artha-ḥ I 622; hílÁ bhāva-kār-aṇ-e VI 69; (hiskÁ himsā-y-ām X 146); hu ¹dānā-²ād-anay-oḥ III 1; hūdṚ gá-t-au I 375; (hūṇḍ) = hūḍI vár-aṇ-e I 228; (hūṇḍ) = hūḍI sam-ghāt-é I 288; hūrchÀ kaūṭily-e I 226; húlÁ gá-t-au I 897; hūdṚ gá-t-au I 375; hṛ pr-sah-ya-kār-aṇ-e III 15; hṛÑ hár-aṇ-e I 947; hṛśÁ tús-t-au IV 119; hṛṣU śhik-e I 741; héthA vi-bādhā-y-ām I 285; (héthA vi-bādhā-y-ām I 343); hédÁ vēst-an-e I 815; hédṚ ān-ā-dar-e I 304; (hédhÁ ca [bhū-ta-prādur-bhāv-é] IX 60); hēsṚ á-vy-vk-t-e śābd-e I 652; hódṚ ān-ā-dar-e I 305; hódṚ gá-t-au I 376; hnuÑ apa-náy-an-e II 72; hmálÁ cáł-an-e I 844, 867; hrágÉ sam-vár-aṇ-e I 824; hrásÁ śābd-e I 743; hrádA á-vy-ak-t-e śābd-e I 26; hrī lajjā-y-ām III 3; hrīchÁ lajjā-y-ām I 225; hlágÉ sam-vár-aṇ-e I 825; hlapÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í X 116; hlásÁ śābd-e I 744; hlád-Ī sukh-é I 27; hválÁ cáł-an-e I 843, 867; hvṛ kaūṭily-e I 978; hveÑ spardhā-y-ām śābd-e ca I 1057.

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° añk-ánay-oḥ: lakṣÁ X 5

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ád-an-e: kúkA I 91, gálÁ I 579, grásU I 661, ghásĪ I 747, cámu I 497,
cárvÁ I 610, chámÚ I 498, jámu I 499, jímÚ I 500, tġnŪ VIII 6,
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°-ád-anay-oḥ: hu III 1

á-dars-an-e: násÁ IV 85, tubĪ X 115, snúsÚ IV 5

adhaḥ-pát-an-e: bhġnsÚ/bhġsÚ IV 115

á-dhāṣṭ-y-e: klĪbṚ I 406

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án-ava-sthān-e: bhrámÚ IV 96

án-ā-dar-e: atġÁ X 25, raúḍṚ I 377, śġtÁ I 325, śġtÁ I 326, ṣuttÁ X 26,
smitÁ X 37, hédṚ I 304, hódṚ I 305

°-án-ā-daray-oḥ: U-tġd-ĪR VII 9, pustÁ/bustÁ X 52, híḍĪ I 257

anu-śġṣ-t-au: śāsÚ II 66

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anv-icchā-yām: gésṚ I 645

anv-és-aṇ-e: mārġÁ X 302, mġga X 352

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apa-vār-aṇ-e: chadÁ X 290, jalÁ X 10

°-apa-hār-aṇ-e-su: vasÁ X 204

á-pra-dān-e: kūṭA X 162

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abhi-yog-é: áddÁ I 371

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abhi-vād-ana-°: vādI I 11

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°-abhy-ava-hār-áy-oḥ: bhujÁ VII 17

abhy-ās-é: mnā I 976

árj-an-e: árjÁ I 242, ṣárjÁ I 243

°-árj-ana-°: fja I 189

árd-an-e: úh-ÍR I 775, gandhA X 145, túbÍ I 455, túh-ÍR I 773, dúh-ÍR I 774, lúbÍ I 454, vastA X 14

°-álam-arthay-oḥ: ókhṛ̥ I 125, drákhṛ̥ I 128, dhrákhṛ̥ I 129, rákhṛ̥ I 126, lákhṛ̥ I 127

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°-alam-kāráy-oḥ: mṛjÁ X 304

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álk-e: hṛ̥ṣÚ I 741

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 ava-khāṇḍ-an-e: do IV 40
 °-ava-gam-á-°: ávÁ I 631
 ava-gam-áne: búdhÁ I 911, budhA IV 63
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 ava-dhvāms-an-e: dhṛÑ I 1009
 ava-bódh-an-e: jñā IX 36, mánU VIII 9
 ava-yav-é: píśÁ VI 143, śátÁ I 335
 ava-tāms-an-e: svánÁ I 861
 °-ava-sād-ane-ṣu: śátÁ I 321, śadĪ VI 133, śadĪ I 907
 ava-syānd-an-e: naṭÁ X 12
 ava-sráms-an-e: dhvánsU I 791, bhránsU I 792, sránsU I 790
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 °-av-ā-p-ti-°: ávÁ I 631
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 á-vy-ak-tā-yām vāc-í: klésÁ I 638, mlechÁ X 121
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 °-ás-ana-°: vī II 39
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ā-kṣep-á-°: mūtÁ VI 81

°-ā-khyā-na-°: vidA X 168

ā-ghrā-ṇ-e: śíghí I 174

Ā-c-chād-an-e: ūṇuñ II 30, nivāsa X 339, vāsa II 13, stñ V 8

°-ā-c-chād-ane-su: várhA I 671, válhA I 672

Ā-da-r-é: dññ VI 118

ā-dā-n-é: kúR-A I 92, lā II 49, vñk-A I 93, śūrkaÁ I 697

ā-dā-ná-°: cññ I 928, jhāśÀ I 940

°-ā-dā-ná-°: tují X 20, pijí X 30

°-ā-dā-né-su: ásÀ I 934, dáyA I 510, bháLA I 524, bhálla I 525, ríphÁ VI 23, śnúsŪ IV 5

°-ā-deśé-su: díksA I 640

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ā-dhyā-n-e: smñ I 845

Ā-pyāy-an-e: pññ IV 43, pññ X 261

ā-prāv-aṇ-e: skuñ IX 6, skúdi I 9

ā-plāv-y-è: bādñ I 308

ā-bhāṇḍ-an-e: bháLA X 161

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ā-las-y-e: lúthí I 366, súthÁ X 103

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°-ālīng-ana-°: śvÁ I 631

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ā-séc-an-e: cyút-īR I 40

ā-skánd-an-e: ṣtíghA V 19

ā-svād-an-e: rakÁ/lagÁ X 197, lihÀ II 6, ṣvādA I 18, ṣvadÁ X 263, svādA I 28

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°-īndriya-pra-layā-°: ṛcha VI 15

°-ij-yā-°: dīkṣA I 640

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*-upa-kār-aṇay-oḥ: tanŪ X 296

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krīḍ-ā-yām: úrdA I 20, kumāra X 331, (gúdA I 24), ramA I 906

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kródh-e: kúpÁ IV 122, bhāmA I 468

kléd-an-e: úndĪ VII 20

°-klés-anay-oḥ: mṣÚ I 739, vṣÚ I 738

°-klés-ana-°: dhíkṣA I 634, dhúksA I 633

kṣay-é: kṣI I 255, kṣai I 961, jai I 962, dīN IV 26, ṣai I 963

kṣār-aṇ-e: scyútĪR I 41, ṣicĀ VI 140, súdA I 25

kṣārana-°: ghṛ III 14

kṣār-ana=arth-aḥ: tīpṚ I 385, tépṚ I 386, stīpṛ I 387, stépṚ I 388

kṣān-ty-ām: kṣapĪ X 78

kṣép-e: trÁ X 268, kalÁ X 64, kṣoṭa X 329, ḍípÁ IV 121, VI 78, ḍipÁ X 133, vilÁ X 65

kṣép-aṇ-e: ásÚ IV 100

°-kṣép-aṇay-oḥ: ájÁ I 248, ílÁ VI 65

kṣód-e: mḍÁ IX 44, mḍÁ IX 43

KH

khāṇḍ-an-e: khuḍI X 47, dānĀ I 1043, múḍĪ I 348, músÁ IV 111

khād-an-e: khai I 960

khed-é: śrāmÚ IV 95

gá-t-au: áthI I 280, átÁ I 317, áyA I 503, (áyÀ I 935), árdÁ I 56, árbÁ I 442, áhI I 664, ítÁ I 340, iN II 36, írA II 8, ísÁ IV 19, r III 16, řŮ VIII 5, řšI VI 7, ř IX 27, ésR I 649, kátI I 342, kánÁ I 831, kárbÁ I 447, kásÁ I 913, kítÁ I 341, khárbÁ I 448, gamĹ I 1031, gárbÁ I 449, gāN I 998, glúncÁ I 216, cānÁ I 833, cáyA I 507, cárBÁ I 452, cyuN I 1004, júďÁ VI 37, jésR I 647, jyuN I 1005, náksÁ I 692, náyA I 509, nésR I 648, táyA I 508, tíkÁ/tígÁ V 20, tílÁ I 567, tĹksÁ I 690, du I 991, drámÁ I 494, dru I 992, dhĹjÁ I 236, dhĹjI I 239, (dhépR I 398), dhrájÁ I 232, dhrájI I 233, dhvájÁ I 238, dhvájI I 239, pátÁ I 318, páďI I 301, pata X 314, pátĹ I 898, pathI X 39, páthĚ I 900, padA IV 60, pada X 350, páyA I 505, párpÁ I 439, párbÁ I 443, pálÁ I 892, pi VI 112, pisÁ X 32, písR I 751, péĹR I 574, pésR I 752, pruN I 1006, présR I 650, plíhA I 873, plI IX 32a, pluN I 1007, phánÁ I 873, phélR I 575, bárbÁ I 445, bíśÁ I 755, bésÁ I 756, bhrésR I 933, bhlésR I 933, máyA I 506, márbÁ I 446, mI X 281, mĹmĹ I 496, mépR I 395, ránÁ I 832, ráphÁ I 440, ráphI I 441, ráyÁ I 54, ráhI I 768, ri VI 111, rúthI I 368, répR I 397, líśÁ VI 127, lúthI I 369, lépR I 396, vájÁ I 271, váyA I 504, vichÁ VI 129, víśÁ I 753, vĹjA I 197, vénR I 926, vésÁ I 754, vyáyÀ I 930, (vrájÁ I 324), vrájÁ I 272, (vrájI I 325), śálÁ I 896, śávÁ I 761, (śúkÁ I 123), śúnÁ VI 46, śélR I 576, śvácÁ I 179, śvácI I 180, sálÁ I 580, sásjÁ I 217, stĹksÁ I 691, sĹ I 982, III 7, sĹpĹ I 1033, řyaiN I 1012, sru I 987, hámmÁ I 495, háyÁ I 545, O-hā-N III 7, hi V 11, húďR I 376, húlÁ I 494, húďR I 375, hódR I 377

gáti-: ájÁ I 218, áncŮ I 203, řśA I 642, ř I 983, kásI II 14, kúthI I 365, ksájI I 806, khájI I 252, khórR/khólR I 584, túřI IV 44, dáksA I 807, dhāvŮ I 632, dhrú VI 107, pařR I 486, ř IX 30, ruN I 1008, vā II 41, vénR I 926, řU-O-śvi I 1059, řthā I 975, skandĹR I 1028, sřivŮ IV 3

*-gá-ti-: ávÁ I 631, dáyA I 510

gá-ty-ām: capI X 72, řídĹÁ I 48, svartÁ X 80

ga-ti-cātur-y-é: dhórR I 585

ga-ti-tvār-aṇ-a-: řřI IV 44

ga-ti-ni-vṛt-t-aú: ṣṭhā I 975

ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é: kúṭhī I 385, khórṛṛ/khólṛṛ I 584, súṭhÁ I 364

ga-ti-vai-kal-y-é: khájī I 252

ga-ty-arth-āh: ágí I 155, ághI I 109, ábhrÁ I 589, íkhÁ I 144, íkhí I 145, ígí I 163, fkhÁ I 148, úkhÁ I 132, úkhí I 133, kákI I 94, cáncÚ I 205, cárÁ I 592, (ju I 995), ṭfkṛ I 103, ṭfkṛ I 104, dhaúkṛ I 98, ṇákhÁ I 138, ṇákhí I 139, tágí I 158, táncÚ I 209, (tíkṛ I 105, tíkṛ I 106), trákl I 97, trákhÁ I 148, trákhí I 149, traúkṛ I 99, tváncÚ I 207, dháví I 628, mágí I 157, máskA I 102, mrúcÚ I 210, mlúcÚ I 211, mlúncÚ I 209, rákhÁ I 140, rákhí I 141, rágí I 150, rághI I 107, ráví I 627, ríví I 626, lákhÁ I 142, lákhí I 143, lígí I 165, vákI I 95, vákhÁ I 134, vákhí I 143, vágí I 156, válgÁ I 152, váskA I 101, śrágí I 160, ślágí I 162, śvákí I 96, śvágí I 161, śváskA I 100

gaty-ā-kṣep-é: ághI I 109, mághI I 111, vághI I 110

gáty-ādi-ṣu: ámÁ I 493

gandh-é: ṇálÁ I 891

*-gám-an-e: purÁ VI 56; v.s.v. agra-gám-an-e.

garv-é: sáutṛṛ I 310

gáh-an-e: ṇilÁ VI 68

gā-tra-pra-kṣār-aṇ-e: ṣvidĀ IV 79

gā-tra-pra-srāv-aṇ-e: Ņi-ṣvid-Ā I 780

gā-tra-vi-kṣep-é: ṇṭí IV 9

gā=tra-vi-cūrn-aṇ-e: vṛaṇa X 390

gā-tra-vi-nām-é: jábhA I 415, jṛbhI I 416

gārdh-y-e: lúbhÁ IV 128

*-guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu: varṇa X 391

gu-da-kṛīḍ-ā-yām: kúrdA I 21, khúrdA I 20, gúrdA I 23

gup-ta-bhāṣ-aṇ-é: matrI X 140

góp-an-e: gupA I 1019

granth-é: gādhṛ I 4, gūnphÁ/guphÁ VI 31, dṛbhí VI 34, pata X 311

°-grānth-anay-oḥ: cṛtí VI 35

grāh-aṇ-e: grha X 351, gṛhŪ I 881, grasÁ X 209, ghīṇI I 461, ghūṇI I 462, ghṇṇI I 463.

glā-n-aú: klámŪ IV 98

°-glép-anay-oḥ: mādí I 853

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ghana-tv-é: kṛdÁ VI 88

ghāt-an-e: jálÁ I 866, cághÁ V 27

ghora-vās-i-t-é: drákṣí I 701, dhrákṣí I 702, dhvákṣí I 703

ghrā-ṇ-é: ghrā I 973.

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cákī=arth-e: (sáhÁ IV 20), śúhÁ IV 21

cáy-an-e: ciñ V 5, X 86

cál-an-e: kápi I 400, kéṛ I 570, kṣvéṛ I 572, khéṛ I 571, gháṭṭA I 278, gháṭṭÁ X 87, céṛ I 569, bhrámŪ I 903, véṛ I 568, véllÁ 573

cál-ana-°: sála I 519

°-cál-anay-oḥ: O-víj-í VI 9, O-víj-í VII 23, spṛ/smṛ V 13

citrī-kār-aṇ-e: citra X 370, ligí X 199

cintā-yām: dhyai I 957, smṛ I 980

°-cintā-°: vénṛ I 926

cúmb-an-e: níkṣÁ I 689, ṇísI II 15

ceṣṭā-yām: řha I 662, gháṭA I 800, céṣṭA I 275, trádí I 69

cód-an-e: vríḍÁ IV 18

caúr-y-e: stena X 349

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chad-ma-gá-t-au: tsárÁ I 586

chād-an-e: kúbí I 453, kubí X 13

chéd-an-e: kṛtí VI 141, khúrÁ VI 52, cútÁ VI 84, cuṭÁ X 72, cuṭí X 117,
chútÁ VI 84, chúrÁ VI 79, cho IV 38, trúṭÁ VI 82, truṭÁ X 159,
lupḷ VI 137, lúṆ IX 13, O-vrásć-Ū VI 11

chéd-ana-°: kuṭṭÁ X 23, vardhÁ X 112

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ján-an-e: janÁ III 24

jay-é: jí I 593

jighām-sā-yām: druhÁ IV 88

jihvā=un-máth-an-e: lādī I 852

jugup-sā-yām: yu X 170

jñā-n-e: ki III 19, (kitÁ III 20), manA IV 67, vídÁ II 55

°-jñā-na-°: vēṇṛē I 926

jñāp-sā-yām: prachÁ VI 120.

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tat-kri-yā-yām: duḥ-kha X 384, su-kha- X 383

tanū-kār-aṇ-e: kṛsÁ IV 117, táksŪ I 685, tváksŪ I 686

tan-tu-sam-tān-e: ūyī I 512, veṆ I 1055, śívŪ IV 2

táp-as-i: śramŪ IV 95

°-tār-aṇay-oh: tṛ I 1018

tarj-an-e: tarjÁ X 142, bhartsA X 143

°-tárj-ane-su: cárcÁ I 749, járjÁ I 748, jhárjÁ I 750, jhárjhÁ/(jhártsÁ) I
750

tárp-an-e: prĪṆ IX 2, X 293

tāḍ-an-e: tāḍI I 300, vyadhÁ IV 72

titik-ṣā-yām: mṛṣÁ IV 55, mṛṣÁ VI 131, mṛṣA/mṛṣÀ X 305

túṣ-t-au: túṣÁ I 705, hṛṣÁ IV 119

tṛp-t-au: cáka I 93, cáka I 820, tṛnphÁ VI 25, tṛphÁ VI 24, dhrai I 956

°-tṛp-ti-°: ávÁ I 631

tṛp-ti-yog-é: madA X 185

téj-an-e: kṣnú II 28, śānÁ I 1044

tód-an-e: túḍÁ VI 92, túḍI I 295, túḍṚ I 374

°-tóṣ-aṇa-°: jñapA X 81, jñā I 849

tyāg-é: ráhÁ I 767, rahÁ X 84, raha X 312, O-hā-K III 8

trās-é: kṛtÁ I 323, khṛtÁ I 324

tvác-an-e: táksÁ I 695

tvár-an-e: turÁ III 21

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dámś-an-e: daśI X 136

daṇḍa-ni-pāt-é: daṇḍa X 381

dan-daś-ūk-e: khárdÁ I 61

dambh-é: dánbhÚ V 23

dárp-e: kárVÁ I 612, khárVÁ I 613, gárVÁ I 614

dárs-an-e: íkṣA I 641, baska X 369, lókṚ I 76, lócṚ I 177, viṣka X 392

dárs-ana-°: daśI X 137, lakṣÁ X 5

°-dárs-anay-oḥ: sabhāja X 341

°-dárs-ane-ṣu: ṛṣA I 642

dā-n-é: cánÁ I 833, dádA I 17, ḌU-dā-Ñ III 9, dāN I 977, dāsṚ I 931,
dāsṚ I 942, śánÁ I 834, śránÁ I 835, śraṇÁ X 42

dā-ná-°: dáyA I 510

°-dā-náy-oh: kṣájĪ I 806

dāh-é: úṣÁ I 727, kúḍI I 289, cúṛĪ IV 50, tapÁ X 273, prúṣÚ I 735, plúṣÁ IV 107, plúṣÚ I 736, vyúṣÁ IV 7, śríṣÚ I 733, ślṣÚ I 734, ṣánÚ VIII 2

dīp-t-au: ŃI-índh-Ī VII 11, éjṚ I 192, kásṚ I 678, IV 53; ghṣṇÚ VIII 7, cakāsṚ II 65, cādĪ I 68, jvālÁ I 842, 884, tviṣÀ I 1050, dīpĪ IV 42, dyútA I 777, bhā II 42, bhāsṚ I 655, bhrájṚ I 194, ṬU-bhrájṚ I 875, ṬU-bhrásṚ I 876, bhréjṚ I 193, ṬU-bhlásṚ I 877, rájṚ I 874, (réjṚ I 195), vārcA I 175, súbhA I 786, hātÁ I 334

dīp-ti-°: kácĪ I 182, kácI I 183, UchḡdĪR VII 8, dīdhiŃ II 67

°-dīp-ty-oh: knásÚ IV 4, ghṣ III 14, bhasÁ III 18

°-dīp-ti-°: ásÀ I 934

dur-gá-t-au: dāridrā II 64

dur-gandh-é: pūyĪ I 513

dṛṣ-ti-upa-ghāt-é: andha X 380

dév-an-e: tévṚ I 528, dévṚ I 529

°-dév-anay-oh: dīdhiŃ II 67

daín-y-e: khidA IV 61, VII 12, glépṚ I 390

daírgh-y-e: tanÚ X 296

daúr-bal-y-e: kṛpa X 323, śratha X 324, sāra X 322

°-dyú-ti-°: dīvÚ IV 1

drav-t-kár-aṇ-e: ĩ X 269

drav-ya-vi-ni-may-é: ḍU-kṛt-Ń IX 1

dvaidhi-kár-aṇ-e: chidĪR VII 3, cheda X 388

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dhānye: dhanÁ III 23

dhānya-ava-rodh-é: bálÁ I 893

dhār-aṇ-e: trasÁ X 201, dádha I 8, dhi VI 113, dhṛÑ I 948, pusÁ X 210,
málA I 522, mállA I 523

dhār-aṇa-°: ḍU-dhā-Ñ III 10, ḍU-bhṛ-Ñ III 5

dhārṣṭ-y-e: gálbha I 419

N

nay-é: nḡ I 847, IX 25

°-náy-ana-°: dfkṣA I 640

nās-an-e: jabhí X 176, dhakkÁ X 55, nakkÁ X 54, paḍí/pasí X 74

nikārā-°: yatÁ X 196

ni-két-an-e: gurdÁ X 126, purvÁ X 127

°-ni-két-ane-su: tují X 30, pijí X 31

ni-gār-aṇ-e: gḡ VI 117

nidrā-ksay-é: jágr II 63, drāhṛ I 677

°-nindā-°: ríphÁ VI 23

ni-májj-an-e: (krúdÁ VI 100, bhḡdÁ VI 101)

ni-míl-an-e: kaṇÁ X 175

ni-més-aṇ-e: kṣmílÁ I 553, mílÁ I 550, śmílÁ I 551, smílÁ I 552

ni-yog-é: jñā X 193

nir-ās-an-e: kṣívÚ I 599, ṣṭhívÚ/ṣṭhívÚ I 592, IV 4

ni-vās-é: kitÁ I 1042, vasÁ I 1054, vasa X 392

°-ni-vās-áy-oḥ: máthÁ I 355

ni-sā-n-e: tijA I 1020, tijA X 100, śiÑ V 3

ni-sām-an-e: u-búnd-ÌR I 925

*-ni-sām-anay-oḥ: cáyṚ I 929

*-ni-sām-ana- : vénṚ I 926

niṣ-karṣ-é: kúṣÁ IX 46, túlÁ I 560

niṣ-pát-t-au: phálÁ I 563

nīcair-gá-t-au: phákkÁ I 119

nṣ-t-au: nátÁ I 818, ṇatÁ I 332

nyak-kár-aṇ-e: dyai I 954

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pad-é: anka X 382

pady-arth-é: ãÑ+ṣadÁ X 288

para-prais-y-é: citÁ I 337

para-ma-aís-var-y-é: ídí I 64

pari-káik-an-e: cáhÁ I 765, cahÁ X 83, caha X 320

pari-kúj-an-e: dīvU X 166

pari-grah-é: pakṣÁ X 17, (pláksÁ I 696)

pari-ghāt-é: khidÁ VI 142

pari-tárk-aṇ-e: juṣÁ X 291

pari-tāp-é: kṇṭa X 344, dúÑ IV 25

pari-dév-an-e: klídi I 15, klídí I 73

pari-bḡmh-aṇ-e: sthūla X 356

pari-bhās-aṇ-e: cáṭÈ I 918, cádÈ I 919, bhátÁ I 817, bhádí I 292, rátÁ I 319, raṭa X 373, ráṭhÁ I 357, rétṚ I 917, vacÁ II 54, X 298, vátÁ I 816, valká X 35, svalká X 34

pari-bhās-ana- : cárcÁ I 719, VI 17; járjÁ I 718, VI 17; jhárjÁ I 750, jhárjhÁ I 750, VI 17, jhártsÁ I 750, bhála I 524, bhállA I 525

pari-māṇ-e: niṣkÁ X 147, másÍ IV 112

pari-várt-an-e: ghútA I 782

pari-véṣ-aṇ-e: yamÁ X 82

pari-véṣṭ-an-e: gúdhÁ IV 12, ṣvanjA I 1025

pari-hā-ṇ-é: ūna X 342

pari-hās-é: sphudÍ X 4

pary-āp-t-au: próthṚ I 919

páv-an-e: púN̄ I 1015, púN̄ IX 12

°-páv-anay-oḥ: palyūla X 335

pāk-é: ḌU-pac-ĀṢ I 1045, bhrasjÀ VI 4, śai I 966, śré I 848, śrā II 44,
śriN̄ IX 3, śrai I 967

pād-a-vi-ksep-é: krámÚ I 502

pā-n-e: cúṣÁ I 704, dheṬ I 951, pā I 972, piN̄ IV 33

pāruṣ-y-e: rūkṣa X 362

pāl-an-e: tújÍ I 264, téjÁ I 249, traiN̄ I 1014, (dāghÍ I 171), múṭhi I 284,
rákṣÁ I 688

pāl-ana-°: pṛ III 4, pṛ IX 19

°-pāl-anay-oḥ: táyṚ I 518, spṛ/(smṛ) V 13

plpā-sā-yām: N̄I-tṛṣ-Ā IV 18

purīṣa-ut-sarg-é: gú VI 106, hadA I 1026

pús-t-au: púṣÁ I 733, IX 57, puṣÁ IV 73

púj-an-e: khárjÁ I 247

°-púj-anay-oḥ: áncÚ I 203

pújā-yām: árcÁ I 219, arca X 266, árhÁ I 776, arhá X 192, (287), pujÁ
X 101, máhÁ I 746, maha X 321, mānA I 1021, mānA X 299,
yakṣa X 153

pūti-bhāv-é: kúthÁ IV 11, Ī-súc-ĪR IV 56

pūr-aṇ-e: únbhÁ/úbhÁ VI 32, tūṇA X 150, párvÁ I 608, púrvA I 607, pṛ
X 15, prā II 52, márvÁ I 609

*-pūr-aṇay-oḥ: pṛ III 4, pṛ̃ IX 19, vardhÁ X 112

*-pūr-aṇe-śu: prúsÁ IX 55, plúsÁ IX 58

pṛthak-kār-maṇ-i: bhaja X 340

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paśun-y-e: sūca X 327

*-pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ: ṇjīR III 11, ḌU-dhā-Ñ III 10, ḌU-bhṛ-Ñ III 5

pra-kāth-an-e: khyā II 50

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pra-kṣep-é: pṛthÁ X 20

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pra-khyā-n-e: prāthA I 802, prathÁ X 19

pra-ṇi-dā-n-é: meÑ I 1010

prati-ghāt-é: ghūtÁ VI 91, cākA I 93, rūtA I 783, lūtA I 784, lúthA I 785,
śtākÁ I 819

prati-jñā-n-e: muṇÁ VI 44

prati-bandh-é: stábhI I 413, skábhI I 414

prati-ṣṭhā-yām: talÁ X 58, múlÁ I 582

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*-prati-harṣ-āy-oḥ: śrānthÁ IX 39

pra-pūr-aṇ-e: duhÀ II 4

pra-mārd-an-e: mūtÁ I 346

pra-mād-é: yúchÁ I 229, śrānbhU I 420

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pra-yat-n-é: arjÁ X 186, jéhṚ I 675, bāhṚ I 676, yátĪ I 30, yásÚ IV 101,
yéṣṚ I 646, véhṚ I 674, śrathÁ X 13

pra-lāmbh-an-e: vancU X 163

pra-vés-an-e: viśÁ VI 130

pra-sav-é: śúsÁ I 710

pra-sáh-an-e: dhṛṣÁ X 308, śṛdhÚ X 195

pra-sah-ya-kár-aṇ-e: hṛ III 15

pra-sāḍ-é: ṣtúcA I 188

pra-srāv-aṇ-e: ghṛ X 108, mūtra X 361, ṣnu II 29, syándŪ I 798

pra-hva-tvé: ṇamÁ I 1030

prā-galbh-y-e: ŪI-dhṛṣ-À V 22

prāṇa-tyāg-é: mṛŪ VI 110

prāṇa-dhār-aṇ-e: jīvÁ I 594

prāṇ-an-e: aṇA IV 86, ánÁ II 61, balÁ X 85, śvásÁ II 80

*-prāṇ-anay-oḥ: ūrjÁ X 16

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saṁ-párc-ana-°: kúcA I 910

*-saṁ-párc-anay-oḥ: ricÁ X 273

sam-pra-hār-é: yudhA IV 64

sam-pr-é-ṣ-aṇ-e: ksudīR VII 6

sam-bāndh-an-e: sambÁ X 21

sam-bhák-t-au: ámÁ I 493, vánÁ I 491, vīN IX 38, ṣánÁ I 492

sam-bhram-é: ŃI-tvár-Ā I 812

samy-ag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e: śaṭha/śvaṭha X 310

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sām-arth-y-e: kīpŪ I 799, drāghR I 115, (dhrāghR I 116), rághR I 113,
lāghR I 114

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621, (nīṣŪ I 731), píví I 619, pīṣŪ I 737, míví I 620, mīṣŪ I 730,
mihÁ I 1041, mīṣŪ I 739, vīṣŪ I 729, vīṣŪ I 738, śīkkR I 75, śácA
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533, (plévR I 538), (mévR I 534), mlévR I 535, (sévR I 536), sévR
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sev-ś-yām: bhajÁ I 1047, śrīN I 945

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°-stambh-áy-oḥ: sūrī IV 49

stáv-an-e: arkÁ X 102

stút-t-au: fīdA II 9, tīdÁ X 129, fīcÁ VI 19, gā III 25, ṇu II 26, ṇú VI 104,
śansŪ I 764, śtuN II 34

*-stú-ty-oḥ: vādī I 11

*-stú-ti-°: dívŮ IV 1

ste-y-é: curÁ X 1, músÁ IX 58, músÁ I 707, rútí I 349, lútí I 350, lunṭhÁ
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ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e: kújŮ I 214, khújŮ I 215, grúcŮ I 212, glúcŮ I 213

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*-sthaír-yay-oḥ: dhrú VI 107

sthaú-l-y-e: ṇívÁ I 598, tívÁ I 597, pívÁ I 595, mívÁ I 596, vátḥÁ I 354

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*-snéh-anay-oḥ: rasa X 385

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spars-é: chupA VI 125

*-spars-ānay-oḥ: spāsÁ I 936

smār-aṇ-e: iK II 38

smṛ-ty-ām: cití X 2

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sváp-n-e: drai I 955, śfŇ II 22, ṣasÁ II 69

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*-sváp-na-°: dívŮ IV 1

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har-ita-bhāv-é: parṇa X 392

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hars-s-ksáy-e: glai I 952, mlai I 953

hás-an-e: kákhÁ I 124, kákhÉ I 821, ghághÁ I 170, cyu X 206, tákÁ I 120, hásÉ I 757

°-hás-anay-oh: jáksÁ II 62

hă-n-au: tyajÁ I 1035

°-hims-anay-oh: túrí IV 44, mîdR I 920, mēdR I 921

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°-hims-ā-°: dáyA I 510, bhála I 524, bhállA I 525

hims-ā-arth-āḥ: (knáthÁ I 837), kráthÁ I 838, kláthÁ I 839, cánÁ I 840, túnpÁ I 432, túphÁ I 436, túpÁ I 431, túphÁ I 435, tḡnhŪ/tḡhŪ VI 58, trúnpÁ I 434, trúnpHÁ I 438, trúpÁ I 433, trúphÁ I 437, ṣḡbhŪ I 458, ṣḡbhŪ I 457

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Verbal Stems With Specific Markers Indicated in the Sūtras

ĀT=IT (7.2.16-17)

ÑI-kṣvid-Ā I 780, 1027, IV 134; ÑI-tvár-Ā I 812, ÑI-phál-Ā I 549;
ÑI-mid-Ā I 779, IV 133; śvit-Ā I 778, ÑI-ṣvid-Ā I 780, IV 79

IT=IT (7.1.58)

ākI I 87, ágI I 155, ághI I 109, ajI X 245, áṭhI I 280, átI I 62, ádí I 63,
ábI I 403, ábhI I 411, áchI I 224, íkhI I 145, ígI I 163, ídí I 64, ívI
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kácI I 182, kádI I 302, kaḍI X 44, kádI I 70, kádI I 809, kápI I
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kudrI X 6, kúbI I 453, kubI X 113, kubhI X 113, kúsI X 225, kusI
X 223, kfvI I 629, krádI I 71, krádI I 810, krúdI I 71, kládI I 72,
kládI I 811, klídI I 15, klídI I 73, kṣájI I 806, kṣajI X 79, kṣapI X
78, khájI I 252, khádI I 303, khaḍI X 44, khuḍI X 47, gájI I 266,
gádI I 65a, 384, gújI I 218, guḍI X 46, gǧjI I 268, gráthI I 36,
ghaṭI X 227, ghñI I 461, ghūñI I 462, ghúṣI I 682, ghññI I 463,
cádI I 298, cádI I 68, capI X 77, citI X 2, cúṭI I 347, cuṭI X 92,
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tújI I 164, tuji X 215, túḍI I 295, tuḍI X 118, tuḍI I 69, túbI I
455, tubI X 115, ṭṭhI VII 18, trádI I 97, trákhI I 149, trágI I 159,
trádI I 69, trasI X 221, tvágI I 159, 166, thákI I 147, dághI I 171,
daśI X 136, 224, daśI X 137, 246, dívI I 623, dṛhI I 770, dráksI I
701, dhávI I 628, dhívI I 624, dhǧjI I 237, dhrájI I 233, dhráksI I
702, dhvájI I 239, dhvákSI I 703, ṬU-nád-I I 67, nídI I 66, pácl I
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puťI X 251, púdĭ I 346, 348, púthĭ I 45, pĕcĭ II 20, báhi I 664, bídí I 65, bĕhĭ I 772, bhajI X 219, bhádĭ I 292, bhađI X 50, bhádĭ I 12, bħsĭ X 247, máki I 89, mákhĭ I 137, mágĭ I 157, mághĭ I 111, 112, mácĭ I 186, máthĭ I 282, mádĭ I 344, mádĭ I 291, mađĭ X 49, matrĭ X 140, máthĭ I 47, máđĭ I 13, mábĭ I 665, mahĭ X 257, mákšĭ I 700, mijI X 216, midĭ X 8, mívĭ I 620, múcĭ I 185, mújĭ I 270, múthĭ I 284, múđĭ I 294, múđĭ I 348, mĕđĭ X 118, yatrĭ X 3, yúgĭ I 167, rákhĭ I 141, rágĭ I 153, rághĭ I 107, ragħĭ X 253, ráphĭ I 441, rábĭ I 401, rábhĭ I 412, ráhĭ I 768, rahĭ X 256, rĭgĭ I 164, rĭvĭ I 626, rúťĭ I 349, rúthĭ I 368, lákhĭ I 143, lágĭ I 154, lághĭ I 108, lagħĭ X 172, lájĭ I 258, lađĭ X 258, lábĭ I 402, 404; láchĭ I 222, lájĭ I 260, lígĭ I 165, ligĭ X 199, luji X 218, lúťĭ I 350, lúthĭ I 366, 369; lúthĭ I 46, lúbĭ I 454, lubĭ X 144, váki I 88, 95; vákhĭ I 135, vágĭ I 156, vágħĭ I 110, vátĭ I 351, vaťĭ X 372, váthĭ I 281, váđĭ I 290, vađĭ X 48, vádĭ I 11, vákšĭ I 699, váchĭ I 223, vúgĭ I 169, vrájĭ I 235, sákĭ I 86, sádĭ I 299, sásĭ I 660, síkhĭ I 150, síghĭ I 174, síji II 17, súthĭ I 367, suťhĭ X 104, srákĭ I 84, srágĭ I 160, sráthĭ I 35, slákĭ I 85, slágĭ I 162, svaki I 96, svagi I 161, svaci I 180, svidĭ I 10, skábhĭ I 414, skúdĭ I 9, śtabhĭ I 413, spádĭ I 14, sphúťĭ I 352, sphúđĭ I 297, sphuđĭ X 4, srákĭ I 83, svákĭ I 96, híđĭ I 287, hívĭ I 622, híśĭ VII 19, hisĭ X 286, húđĭ 288, 296.

řT=řT (7.2.14)

ŇI-índh-ĭ VII 11, úchĭ I 231, VI 14; úndĭ VII 20, úrvĭ I 600, ůyĭ I 512, řsĭ VI 7, kátĭ I 342, kĕťĭ VI 141, VII 10, knúyĭ I 514, kšmáýĭ I 515, gúrĭ VI 103, gurĭ X 155; gúrĭ IV 46, gúrvĭ I 605, ghúrĭ IV 47, cíťĭ I 39, cúřĭ IV 50, cĕťĭ VI 35, chĕđĭ X 277, jáňĭ I 862, jáňĭ IV 41, júsĭ VI 8, júrĭ IV 48, túrvĭ I 601, tūrĭ IV 44, trásĭ IV 10, thúrvĭ I 602, đřpĭ IV 42, dúrvĭ I 603, đřbhĭ VI 34, đřbhĭ X 278, dhúrvĭ I 604, dhúrĭ IV 45, nĕťĭ IV 9, púyĭ I 513, púrĭ IV 43, pūrĭ X 261, pĕcĭ II 20, pĕcĭ VII 25, O-pyáy-ĭ I 517, mádĭ I 853, IV 99; másĭ IV 112, múrvĭ I 606, yátĭ I 30, O-láj-ĭ/O-lásj-ĭ VI 10, O-vřj-ĭ VI 9, O-vřj-ĭ VII 23, ĭ-súc-ĭR IV 56, sūrĭ IV 49, spháýĭ I 516.

uT=IT (7.2.56)

áncÚ I 203, áncU I 915, ancU X 198, ásÚ IV 100, ɸñÚ VII 5, ɸdhÚ IV 135, V 24; kámÚ I 470, 869; kújÚ I 214, knásÚ I 864, IV 6; krámÚ I 502, klámÚ IV 98, ksánÚ VIII 3, ksínÚ VIII 4, ksívÚ I 599, khánÚ I 927, grásU I 661, grúcÚ I 212, glúcÚ I 213, ghɸñÚ VIII 7, ghɸsÚ I 740, cáncÚ I 205, cámcÚ I 497, 869, V 28, chámÚ I 498, U-chɸd-İkR VII 8, jámcÚ I 499, jáscÚ IV 102, jasU X 130, 178; jímÚ I 500, jisÚ I 728, jhámÚ I 501, ɸisÚ I 731, tánÚ VIII 1, tanU X 296, táncÚ I 206, támÚ IV 93, tásÚ IV 103, tɸñÚ VIII 6, U-tɸd-İR VII 9, tváncÚ I 207, dánbhÚ V 23, dámÚ IV 94, dásÚ IV 104, dívÚ IV 1, divU X 166, dhávÚ I 632, U-dhrás-Á IX 52, U-dhras-A X 202; pɸsÚ I 737, prúsÚ I 735, plúsÚ I 736, bhɸnsU IV 115, bhránsU I 792, IV 115, bhrámÚ I 903, IV 96; mánU VIII 9, mísÚ I 730, mɸdhÚ I 923, mɸsÚ I 739, mrúcÚ I 210, mrúncÚ I 208, mlúcÚ I 211, mlúncÚ I 209; yásÚ IV 101; vánÚ I 841, 868; vánU VIII 8, váncÚ X 163, vásÚ IV 105, visÚ I 729, vɸtU I 794, IV 52, vɸtU X 242, vɸdhU I 796, vɸdhU X 242, vɸsÚ I 738, sánsÚ I 674, sásÚ I 763, aÑ+sásU II 66, sɸdhÚ I 922, sɸdhU I 797, sɸdhU X 195, sɸnbhÚ/sɸbhÚ I 457-8, sránbhU I 420, srisÚ I 733, slisÚ I 734; sánÚ VIII 2, sɸhívÚ I 592, IV 4; stúbhU I 421; stunbhÚ IX 7, sránbhU I 420, 794; srívÚ IV 3, hɸsÚ I 741.

uT=IT (7.2.44)

ákşÚ I 684, ánĵÚ VII 21, ásŪ V 18; kɸpŪ I 799, klɸdŪ IV 132, klísŪ IX 50, ksámŪ IV 97, ksámŪ-Ş I 469, gáhŪ I 680, gúpŪ I 422, gúhŪ I 944, gɸhŪ I 681: táksŪ I 585, táncŪ VII 22, tɸñhŪ VI 58, tɸhŪ VI 58, trápŪ-Ş I 399, tvákşŪ I 686; mɸĵŪ II 57, mɸĵŪ X 304; vɸhŪ VI 57, O-vrásć-Ū VI 11; sɸdhŪ I 49, sɸɸhŪ VI 58, syándŪ I 798.

ɸT=IT (7.4.2)

éjR I 192, éjR I 253, éşR I 649, ókhĚ I 125, óñĚ I 482, kábR I 405, kásR I 678, IV 53; kásR I 654, képR I 392, kéĚ I 570, kévR I 539, krɸdĚ I 373, klɸbR I 406, ksɸbR I 407, ksɸvéĚ I 527, khádĚ I 50, khéĚ I 571, khévR I 537, khórĚ/khólĚ I 584; gádhR I 4, gépR I 393, gévR I 531, gésR I 645, glépR I 390, 396; glévR I 532; cákásĚ II 65, cáyĚ I 929, cívĚ I 928, céĚ I 569; jésR I 647, jéhR I 675;

nídR̥ I 921, nédR̥ I 921, nésR̥ I 648, t̥íkR̥ I 103, t̥íkR̥ I 104,
 d̥haúkR̥ I 98, táyR̥ I 518, tikR̥ I 105, típR̥ I 385, t̥íkR̥ I 106, túdR̥
 I 374, t̥údR̥ I 374, tepR̥ I 389, tépR̥ X 221, tévR̥ I 528, d̥ásR̥ I 931,
 d̥ásR̥ I 942, dévR̥ I 529, drákhR̥ I 128, drághR̥ I 117, drághR̥ I
 115, drádR̥ I 307, dráhR̥ I 677, drékR̥ I 78; dhépR̥ I 398, dhórR̥ I
 585, dhrákhR̥ I 129, dhrághR̥ I 116, 117; dhrádR̥ I 308, dhrékR̥ I
 79; náthR̥ I 7, nādhR̥ I 6; péiR̥ I 574, pévR̥ I 533, pésR̥ I 752,
 painR̥ I 486, présR̥ I 650, próthR̥ I 919, plévR̥ I 538; báđR̥ I 306,
 bádhR̥ I 5, bāhR̥ I 676; bhásR̥ I 655, bhésR̥ I 932, T̥U-bhrāj-R̥ I
 875, bhrājR̥ I 194, T̥U-bhrās-R̥ I 876, bhrējR̥ I 193, bhrésR̥ I 933,
 T̥U-bhlās-R̥ I 877, bhlésR̥ I 933; m̥ákhR̥ I 943, m̥ídR̥ I 920, m̥ímR̥ I
 496, méiR̥ I 314, méđR̥ I 920, médhR̥ I 920, (mépR̥) I 395, mévR̥ I
 534, mrédR̥ I 313, mlétR̥ I 312, mlévR̥ I 535; T̥U-yác-R̥ I 916,
 yútR̥ I 31, yésR̥ I 646, yaútR̥ I 311; rákhR̥ I 126, rághR̥ I 113,
 rájR̥ I 874, rāsR̥ I 657, rékR̥ I 80, réjR̥ I 195, rétR̥ I 917, répR̥ I
 396, rébhR̥ I 410, révR̥ I 540, résR̥ I 651, róđR̥ I 378, raúđR̥ I 377;
 lákhR̥ I 127, lághR̥ I 114, lókR̥ I 76, lokR̥ X 236, lócR̥ I 177, locR̥
 X 237, laúđR̥ I 379; v̥ásR̥ IV 54, víthR̥ I 33, vénR̥ I 926, véthR̥ I
 34, T̥U-vép-R̥ I 391, véiR̥ I 568, véhR̥ I 674; śákhR̥ I 130, śádR̥ I
 309, śíkR̥ I 75, śíbhR̥ I 408, śéiR̥ I 576, śónR̥ I 483, śaútR̥ I 310,
 śrónR̥ I 484, ślākhR̥ I 131, ślāghR̥ I 118, ślókR̥ I 77, ślónR̥ I 485;
 sévR̥ I 530, śtípR̥ I 387, śtépR̥ I 388; sékR̥ I 81, srékR̥ I 82, húđR̥ I
 375, húđR̥ I 376, héđR̥ I 304, hódR̥ I 305, hódR̥ I 376.

ĴT-IT (3.1.55)

āpĴ V 14, āpĴ X 295, gamĴ I 1031, ghásĴ I 747, pişĴ VII 15, mucĴ VI 136,
 lupĴ VI 137, vidĴ VI 138, vişĴ III 13, śakĴ V 15, śadĴ I 908, VI 134,
 śişĴ VII 14, şadĴ I 907, şpĴ I 1032.

eT=IT (7.2.5)

kákhÉ I 821, kágÉ I 828, kátÉ I 315, kváthÉ I 899, cáťÉ I 316, catÉ/
 cadÉ I 918, páthÉ I 900, máthÉ I 901, rágÉ I 822, lágÉ I 823,
 şágÉ I 826, şthágÉ I 827.

oT=IT (8.2.45)

bhanjÓ VII 16, bhujÓ VI 124, ṭU-masj-Ó VI 122, rujÓ VI 123, O-vai I 969, ṭU-O-śví I 1059, ṭU-O-sphúrjĀ I 254; dñN IV 27, dñN IV 26, duñN IV 25, dñN IV 28, mñN IV 29, rñN IV 30, hñN IV 31, vñN IV 32, ṣñN IV 24.

ṭU=IT (3.3.89)

ṭU-kṣu II 27, ṭU-du V 10, ṭU-nád-Í I 67, ṭU-masj-Ó VI 122, ṭU-yāc-Ṛ I 918, ṭU-vám-Á I 868, 902; ṭU-vép-Ṛ I 391, ṭU-O-śví I 1059, ṭU-O-sphúrj-Ā I 254.

ḍU=IT (3.3.88)

ḍU-kṛ-Ñ VIII 10, ḍU-kṛ-Ñ IX 1, ḍU-dā-Ñ III 9, ḍU-dhā-Ñ III 10, ḍU-pac-ÀṢ I 1045, ḍU-bhṛ-Ñ III 5, ḍU-mi-Ñ V 4.

Ṣ-IT (3.3.104)

kṣámŪ-Ṣ I 469, kṣṛṢ IX 35, jṣṢ I 863, IV 22; jhṣṢ IV 23, DU-pac-À-Ṣ I 1045, tráp-Ū-Ṣ I 399.

ÑI=IT (k3.2.187)

ÑI-indh-Ī VII 11, ÑI-kṣvid-Ā I 780, ÑI-kṣvid-Ā IV 134, ÑI-kṣvid-Ā I 1027, ÑI-tṣ-Á IV 118, ÑI-tvár-Ā I 812, ÑI-dhṣ-Ā V 22, ÑI-phál-Ā I 549, ÑI-bhī III 2, ÑI-míd-Ā I 779, ÑI-ṣvap-Á II 59, ÑI-ṣvid-Ā I 780, ÑI-ṣvid-Ā IV 79.

IR-IT (3.1.57)

úh-ÍR I 775, kṣud-ÌR VII 6, ghús-ÍR I 683, ghuṣ-IR X 187, cyút-ÍR I 40, jyút-ÍR I 42, nij-IR III 11, túh-ÍR I 773, U-tṣd-ÌR VII 9, dúh-ÍR I 774, dṛś-ÍR I 1037, búdh-ÌR I 924, U-búnd-ÌR I 925, bhid-ÌR VII 2, yuj-ÌR VII 7, ric-ÌR VII 4, rúd-ÍR II.58, rudh-ÌR VII 1, vic-ÌR VII 5, vij-IR III 12, Ī-súc-ÌR IV 56, ścyút-ÍR I 41, skand-ÍR I 1028, sphút-ÍR I 352.

Gaṇa-pāṭha

1. aṁśu=āday-aḥ

[6.2.193 prāter aṁśu=āday-aḥ tatpuruṣe (ānta udātṭāḥ)]

1 aṁśu-, 2 jana-, 3 rājan-, 4 uṣṭra-, 5 khetaka-, 6 ajira-, 7 ādrā, 8 śravaṇa-, 9 kṛttikā, 10 ardha-, 11 pura-.

2. akṣa-dyūta=āday-aḥ

[4.4.19 nir-vṛt-t-e akṣa-dyūta=ādi-bhyaḥ (ṭhaK 1)]

1 akṣa-dyū-ta-, 2 jānu-pra-hṛ-ta-, 3 jaṅghā-pra-hṛ-ta-, 4 jaṅghā-pra-hata-*, 5 pāda-sved-ana-, 6 kaṇṭha-ka-mard-ana-, 7 ga-ta=anu-ga-ta-*, 8 ga-ta=ā-ga-ta-, 9 yā-ta=upa-yā-ta-, 10 anu-ga-ta-.

3. aṅguli=āday-aḥ

[5.3.108 aṅguli=ādi-bhyaḥ ṭhaK (ive 96)]

1 aṅguli-, 2 bharuḥ-, 3 babhru-, 4 valgu-, 5 maṇḍara-, 6 maṇḍala-, 7 śaṣkuḥ-, 8 hari-*, 9 kapi-, 10 muni-*, 11 ruha-*, 12 khala-*, 13 udaśvit-, 14 goṇī, 15 uras-, 16 kulīśa-, 17 śikhā.

4. aja=āday-aḥ

[4.1.4 aja=ādi=aT-aḥ ṬāP]

1 ajā, 2 eḍakā, 3 kokilā, 4 catakā, 5 aśvā, 6 muṣikā, 7 bālā, 8 hoḍā, 9 pākā, 10 vatsā, 11 mandā, 12 vilātā, 13 pūrvāpahāṇā, 14 aparāpahāṇā, #¹ sam-² bhastra=³ ajina-⁴ śaṇa-⁵ piṇḍe-bhyaḥ phal-āt: 15 sam-phalā, 16 bhastra-phalā, 17 ajina-phalā, 18 śaṇa-phalā, 19 piṇḍa-phalā#; 20 triphalā (dvig-au); #¹ sat-² prāk-³ kāṇḍa-⁴ prānta-⁵ śata=ēke-bhyaḥ puṣp-āt: 21 sat-puṣpā, 22 prāk-puṣpā, 23 kāṇḍa-puṣpā, 24 prānta-puṣpā, 25 śata-puṣpā, 26 eka-puṣpā#; 27 śūdrā ca a-mahat-pūrvā jā-t-ḥ; 28 kruñcā; 29 uṣṇī-hā, 30 deva-viśā, 31 jyesthā, 32 kanīṣṭhā, 33 madhyamā puṁ-yog-e api; 34 #mūl-āt nañ-aḥ: a-mūlā#; 35 daṁṣṭrā.

5. ajira=āday-aḥ

[6.3.119 matAU bahu=aC-aḥ an-ajira=ādi-n-ām (dīrghaḥ 111)]

1 ajira-, 2 khadira-, 3 pulina-, 4 haṁsa-, 5 kāraṇḍava-, 6 cakra-vāka-.

6. adi=pra-bhṛ-tay-aḥ

[2.4.72 adi-pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ ŚaP-aḥ (luK 58)]

= Dhṛ II 1-72.

7. anu-pra-vac-ana=āday-aḥ

[5.1.111 anu-pra-vac-ana=ādi-bhyaś chaḥ]

1 anu-pra-vac-ana-, 2 ut-thā-p-ana-, 3 upa-sthā-p-ana-, 4 saṁ-vés-ana-, 5 pra-vés-ana-, 6 anu-pra-vés-ana-, 7 anu-vás-ana-, 8 anu-vác-ana-, 9 anu-vác-ana-, 10 anu=ā=róh-aṇa-, 11 prā-rámbh-aṇa-, 12 ā-rámbh-aṇa-, 13 ā-róh-aṇa-.

8. anu-śatika=āday-aḥ

[7.3.20 anu-śat-ika=ādi-nām ca]

1 anu-śat-ika-, 2 anu-hoḍa-, 3 anu-saṁ-var-aṇa- (anu-saṁ-car-aṇa-), 4 anu-saṁ-vat-sara-, 5 aṅgāra-veṇu-, 6 asi-hat-ya- (asya-hat-ya-), 7 asya-he-ti-, 8 vadh=yoga-, 9 puṣkara-sad-, 10 anu-har-at-, 11 kuru-kata-, 12 kuru-pañcāla-, 13 uda-ka-śud-dha-, 14 iha-loka-, 15 para-loka-, 16 sarva-loka-, 17 sarva-puruṣa-, 18 sarva-bhūmi-, 19 pra-yoga-, 20 para-strī, 21 rāja-puruṣ-ā-t ŚyaÑ-i; 22 sūtra-naḍa-; *ā-kr-ti-gaṇa-h ayam*.

9. apūpa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.4 vibhāṣā havir=apūpa=ādi-bhyaḥ (yaT 2)]

1 apūpa-, 2 taṇḍula-, 3 abhy-ūṣa-, 4 abhy-oṣa-, 5 avoṣa-, 6 abhy-eṣa-, 7 pṛthuka-, 8 odana-, 9 sūpa-, 10 pūpa-, 11 kiṇva-, 12 pra-dīpa-, 13 musala-, 14 kaṭaka-, 15 karṇa-veṣṭa-ka-, 16 (*irgala-), 17 argala-; 18 #anna-vi-kāre-bhyaś ca#; 19 yūpa-, 20 sthūpā, 21 dīpa-, 22 aśva-, 23 patra-.

10. *ayas-maya-āday-aḥ*

[1.4.20 *ayas-maya-ādī-n-i chandas-i*]

ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam.

11. *arī-haṇa=āday-aḥ*

[4.2.80 *arī-haṇa-kṛśa=asva- . . . vuṆ-chaN . . .*]

1 *arī-haṇa-*, 2 *dru-ghaṇa-*, 3 **dru-haṇa-*, 4 *bhagala-*, 5 *ulanda-*, 6 *kirāṇa-*, 7 *sām-par-āy-aṇa-*, 8 **auṣṭr-āyana-*, 9 *trai-gart-āyana-*, 10 *maitr-āyana-*, 11 *bhāstr-āyana-*, 13 *vai-mat-āyana-*, 14 *gau-mat-āyana-*, 15 *sau-mat-āyana-*, 16 *saus-āyana-*, 17 **dhau-mat-āyana-*, 18 **saum-āyana-*, 19 " *aindr-āyana-*, 20 **kaundr-āyana-*, 21 *khād-āyana-*, 22 *śāṇḍily-āyana-*, 23 *rāyas-poṣa-*, 24 *vi-patha-*, 25 *vipāśa-*, 26 *ud-daṇḍa-*, 27 (*ud-añc-ana-*), 28 *khāṇḍa-vīraṇa-*, 29 *vīraṇa-*, 30 *kāśa-kṛtsna-*, 31 *jāmba-vata-*, 32 *sīmśapā-*, 33 *raivata-* (*re-vata-*); 34 *bilva-*, 35 *su-yajña-*, 36 *śīrīṣa-*, 37 *badhira-*, 38 *jambu-*, 39 *khadira-*, 40 *su-śarman-*, 41 *dala-tṛ-**, 42 **bhalandana-*, 43 **khaṇḍu-*, 44 *kalana-* (*kanala-*), 45 *yajña-datta-*.

12. *ardha-rc-āḥ*

[2.4.31 *ardha-rc-āḥ puṁs-i ca*]

1 *ardha-rc-a-*, 2 *go-maya-*, 3 *kaśāya-*, 4 *kārsāpaṇa-*, 5 *ku-tapa-*, 6 *kusapa-* (*kuṇapa-*), 7 *kapāṭa-*, 8 *śaṅkha-*, 9 *gūtha-*, 10 *yūtha-*, 11 *dhvaja-*, 12 *kabandha-*, 13 *padma-*, 14 *grha-*, 15 *sar-aka-*, 16 *kaṁsa-*, 17 *divasa-*, 18 *yūṣa-*, 19 *andha-kāra-*, 20 *daṇḍa-*, 21 *kamaṇḍalu-*, 22 *maṇḍa-*, 23 *bhū-ta-*, 24 *dvi-pa-*, 25 *dyū-ta-*, 26 *cakra-*, 27 *dharma-*, 28 *kar-man-*, 29 *mod-aka-*, 30 *śata-māna-*, 31 *yāna-*, 32 *nakha-*, 33 *nakha-ra-*, 34 *car-aṇa-*, 35 *puccha-*, 36 *dāḍima-*, 37 *hima-*, 38 *rajata-*, 39 *saktu-*, 40 *pi-dhāna-*, 41 *sār-a-*, 42 *pātra-*, 43 *ghṛ-ta-*, 44 *saindhav-a-*, 45 *auśadha-*, 46 *ādhaka-*, 47 *caśaka-*, 48 *droṇa-*, 49 *khalīna-*, 50 *pātrīva-*, 51 *ṣaṣṭi-ka-*, 52 *vāra-bhāṇa-*, 53 *protha-*, 54 *kapi-ttha-*, 55 (*śuṣ-ka-*), 56 **śāla-*, 57 *śīla-*, 58 *śulka-* (*śukla/śulba-*), 59 *sidhu-*, 60 *kavaca-*, 61 *reṇu-*, 62 *ṛṇa-*, 63 *kapāṭa-*, 64 *śī-kara-*, 65 *musala-*, 66 *su-varṇa-*, 67 *varṇa-*, 68 *pūrva-*, 69 *camasa-*, 70 *kṣīra-*, 71 *karṣa-*, 72 *ā-kāś-a-*, 73 *aṣṭā-pada-*, 74 *maṅgala-*, 75 *nī-dhana-*, 76 *nir-yās-a-*, 77 *jṛmbha-*, 78 *vṛt-ta-*, 79 *pusta-*, 80 *busta-*, 81 *kṣved-i-ta-*, 82 *śṛṅga-*, 83 *nī-gaḍa-*, 84 *khala-*, 85 *madhu-*, 86 *mūla-*, 87 *mūla-ka-*, 88 *sthūla-*, 89 *śarāva-*, 90 *nāla-*, 91 *vapra-*, 92 *vi-māna-*, 93

mukha-, 94 pra-grīva-, 95 śūla-, 96 vajra-, 97 kaṭaka-, 98 kaṇṭaka-, 99 (karpaṭa-), 100 śikhara-, 101 kalka- (valkala-), 102 nāṭa-, 103 mastaka-, 104 valaya-, 105 kusuma-, 106 tṛṇa-, 107 paṇka-, 108 kuṇḍala-, 109 kirīṭa-, 110 kumuda-, 111 arbuda-, 112 aṅkuśa-, 113 tīmira-, 114 āśray-a-, 115 bhūṣ-aṇa-, 116 iṣv-āsa- (ikkasa-), 117 mukula-, 118 vasanta-, 119 taṭāka- (taḍāga-), 120 piṭaka-, 121 viṭaṅka-, 122 viḍaṅga-, 123 piṇyāka-, 124 māṣa-, 125 kośa-, 126 phalaka-, 127 dina-, 128 daivata-, 129 pināka-, 130 samara-, 131 sthā-ṇu-, 132 anīka-, 133 upa-vās-a-, 134 śāka-, 135 karpāsa-, 136 vi-śāla-, 137 caṣāla-, 138 khaṇḍa-, 139 dara-, 140 viṭapa-, 141 raṇa-, 142 bala-, 143 maka (mala-), 144 mṛṇāla-, 145 hasta-, 146 ārdra-, 147 hala-, 148 sū-tra-, 149 tāṇḍava-, 150 gāṇḍī-va-, 151 maṇḍa-pa-, 152 paṭaha-, 153 saudha-, 154 yodha-, 155 pārśva-, 156 śārītra-, 157 phala-, 158 chala-, 159 pura-, 160 rās-ṭra-, 161 bimba-, 162 ambara-, 163 kuṭṭ-ima-, 164 kukkuṭa-, 165 kuḍapa-, 166 kakuda-, 167 khaṇḍala-, 168 tomara-, 169 toraṇa-, 170 mañcaka-, 171 pañca-ka-, 172 puñkha-, 173 madhya-, 174 (vala-), 175 chala-, 176 valmīka-, 177 varṣa-, 178 vas-tra-, 179 vasu-, 180 deha-, 181 ud-yāna-, 182 ud-yog-a-, 183 sneh-a-, 184 ste-na-, 185 stana-, 186 svar-a-, 187 saṁ-gam-a-, 188 niṣka-, 189 kṣe-ma-, 190 sūka-, 191 kṣattrā-, 192 pav-i-tra-, 193 yauvan-a-, 194 kala-ha-, 195 pāl-aka- (māl-aka-), 196 mūṣika-, 197 maṇḍala-, 198 valkala-, 199 kuñja-, 200 vi-hār-a-, 201 loh-i-ta-, 202 viṣāṇa-, 203 bhav-ana-, 204 araṇya-, 205 pul-ina-, 206 dṛ-dha-, 207 ās-ana-, 208 airā-vat-a-, 209 śūrpa-, 210 tīrtha-, 211 loma-śa-, 212 tamāla-, 213 loha-, 214 daṇḍaka-, 215 śap-atha-, 216 prati-sar-a-, 217 dāru-, 218 dhanu-, 219 māna-, 220 varc-as-ka-, 221 kūrca-, 222 taṇḍaka-, 223 maṭha-, 224 sahasra-, 225 odana-, 226 pra-vāl-a-, 227 śakaṭa-, 228 apara=ahṇa-, 229 nīḍa-, 230 śakala-, 231 taṇḍula-.

13. arśas=āday-aḥ

[5.2.127 arśas=ādi-bhyaḥ=āC]

1 arśas-, 2 uras-, 3 tunda-, 4 catura-, 5 palita-, 6 jaṭā, 7 (ghaṭā), 8 *ghaṭā, 9 abhra-, 10 agha-, 11 kardama-, 12 amla-, 13 lavaṇa-, 14 #sva=aṅg-āt=hi-n-āt#; 15 varṇ-ā-t.

14. aśman=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ra]

1 aśman-, 2 yūtha-, 3 ūṣa-, 4 mīna-, 5 nada-, 6 dar-bha-, 7 vṛnda-, 8 guda-, 9 khaṇḍa-, 10 naga-, 11 śikhā-, 12 koṭa-, 13 pāma-, 14 kanda-, 15 kānda-, 16 kula-, 17 gah-va-, 18 guḍa-, 19 kuṇḍala-, 20 pīna-, 21 guha-.

15. aśva=āday-aḥ

[4.1.110 aśva=ādibhyḥ phaṅ]

1 aśva-, 2 aśman, 3 śaṅkha-, 4 sūdraka-, 5 vida-, 6 puṭa-, 7 rohiṇa-, 8 kharjūra- (khajūra-), 9 (khañjāra-), 10 (vasta-), 11 pijūla- (pijūra-), 12 bhaḍila-, 13 bhaṇḍila-, 14 bhaḍita-, 15 bhaṇḍita-, 16 (pra-kr̥-ta-), 17 (rāmōda-), 18 kṣān-ta-, 19 (kāśa-), 20 (tṛkṣṇa-), 21 (golāṅka-), 22 (arka-), 23 (svar-a-), 24 (sphuṭa-), 25 (cakra-), 26 (śraviṣṭha-), 27 pavinda-, 28 pav-itra-, 29 go-min-, 30 śyāma-, 31 dhūma-, 32 dhūm-ra-, 33 vāg-min-, 34 viśvā-nara-, 35 kuṭa-; 36 #śapa ātreya-e#; 37 jana-, 38 jaḍa-, 39 khaḍa-, 40 grīṣma-, 41 arha-, 42 kita-, 43 viśam-pa-, 44 viśāla-, 45 giri-, 46 capala-, 47 cupa-, 48 dāsa-ka-, 49 bailva- (bailya-), 50 prācya-, 51 (dharmya-), 52 ānaḍuh-ya-, 53 #puṁs-i jā-t-e#; 54 arjuna-, 55 (pra-hṛ-ta-), 56 su-manas-, 57 dur-manas-, 58 manas-, 59 (prānta-), 60 dhvana-, 61 #ātreyā bhārd-vāj-e#; 62 #bharad-vāja ātreya-e#; 63 utsa-, 64 ātava-, 65 kitava-, 66 (vada-), 67 (dhan-ya-), 68 (pada-), 69 śiva-, 70 khadira-.

16. aśva=ādi-ḥ (yaT: 5.1.39)

[5.1.39 go-dvy-aca-ḥ a-saṁkhyā-parimāṇa-aśv=āder yaT]

1 aśva-, 2 aśman-, 3 gaṇa-, 4 ūrṇā, 5 umā, 6 bhaṅgā; (gaṅgā), 6 varṣā, 7 vasu-.

17. aśva-pati=āday-aḥ

[4.1.84 aśva-pati=ādi-bhyaś ca (aṅ 83)]

1 aśva-pati-, 2 (jñā-na-pati-), 3 śata-pati-, 4 dhana-pati-, 5 gaṇa-pati, 6 (sthāna-pati-), 7 (yajña-pati-), 8 rāṣṭra-pati-, 9 kula-pati-, 10 gr̥ha-pati-, 11 (paśu-pati-), 12 dhānya-pati-, 13 dhanva-pati-, 14 (bandhu-pati-), 15 (dharma-pati-), 16 sabhā-pati-, 17 prāṇa-pati-, 18 kṣetra-pati-.

18. ā-karṣa=āday-aḥ (ā-kaṣa=āday=aḥ)

[5.2.64 ā-karṣa=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN]

1 ā-karṣa-/(ā-kaṣa-), 2 tsaru-, 3 piśāca-, 4 picaṇḍa-, 5 aśani-, 6 aśman-, 7 ni-caya-, 8 cay-a- 9 (vi-jay-a-), 10 jay-a-, 11 ā-cay-a-, 12 nay-a-, 13 pada-, 14 dīpa-, 15 hrada-, 16 hrāda-, 17 (gadgada-), 18 śakuntl-.

19. ā-ci-ta=āday-aḥ

[6.2.146 sam-jñā-y-ām an-ā-ci-ta=ādī-n-ām]

1 ā-ci-ta-, 2 pari=ā-ci-ta-, 3 ā-sthā-p-i-ta-, 4 pari-grh-ī-ta-, 5 nir-uk-ta-, 6 prati-pan-na-, 7 apa-śliṣ-ṭa-, 8 pra-śliṣ-ṭa-, 9 upa-hi-ta-, 10 upa-sthi-ta-, 11 #sam-hi-tā=a-gav-i#.

20. ā-hi-ta=agni=āday-aḥ

[2.2.37 vā ā-hi-ta=agni=ādi-ṣu]

1 ā-hi-ta=agni-, 2 jā-ta-put-ra-, 3 jāta-danta-, 4 jāta-śmaśru-, 5 taila-pīta-, 6 ghr̥ta-pīta-, 7 (madya-pīta-), 8 ūdha-bhārya-, 9 gata=artha-; *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇ-aḥ ayam*.

21. indra-janana=āday-aḥ

[4.3.88 śīsu-kranda-yama-sabha-dvandva=indra-janana=ādi-bhyaś chaḥ]

ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇ-aḥ ayam.

22. iṣ-ṭa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.88 iṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyaś ca (ini-ḥ 86)]

1 iṣ-ṭa-, 2 pūr-ta-, 3 upa=ā-sad-i-ta-, 4 ni-gad-i-ta-, 5 pari-gad-i-ta-, 6 pari-vad-i-ta-, 7 ni-kath-i-ta-, 8 ni-śād-ī-ta-, 9 ni-paṭh-i-ta-, 10 sam-kal-i-ta-, 11 pari-kal-i-ta-, 12 sam-rakṣ-i-ta-, 13 pari-rakṣ-i-ta-, 14 arc-i-ta-, 15 gaṇ-i-ta-, 16 ava-kīr-ṇa-, 17 ā-yuk-ta-, 18 grh-ī-ta-, 19 ā-mnā-ta-, 20 śru-ta-, 21 adh-ī-ta-, 22 (ava-dhā-na-), 23 ā-sev-i-ta-, 24 ava-dhār-i-ta-, 25 ava-kalp-i-ta-, 26 nir-ā-kṛ-ta-, 27 upa-kṛ-ta-, 28 up-ā-kṛ-ta-, 29 anu-yuk-ta-, 30 anu-gaṇ-i-ta-, 31 anu-paṭh-i-ta-, 32 vy-ā-kul-i-ta-.

23. uktha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 kratu=uktha=ādi-sūtra=ant-aṭ ṭhaK]

1 uktha-, 2 lok-ā-yata-, 3 ny-āy-a-, 4 ny-ās-a-, 5 punar-uk-ta-, 6 nir-uk-ta-, 7 ni-mitta-, 8 dvi-pad-ā, 9 jyot-iṣ-a-, 10 anu-pada-, 11 anu-kalpa-, 12 yaj-ña-, 13 dharma-, 14 carcā, 15 kram-e-tara-, 16 ślakṣa-(ślakṣṇa-), 17 saṁ-hi-tā, 18 pada-krama-, 19 saṁ-ghāt-a- (saṁ-ghaṭṭa-), 20 vṛt-ti-, 21 pari-śad-, 22 saṁ-grah-a-, 23 gaṇa-, 24 guṇa-, 25 āyur-veda.

24. uñcha=āday-aḥ

[6.1.160 uñcha=ādi-n-ām ca (anta-ḥ udātta-ḥ 159)]

1 uñch-ā-, 2 mleccch-ā-, 3 jañj-ā-, 4 jalp-ā-, 5 jap-ā-, 6 vadh-ā-, 7 #yug-ā kāla-vi-śeṣ-e ratha=ādi=upa-kar-aṇ-e ca#; 8 #gar-ā-ḥ dūṣ-ye (dūṣ-ye)#; aP=anta-ḥ; 9 #¹ved-ā-²veg-ā-³veṣṭā-⁴bandh-āḥ kar-aṇ-e#; 10 #¹stu-²yu-³druv-aś chand-as-i#; 11 #vart-anī-ḥ sto-tre#; 12 #śvabhre-dar-ā-ḥ#; 13 #¹sāmbā-²tāp-aú bhāva-garhā-y-ām#; 14 #¹ut-tamā-²śaśvat-tam-aú sarva-tra#; 15 #¹bhaks-ā-²manth-ā-³bhog-ā-⁴deh-āḥ#.

25. ut-kar-a=āday-aḥ

[4.2.90 ut-kar-a=ādi-bhyaś cha-ḥ]

1 ut-kar-a-, 2 sam-phal-a-, 3 śapha-ra-, 4 pippala-, 5 pippali-mūla-, 6 aśman-, 7 su-varṇa-, 8 khal-ā-jīna-, 9 tika-, 10 kitava-, 11 aṇaka-, 12 traivāṇa-, 13 picuka-, 14 aśvattha-, 15 kāśa-, 16 kṣud-ra-, 17 bhastrā, 18 śāla-, 19 jan-yā, 20 ajira-, 21 carman-, 22 ut-kroś-a-, 23 kṣān-ta-, 24 khadira-, 25 sūrpa-nāy-a-, 26 śyāva-nāy-a-, 27 nai-vākav-a-, 28 tṛṇa-, 29 vṛkṣa-, 30 śāka-, 31 palāśa-, 32 vi-ji-gī-ṣā, 33 an-eka-, 34 ā-tap-a-, 35 phala-, 36 sam-para-, 37 arka-, 38 garta-, 39 agni-, 40 vairāṇaka-, 41 idā, 42 aranya-, 43 ni-śān-ta-, 44 parṇa-, 45 nī-cāy-aka-, 46 śaṁ-kar-a-, 47 ava-roh-i-ta-, 48 kṣā-ra-, 49 vi-śāla-, 50 vetra-, 51 arthaṇa-, 52 khaṇḍa-, 53 vātā-gāra-, 54 mantr-aṇa=arha-, 55 indra-vṛkṣa-, 56 ni-tān-ta-vṛkṣa-, 57 ārdra-vṛkṣa-.

26. utsa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.86 utsa=ādi-bhyaḥ=añ]

1 utsa-, 2 uda-pā-na-, 3 vi-kar-a-, 4 vi-nad-a-, 5 mahā-nada-, 6 mahā-nasa-, 7 mahā-prā-ṇa-, 8 taruṇa-, 9 taluna-, 10 #baṣkaya ase#; 11 pṛthivī, 12 dhenu-, 13 pañk-ti-, 14 jag-at-ī, 15 tri-ṣṭubh-, 16 anu-ṣṭubh-, 17 jana-pada-, 18 bharata-, 19 uśt-nara-, 20 grīṣma-, 21 pīlu-kūṇa-, 22 #uda-sthāna deś-e#; 23 pṛṣad-añśa-, 24 bhallak-īya-, 25 ratham-tara-, 26 madhyam-dina-, 27 bṛh-at-, 28 mah-at-, 29 sat-t-vat-, 30 kuru-, 31 pañcāla-, 32 indr-āva-sā-na-, 33 uṣṇih-, 34 kakubh-, 35 su-varṇa-, 36 deva-, 37 #grīṣm-āt a=cohand-as-i" #.

27. ut-saṅga=āday-aḥ

[4.4.15 har-a-ti=ut-saṅga=ādi-bhyaḥ (thaK 1)]

1 ut-saṅg-a-, 2 (uḍupa-), 3 ut-puta-, 4 ut-pan-na-, 5 ut-puta-, 6 piṭaka-, 7 piṭaka-.

28. ud-gātr=āday-aḥ

[5.1.129 ¹prāṇa-bhṛt=²jāti-³vayo-vac-ana-⁴sud-gātr=ādibhyaḥ=añ]

1 ud-gā-tr-, 2 un-ne-tr-, 3 prati-har-tr-, 4 pra-śās-tr-, 5 ho-tr-, 6 po-tr-, 7 har-tr-, 8 ratha-gaṇ-aka-, 9 pat-ti-gaṇ-aka-, 10 su-ṣṭh-u-, 11 duṣṭhu-, 12 adhvar-yu-, 13 vadhū, 14 #su-bhaga mantre#.

29. upaka=āday-aḥ

[2.4.69 upaka=ādi=bhyaḥ=anya-tara-syām a-dvaṁdve (luK 58)]

1 upaka-, 2 lamaka-, 3 bhraṣṭaka-, 4 kapi-ṣṭhala-, 5 kṛṣṇ-ā-jina-, 6 kṛṣṇa-sundara-, 7 cūḍāraka-, 8 āḍāraka-, 9 gaḍu-ka-, 10 ud-aṅka-, 11 sudhāyuka-, 12 a-bandh-aka-, 13 piṅgalaka-, 14 piṣ-ṭa-ka-, 15 su-piṣ-ṭa-(supiṣṭha-), 16 mayūra-karṇa-, 17 khārī-jaṅgha-, 18 śālāthala-, 19 patañjala-, 20 padañjala-, 21 kaṭheraṇi-, 22 kuṣṭhaka-, 23 kāśa-kṛtsna-, 24 ni-dāgh-a-, 25 kalaśi-kaṇṭha-, 26 dāma-kaṇṭha-, 27 kṛṣṇa-piṅgala-, 28 karṇaka-, 29 parṇaka-, 30 jaṭilaka-, 31 badhiraka-, 32 jantuka-, 33 anu-loma-, 34 anu-pad-a-, 35 prati-loma-, 36 apa-jagha-, 37 pra-tāna-, 38 an-abhi-hi-ta-, 39 kamaka-, 40 varāṭka- (vaṭāraka*), 41 lekṣābhra-, 42 kamandaka-, 43 piñjūlaka-, 44 varṇaka-, 45 masūra-karṇa-, 46 madāgha-, 47 kavantaka-, 48 kamantaka-, 49 kadā-matta-, 50 dāma-kaṇṭha-.

30. uras=pra-bhṛ-tay-aḥ

[5.4.151 uras=kpra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ kaP]

1 ur-as-, 2 sarp-is-, 3 upā-nah-, 4 pumān-, 5 anadṛvān-, 6 payas-, 7 nau-, 8 lakṣmī-, 9 dadhi-, 10 madhu-, 11 śāli-, 12 #arth-āt=nañ-aḥ#.

31. ūrī=āday-aḥ

[1.4.61 ūrī-ādi-Cvi-ḌāC-as ca (kriyā-yoge 59 gatis=ca 60)]

1 ūrī-, 2 urarī-, 3 tanthī-, 4 tālī-, 5 ā-tālī-, 6 vetālī-, 7 dhūlī-, 8 dhūśī-, 9 śakalā-, 10 saṁ-śakalā-, 11 dhvamsakalā-, 12 bhrāmsakalā-, 13 gulugudhā-, 14 sajuṣ-, 15 phala-, 16 phaṇī-, 17 vikī-, 18 ākī-, 19 ā-loṣṭhī-, 20 kevālī-, 21 kevāśī-, 22 sevāśī-, 23 paryālī-, 24 śevālī-, 25 varṣālī-, 26 atyūmasā-, 27 vaśmasā-, 28 masmasā-, 29 masamasā-, 30 auṣaṭ-, 31 vausaṭ-, 32 vaṣaṭ-, 33 svāhā-, 34 svadhā-, 35 bandhā-, 36 prādus-, 37 āt-, 38 āvis.

32. ṛg-ay-ana=āday-aḥ

[4.3.73 aN ṛg-ay-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 ṛg-ay-ana-, 2 pada-vy-ā-khyāna-, 3 chando-māna-, 4 chando-bhāṣā-, 5 chando-vi-ci-ti-, 6 ny-āy-a-, 7 punar-uk-ta-, 8 nir-uk-ta-, 9 vy-ā-kar-ana-, 10 ni-gam-a-, 11 vāstu-vidyā-, 12 kṣatra-vidyā-, 13 aṅga-vidyā-, 14 vid-yā-, 15 ut-pāt-a-, 16 ut-pād-a-, 17 ud-yāv-a-, 18 saṁ-vat-sara-, 19 muhūrta-, 20 upa-ni-ṣad-, 21 nimitta-, 22 śikṣā-, 23 bhikṣā.

33. ṛśya=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ka]

1 ṛśya-, 2 nyag-rodha-, 3 śara-, 4 ni-ñ-na-, 5 ni-vās-a-, 6 ni-vā-ta-, 7 ni-dhāna-, 8 ni-bandh-a- (ni-bandh-ana-), 9 vi-bad-dha-, 10 pari-gū-ḍha-, 11 upa-gū-ḍha-, 12 as-ani-, 13 si-ta-, 14 ma-ta-, 15 veś-man-, 16 uttara-aśman-, 17 aśman-, 18 sthū-la-, 19 bahu-, 20 khadira-, 21 śarkarā-, 22 anaḍuh-, 23 araḍu-, 24 pari-varṁśa-, 25 veṇu-, 26 vīraṇa-, 27 khaṇḍa-, 28 daṇḍa-, 29 pari-vṛt-ta-, 30 kardama-, 31 amśu-.

34. aiṣu-kār-i=āday-aḥ

[4.2.54 bhauriki=ādi=aiṣu-kari=ādi-bhyaḥ vidhaL-bhaktal-au]

1 aiṣu-kār-i-, 2 sārasy-āyana-, 3 cāndr-āyana-, 4 dvy-ākṣ-āyana-, 5 try-ākṣ-āyana-, 6 auḍ-āyana-, 7 jaul-āyana-, 8 khāḍ-āyana-, 9 dāsa-mitr-i-, 10 dāsa-mitr-āyana-, 11 śaudr-āyana-, 12 dākṣ-āyana-, 13 śāpaṇḍ-āyana- (śayaṇḍ-āyana-), 14 tārksy-āyana-, 15 śaubhr-āyana-, 16 sau-vīra-, 17 sau-vīr-āyana-, 18 śapaṇḍa- (śayaṇḍa-), 19 saṇḍa-, 20 śayaṇḍa- (śayaṇḍi-), 21 vaiśva-mānava-, 22 vaiśva-dhenav-a-, 23 naḍa-, 24 tuṇḍa-deva-, 25 viśva-deva-, 26 sāpiṇḍ-i.

35. kaccha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.133 kaccha=ādi-bhyaś=ca (aṆ 132)]

1 kaccha-, 2 sindhu-, 3 varṇu-, 4 gandhāra-, 5 madhu-mat-, 6 kamboja-, 7 kasmīra-, 8 sālva-, 9 kuru-, 10 anu-ṣaṇḍa-, 11 dvīpa-, 12 anūpa-, 13 aja-vāh-a-, 14 vi-jāp-aka-, 15 kalū-tara-, 16 raṅku-.

36. kaḍār-āḥ

[2.2.38 kaḍār-āḥ karma-dhāray-e]

1 kaḍāra-, 2 gaḍula-, 3 khañja-, 4 khoḍa-, 5 kaṇa-, 6 kuṇṭha-, 7 khalati-, 8 gaura-, 9 vṛd-dha-, 10 bhikṣ-uka-, 11 piṅga-, 12 piṅgala- (piṅgula-), 13 taḍa-, 14 tanu-, 15 jaṭhara-, 16 badhira-, 17 maṭhara-, 18 kañja-, 19 barbarā-.

37. kaṇḍū=āday-aḥ

[3.1.27 kaṇḍū=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaK]

1 kaṇḍūÑ-, 2 mantu-, 3 hṛ-ṇī-Ñ-, 4 valgu-, 5 asu-, 6 man-as-, 7 mahiÑ-, 8 lāt-, 9 leṭ-, 10 iras-, 11 iraj-, 12 iraÑ-, 13 duvas-, 14 uṣas-, 15 veṭ-, 16 medhā-, 17 kuṣubha-, 18 namaś-, 19 magadha-, 20 tantas-, 21 pampas- (papas-), 22 sukha-, 23 duḥ-kha-, 24 (bhikṣa-), 25 (car-aṇa-), 26 (carama-), 27 (avara-), 28 sapara-, 29 arara- (arar-), 30 bhiṣaj-, 31 bhiṣṇuj- (bhiṣṇaj-), 32 (apara-), 33 (āra-), 34 iṣudha-, 35 var-aṇa-, 36 cur-aṇa-, 37 tur-aṇa-, 38 bhur-aṇa-, 39 gadgada-, 40 elā-, 41 kelā-, 42 khelā-, 43 (velā-), 44 (śelā-), 45 liṭ-, 46 loṭ-, 47 lekḥā-, 48 lekha-, 49 rekhā-, 50 dravas-, 51 tiras-, 52 agada-, 53 uras-, 54 taraṇa- (tarīṇa-), 55 payas-, 56 sam-bhūyas-, 57 sambara-. *ā-kr-ti-gaṇa-ḥ=ayam*.

38. kaṇva=āday-aḥ

[4.2.111 kaṇva=ādi-bhyaḥ=gotr-e (aṆ 110)]

See under 71 garga=āday-aḥ.

39. kat-tri=āday-aḥ

[4.2.95 kat-tri-ādi-bhyaḥ ḍhakaṆ]

1 kat-tri-, 2 umbhi-, 3 puṣkara-, 4 puṣkala-, 5 mod-ana-, 6 kumbhī, 7 kuṇḍina-, 8 nagarī, 9 māhiṣ-mat-ī, 10 varmatī, 11 ukhyā, 12 grāma-, 13 #kudyā-y-āḥ=ya-lopaś ca#.

40. kathā=āday-aḥ

[4.4.102 kathā=adi-bhyaḥ ṭhaK]

1 kathā, 2 vi-kathā-, 3 viśva-kathā, 4 saṁ-kathā, 5 vi-taṇḍā, 6 kuṣṭa-vid- (kuṣṭha-vid-), 7 jana-vād-a-, 8 jane-vād-a-, 9 jano-vād-a-, 10 vṛt-ti-, 11 saṁ-grah-a-, 12 guṇa-, 13 gaṇa-, 14 āyur-veda-.

41. karkī=āday-aḥ

[6.2.87 prasth-e=a-vṛd-dham a-karkī=ādi-n-ām]

1 karkī, 2 maghnī, 3 makarī, 4 karkandhu-, 5 śamī, 6 karīra- (karīri-), 7 kanduka-, 8 kuvala- (kavala-), 9 badarī.

42. ¹karṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +phiṆ]

1 karṇa- 2 vas-iṣṭha-, 3 arka-, 4 arka-lūṣa-, 5 dru-pada-, 6 ānaḍuh-ya-, 7 pāṇca-jan-ya-, 8 sphiga- (sphij-), 9 kumbhī, 10 kuntī, 11 ji-t-van-, 12 jīv-anta-, 13 kulīśa-, 14 āṇḍī-vat- (āṇḍī-vata-), 15 java-, 16 jaitra-, 17 ānaka- (ākana-).

43. ²karṇa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.24 ta-sya ¹pāka-²mūle ¹pīlu=adi-²karṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹kuṇaP-²jāhaC-au]

1 karṇa-, 2 akṣi-, 3 nakha-, 4 mukha-, 5 keśa-, 6 pād-a-, 7 gulpha-, 8 bhrū, 9 śṛṅga-, 10 danta-, 11 oṣṭha-, 12 pṛṣṭha-.

44. kalyāṇī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.126 kalyāṇī=ādī-nām inaṆ ca (ḍhaK 120)]

kalyāṇī-ī, 2 su-bhag-ā, 3 dur-bhag-ā, 4 bandhak-ī, 5 anu-dṛṣ-ṭi-, 6 anu-sṛṣ-ṭi-, 7 jar-at-ī, 8 balīvard-ī, 9 jy-e-ṣṭh-ā, 10 kan-iṣṭh-ā, 11 madhya-m-ā, 12 para-strī.

45. kaska=āday-aḥ

[8.3.48 kaska=ādi-ṣu ca]

1 kaska-ḥ, 2 kautaska-ḥ, 3 bhrātuṣ-putra-ḥ; 4 śun-as-karṇa-ḥ, 5 sadyas-kāla-ḥ, 6 sadyas-kṛt-ḥ, 7 sadyas-ka-ḥ, 8 kām-s-kān, 9 sarpiṣ-kunḍ-ik-ā, 10 dhanuṣ-kapāla-m, 11 bahiṣ-pala-m (barhiṣ-pala-m), 12 yajuṣ-pātra-m, 13 ayas-kānta-ḥ, 14 tamas-kāṇḍa-ḥ, 15 ayas-kāṇḍa-ḥ, 16 medas-piṇḍa-ḥ, 17 bhās-kara-ḥ, 18 ahas-kara-ḥ.

46. kārta-kaujapa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.37 kārta-kaujapa=āday-aś ca]

1 kārta=kaujap-au, 2 sāvarṇi-māṇḍūk-ey-au, 3 avanti=aśmak=āḥ, 4 paila-śyāparṇ-ey-āḥ, 5 kapi-śyāparṇ-ey-āḥ, 6 śaitikākṣa-pāñcāl-ey-āḥ; 7 kaṭuka-vādhul-ey-āḥ, 8 śākala-śunak-āḥ, 9 śākala-śaṇak-āḥ, 10 śaṇaka-bābhrav-āḥ, 11 ārcābhi-maudgal-āḥ, 12 kunti-surāṣṭr-āḥ, 13 cinti-surāṣṭr-āḥ, 14 taṇḍa-vataṇḍ-āḥ, 15 a-vi-mat-ta-kāma-vid-dh-āḥ, 16 bābhrava-śālaṅk-āyan-āḥ, 17 bābhrava-dāna-cyu-t-āḥ, 18 kaṭha-kālāp-āḥ, 19 kaṭha-kauthum-āḥ, 20 kauthuma-laukāḥ, 21 strī-kumāra-m, 22 maudga-paiṇḍīl-ād-āḥ, 23 vatsa-jar-ant-aḥ, 24 sausruta-pārthav-āḥ, 25 jarā-mṛtyū, 26 yājña=anuvāk-y-e.

47. kāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +īlaC]

1 kāśa-, 2 pūśa-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 palāśa-, 5 piyūḥṣā, 6 car-aṇa-, 7 vās-a-, 8 naḍa-, 9 vana-, 10 kardama-, 11 kacchūla-, 12 kaṅkaṭa-, 13 guhā, 14 bisa-, 15 tṛṇa-, 16 karpūra-, 17 bar-bara-, 18 madhu-ra-, 19 graha-, 20 kapi-ttha-, 21 jatu-, 22 śīpāla-.

48. kāsī=āday-aḥ

[4.2.116 kāsī=adi-bhyaṣ ¹ṭhaÑ=²Ñiṭh-au]

1 kāsī, 2 cedi- (vedi-), 3 sām-yā-ti, 4 sam-vāh-a-, 5 a-cyu-ta-, 6 mod-a-māna-, 7 śakul-ād-a-, 8 hasti-karṣū, 9 ku-nāman-, 10 hiraṇya-, 11 kar-aṇa-, 12 go-vās-ana-, 13 bhāraṅg-i, 14 ari-m-dama-, 15 ar-itra-, 16 deva-datta-, 17 daśa-grāma-, 18 śauc-āva-tā-n-a-, 19 yuva-rāja-, 20 upa-rāja-, 21 deva-rāja-, 22 mod-ana-, 23 sindhu-mitra-, 24 dāsa-mitra-, 25 sudhā-mitra-, 26 soma-mitra-, 27 chāga-mitra-, 28 sādha-mitra- (sadha-mitra-), 29 #ā-pad-ādi-pūrva-pad-āt kāla=ant-āt# (ā-pad-, ūrdhva-, tad-).

49. kāṣṭha=āday-aḥ

[8.1.87 pūj-an-āt pūj-i-ta-m anudātta-m kāṣṭha=ādi=bhyaḥ]

1 kāṣṭha-, 2 dāruṇa-, 3 a-mātā-putra-, 4 veśa-, 5 an-ā-jñā-ta-, 6 anu-jñā-ta-, 7 a-putra-, 8 a-yu-ta-, 9 adbhuta-, 10 an-uk-ta-, 11 bhṛśa-, 12 ghora-, 13 sukha-, 14 para-ma-, 15 su-, 16 ati-.

50. kiṁśulaka=(kiṁśuluka)=āday-aḥ

[6.3.117 ¹vana-²gīr-yoḥ samjñā-yām ¹koṭara-²kiṁśuluka=ādī-nām (dīrghaḥ 111)]

1 kiṁśuluka- (kiṁśulaka-), 2 śālva-, 3 naḍa-, 4 aṇj-ana-, 5 bhaṇj-ana-, 6 loh-ita-, 7 kukkuṭa-.

51. kir=aday-aḥ

[7.2.75 kir-aś ca pañca-bhyaḥ (saN-i 74 iṭ 35)]

Dhp VI 116 kī vi-kṣép-e; 117 gī ni-gār-aṇ-e; 118 dīÑ ā-dar-é (án-ā-dar-e); 119 dhīÑ ava-sthān-e (án-ava-sthān-e); 120 prachA jñīpsā-y-ām.

52. kisāra=(kisāra)=āday-aḥ

[4.4.53 kisāra=ādi-bhyaṣ ṢṭhaN]

1 kisāra- (kisāra-), 2 narada-, 3 nalada-, 4 sthāgala-, 5 tagara-, 6 guggulu-, 7 uśtra-, 8 hari-drā, 9 haridru-, 10 parṇī (pargī).

53. kuñja=āday-aḥ

[4.1.98 go-tr-e kuñja=ādi-bhyaś Cphañ]

1 kuñja-, 2 bradhna-, 3 śaṅkha-, 4 bhas-man-, 5 gaṇa-, 6 lo-man-, 7 śaṭha-, 8 śāka-, 9 śuṇḍā, 10 śubha-, 11 vi-pāś-, 12 skanda-, 13 skambha-.

54. kuṭ=āday-aḥ

[1.2.1 ¹gāñ²kútÁ=ādi-bhyaḥ a-Ñ-Ñ-IT Ñ-IT]

Dhp VI 73 kútÁ kauṭil-y-e; 74 pútÁ saṁ-sleṣ-aṇ-e; 75 kúcÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 76 gújÁ śābd-e; 77 gúḍÁ rakṣā-y-ām; 78 dípÁ kṣép-e; 79 chúrÁ chéd-an-e; 80 sphútÁ vi-kās-an-e; 81 mūtÁ ¹ā-kṣép-a-²pra-márd-anay-oḥ; 82 trúṭÁ chéd-an-e; 83 tútÁ kalaha-kār-maṇ-i; 84 cúṭÁ chútÁ chéd-an-e; 85 júḍÁ bāndh-an-e; 86 kádÁ mad-é; 87 lútÁ saṁ-slés-aṇ-e; 88 kḥḍÁ ghana-tv-é; 89 kúḍÁ bāly-e; 90 púḍÁ ut-sārg-e; 91 ghuṭÁ prati-ghāt-é; 92 túḍÁ tód-an-e; 93 thúḍÁ 94 sthúḍÁ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e; 95 sphúrÁ; 96 sphúlÁ saṁ-cāl-ane; 97 sphúḍÁ; 98 cúḍÁ; 99 vrúḍÁ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e; (100 krúḍÁ 101 bhḥḍÁ ni-májj-an-e); (102 húḍÁ saṁ-ghāt-é); 103 gúrī ud-yam-an-e; 104 ṇī stāv-ane; 105 dhū vi-dhūn-an-e; 106 gu purīṣa=ut-sārg-e; 107 dhru ¹gāti-²sthaīryay-oḥ.

55. ¹kumuda=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ṭhaC]

1 kumuda-, 2 śarkaṛā, 3 nyag-rodh-a-, 4 ikkaṭa-, 5 saṁ-kāṭa-, 6 kaṅkaṭa-, 7 garta-, 8 bīja-, 9 pari-vāp-a-, 10 nir-yās-a-, 11 śakaṭa-, 12 kaca-, 13 madhu, 14 śīrīṣa-, 15 aśva-, 16 aśvattha-, 17 balba-ja-, 18 yavāṣa-, 19 kūpa-, 20 vi-kaṅkata-, 21 daśa-grāma-.

56. ²kumuda=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ṭhaK]

1 kumuda-, 2 go-maya-, 3 ratha-kār-a-, 4 daśa-grāma-, 5 aśvattha-, 6 śālmali-, 7 śīrīṣa-, 8 muni-sthala-, 9 kuṇḍala-, 10 kūṭa-, 11 madhu-karṇa-, 12 ghāsa-kunda-, 13 śuci-karṇa-.

57. kumbha-pady-aḥ

[5.4.139 kumbha-padī-ṣu ca (pāda-sya lopa-ḥ 138)]

1 kumbha-pad-ī, 2 eka-pad-ī, 3 jala-pad-ī, 4 (śūla-pad-ī), 5 muni-pad-ī, 6 guṇa-pad-ī, 7 śata-pad-ī, 8 sūtra-pad-ī, 9 godhā-pad-ī, 10 kalaśī-pad-ī, 11 vi-pad-ī 12 (tṛṇa-pad-ī), 13 dvi-pad-ī, 14 tri-pad-ī, 15 ṣaṭ-pad-ī, 16 dāśī-pad-ī, 17 śīti-pad-ī, 18 viṣṇu-pad-ī, 20 niṣ-pad-ī, 21 ārdra-pad-ī, 22 kuṇi-pad-ī, 23 kṛṣṇa-pad-ī, 24 śuci-pad-ī, 25 droṇī-pad-ī (droṇa-pad-ī), 26 dru-pad-ī, 27 sūkara-pad-ī, 28 śakṛt-pad-ī, 29 aṣṭā-pad-ī, 30 sthūṇā-pad-ī, 31 a-pad-ī, 32 sūci-pad-ī.

58. kuru=āday-aḥ

[4.1.151 kuru=ādī-bhyaḥ=Ṇya-ḥ]

1 kuru-, 2 gargara-, 3 maṅguṣa-, 4 aja-mār-a-, 5 ratha-kāra-, 6 vāvad-ūka-, 7 #sam-āj-a-ḥ kṣatriy-e#; 8 kavi-, 9 vi-ma-ti-, 10 kāpiṇjala=ādi-, 11 vāk, 12 vāma-ratha-, 13 pītṛ-mat-, 14 indra-jāñ (indra-lāji), 15 ej-i, 16 vātaki-, 17 dāmoṣṇīṣi-, 18 gaṇa-kār-ī, 19 kaisor-i-, 20 kuṭa-, 21 śālākā (śālākā), 22 mura-, 23 pura-, 24 ērakā, 25 śubh-ra-, 26 abhra-, 27 darbha-, 28 keś-in-i; 29 #ven-āt=chand-as-i#; 30 śūrpa-nāy-a-, 31 śyāva-nāy-a-, 32 śyāva-ratha-, 33 śyāva-putra-, 34 satyam-kār-a-, 35 vadabhī-kār-a-, 36 pathi-kār-a-, 37 mū-ḍha-, 38 śakandhu-, 39 śaṅku-, 40 śaka-, 41 śāl-in-, 42 śāl-in-a-, 43 kar-tṛ-, 44 har-tṛ-, 45 ina-, 46 piṇḍ-i, 47 takṣan-, 48 #vāma-ratha-sya kaṇva=ādī-vat svara-varjam#.

59. kulāla=āday-aḥ

[4.3.118 kulāl=ādī-bhyaḥ vuṆ]

1 kulāla-, 2 varuḍa-, 3 caṇḍāla-, 4 ni-ṣād-a-, 5 karmāra-, 6 senā, 7 sirindhra- (siridhra-), 8 sairindhra-, 9 deva-rāja-, 10 parṣad- (pari-ṣad-), 11 vadhu-, 12 madhu-, 13 ruru-, 14 rud-ra-, 15 anaḍuh- (anaḍuha-), 16 brah-man-, 17 kumbha-kār-a-, 18 śva-pāk-a-.

60. kṛ-ta=āday-aḥ

[2.1.59 śreṇi=āday-aḥ kṛ-ta=ādī-bhiḥ]

1 kṛ-ta-, 2 mi-ta-, 3 ma-ta-, 4 bhū-ta-, 5 uk-ta-, 6 (yuk-ta-), 7 sam-ā-jñā-ta-, 8 sam-ā-mnā-ta-, 9 sam-ā-khyā-ta-, 10 sam-bhāv-i-ta-, 11

(saṃ-sev-i-ta-), 12 ava-dhār-i-ta-, 13 nir-ā-kṛ-ta-, 14 upa-kṛ-ta-, 19 (ud-ā-hṛ-ta-), 20 (vi-śru-ta-), 21 (ud-i-ta-). *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

61. kṛśa=aśva=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +chaN]

1 kṛśa=aśva-, 2 a-riṣ-ṭa-, 3 a-riśma-, 4 veś-man-, 5 vi-śāla-, 6 loma-śa-, 7 roma-śa-, 8 roma-ka-, 9 loma-ka-, 10 śabala-, 11 kūṭa-, 12 varcala-, 13 su-varcala-, 14 su-ka-ra-, 15 sūka-ra-, 16 pratara- (prā-tara-), 17 sa-dṛś-a-, 18 pura-ga-, 19 purā-ga-, 20 su-kha-, 21 dhūma-, 22 ajina-, 23 vi-na-ta-, 24 ava-na-ta-, 25 kuvidyāsa- (vi-kuṭyāsa-/kuviṭyāsa-), 26 parś-śara-, 27 aruṣ-, 28 ayaṣ-, 29 maudgalyākara- (maudgalya-, yukara-).

62. koṭara=āday-aḥ

[6.3.117 vana-giry-oḥ saṃjñā-y-ām koṭara-kimśuluka-ādī-nam (dīrgha-ḥ 111)]

1 koṭara-, 2 misra-ka-, 3 sidhraka-, 4 pura-ga-, 5 śārīka- (sārīka-).

63. kratu=āday-aḥ

[6.2.118 kratu=āday-aś ca]

1 kratu-, 2 dṛśīka-, 3 pratīka-, 4 pra-tūr-ti-, 5 hav-ya-, 6 bhav-ya-, 7 bhaga-.

64. krama=āday-aḥ

[4.2.61 krama=ādī-bhyaḥ=vuN]

1 krama-, 2 pada-, 3 śikṣā-, 4 mīmāṃsā-, 5 sāman-.

65. krī=aday-aḥ

= Dhṛ IX 1-61.

66. kroḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.56 na kroḍa=ādi-bahv=aC-aḥ (ÑS 40)]

1 kroḍa-, 2 nakha-, 3 khura-, 4 gokhā, 5 ukhā, 6 śikhā, 7 vāla-, 8 śapha-, 9 guda-. *ā-kr-ti-gaṇa-h ayam*.

67. krauḍi=āday-aḥ

[4.1.80 krauḍi=ādi-bhyaś ca (striyām 3 ŚyaÑ 78)]

1 krauḍ-i-, 2 lāḍ-i-, 3 vyāḍ-i-, 4 āpi-sāl-i-, 5 āpa-kṣit-i-, 6 caupayat-a-, 7 caitayat-a- (vaitayat-a-), 8 śaikayat-a-, 9 bailva-yat-a-, 10 saudhatak-i-, 11 #sū-ta yuvaty-ām#; 12 #bhoja kṣatriy-e#; 13 yautak-i-, 14 kauṭ-i-, 15 bhaurik-i-, 16 bhaulik-i-, 17 śāl-mal-i-, 18 śālā-sthal-i-, 19 kapi-ṣṭhal-i-, 20 gau-kakṣ-ya-.

68. kṣubh-nā=āday-aḥ

[8.4.39 kṣubh-nā=ādi-su ca (na 34 na-h ṇa-h 1)]

1 kṣubh-nā-, 2 nṛ-nam-ana-, 3 nand-in-, 4 nand-ana-, 5 nagara-: etā-n-i uttara-padā-n-i saṃjñā-y-ām pra-yoj-ay-anti; 6 hari-nand-I, 7 hari-nand-ana-, 8 giri-nagara-m, 9 #nṛt-i-r yaÑ-i pra-yoj-ay-anti#; 10 nart-ana-, 11 gahana-, 12 nand-ana-, 13 ni-veś-a-, 14 ni-vāś-a-, 15 ag-ni-, 16 anūpa- : #etā-n-i uttara-pāda-n-i pra-yoj-ay-anti#, 17 pari-nart-ana-m, 18 pari-gah-ana-m, 19 pari-nand-ana-m, 20 śara-ni-vesa-h, 21 śara-ni-vāśa-h, 22 śar-ā-gñi-h, 23 darbh-ā-nūpa-h, 24 #ā-cār-y-āt a-ṇa-tva-m ca: ā-cār-ya-bhog-īna-h#. *ā-kr-ti-gaṇa-h ayam*.

69. khaṇḍika=āday-aḥ

[4.2.45 khaṇḍika=ādi-bhyaś ca (aÑ 44)]

1 khaṇḍika- (khaṇḍikā), 2 vaḍavā, 3 #kṣudraka-mālav-āt senā saṃjñā-y-ām#; 4 bhikṣ-u-ka-, 5 śuka-, 6 ulūka-, 7 śvan-, 8 ahan-, 9 yuga-varatrā (yuga-varatra-), 10 hālā-bandha (hālā-bandhā).

70. gam-i(n)=āday-aḥ

[3.3.3 bhav-i-ṣyat-i gam-i(n)=āday-aḥ]

1 gam-I, 2 ā-gam-I, 3 bhāv-I, 4 pra-sthā-y-I, 5 prati-rodh-I, 6 prati-bodh-I, 7 prati-yā-y-I, 8 prati-yog-I.

71. garga=āday-aḥ

[4.1.105 garga=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaÑ]

1 garga-, 2 vatsa-, 3 #vāja-a-se#; 4 saṁ-kṛ-ti-, 5 aja-, 6 vyāghra-pād-, 7 vida-bhṛ-t-, 9 prāc-īna-yog-a-, 9 agasti-, 10 pulasti-, 11 camasa-, 12 rebha-, 13 agni-veśa-, 14 śaṅkha-, 15 śaṭa-, 16 śaka-, 17 eka-, 18 dhūma-, 19 avata-, 20 manas-, 21 dhanam-jay-a-, 22 vṛkṣa-, 23 viśvā-vasu-, 24 jara-m-āṇa-;

loh-ita=āday-aḥ (q.v. 202 below)

25 loh-ita-, 26 saṁś-i-ta-, 27 babhru-, 28 valgu-, 29 maṇḍu-, 30 gaṇḍu-, 31 śaṅku-, 32 ligu-, 33 guhalu-, 34 mantu-, 35 maṅkṣu-, 36 aligu-, 37 jigṛṣ-u-, 38 manu-, 39 tantu-, 40 manāyī-, 41 sūnu-, 42 kath-aka-, 43 kanthaka-, 44 ṛkṣa-, 45 tṛkṣa- (vṛkṣa-), 46 (tanu-), 47 tarukṣa-, 48 talukṣa-, 49 taṇḍa-, 50 vataṇḍa-, 51 kapi-, 52 kata- (kapi-kata-), 53 kuru-kata-, 54 anaḍuh-;

kaṇva=āday-aḥ (cf. 38 above)

55 kaṇva-, 56 śakala-, 56 go-kakṣa-, 57 agastya-, 58 kuṇḍ-in-ī-, 59 yajña-valka-, 60 parṇa-valka-, 61 a-bhaya-jā-ta-, 62 vi-roh-i-ta-, 63 vṛṣa-gaṇa-, 64 rahū-gaṇa-, 65 śaṇḍila-, 66 varṇaka- (caṇaka), 67 culuka-, 68 mudgala-, 69 musala-, 70 jam-ad-ag-ni-, 71 parāśara-, 72 jātū-karṇa- (jātū-karṇa-), 73 mah-i-ta-, 74 mantr-i-ta-, 75 aśma-ratha-, 76 śarkar-ā-kṣa-, 77 pū-ti-māṣa-, 78 sthū-rā-, 79 a-dar-aka- (araraka-), 80 elāka-, 81 piṅgala-, 82 kṛṣ-ṇa-, 83 golanda-, 84 ulūka-, 85 titikṣa-, 86 bhiṣaj- (bhi-śaja), 87 (bhiṣṇaja-), 88 bhaḍ-i-ta-, 89 bhaṇḍ-i-ta-, 90 dalbha-, 91 cekit-a-, 92 cikit-s-i-ta-, 93 deva-hū-, 94 indra-hū-, 95 eka-lū-, 96 pippalū-, 97 bṛh-ad-ag-ni-, 98 (su-loh-in-), 99 su-lābh-in-, 100 uktha-, 101 kuṭṭgu.

72. gav=āday-aḥ

[5.1.2 u-gav=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaT]

1 go-, 2 hav-is-, 3 akṣara-, 4 viṣa-, 5 barhis-, 6 aṣṭakā-, 7 skhadā (svada), 8 yuga-, 9 medhā-, 10 sruc-, 11 #nābhi nabha-m ca#; 12 #śun-aḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m vā ca dīrgha-tvam tat-saṁ-ni-yog-ena ca=anta=udātta-tvam#; 13 #ūdhas-aḥ=anaÑ ca#; 14 kūpa-, 15 khada-, 16 dara- (udara-), 17 khara-, 18 asura-, 19 adhvan-, (adhvan-a-), 20 kṣara-, 21 ved-a-, 22 bīja-, 23 dīp-ta- (dīsa-).

73. gava=aśva-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[2.3.11 gava=aśva-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca (eka-vac-ana-m 1)]

1 gava=aśva-m, 2 gava=avika-m, 3 gava=eḍaka-m, 4 aja=avika-m, 5 aja=eḍaka-m, 6 kubja-vāmana-m, 7 kubja-kirāta-m, 8 putra-pautra-m, 9 śva-candāla-m, 10 strī-kumāra-m, 11 dāstī-māṇavaka-m, 12 śāṭī-paṭīra-m, 13 śāṭī-pracchada-m, 14 śāṭī-paṭṭika-m, 15 uṣṭra-khara-m, 16 uṣṭra-śāśa-m, 17 mūtra-śakṛt, 18 mūtra-purīṣa-m, 19 yakṛt=medaḥ, 20 māmśa-śopita-m, 21 darbha-śāra-m, 22 darbha-pūṭika-m, 23 arjuna-śīrīṣa-m, 24 arjuna-puruṣa-m, 25 tṛṇ=ulapa-m (tṛṇa=upala-m), 26 dāstī-dāśa-m, 27 kuṭī-kuṭa-m, 28 bhāgavatī-bhāgavata-m.

74. gaha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.138 gaha=ādi-bhyaś ca (cha-ḥ 137)]

1 gaha-, 2 anta-stha-, 3 sama-, 4 vi-śama-, 5 #madhya madhya-ma-m ca aN car-aṇ-e#; 6 uttama-, 7 aṅga-, 8 vaṅga-, 9 magadha-, 10 pūrva-pakṣa-, 11 apara-pakṣa-, 12 adhama-śākha-, 13 uttama-śākha-, 14 eka-śākha-, 15 samāna-śākha-, 16 samāna-grāma-, 17 eka-grāma-, 18 eka-vṛkṣa-, 19 eka-palāśa-, 20 iṣu=agra-, 21 iṣu=anīka-, 22 ava-syand-ana-, 23 kāma-pra-stha-, 24 khād-āyana- (śāḍikād-āyani-/khād-āyani-), 25 kāṭheraṇī-, 26 lāve-raṇī-, 27 saumitri-, 28 śaisīri-, 29 ā-su-t-, 30 daiva-śarm-i-, 31 śraut-i-, 32 ā-himś-i-, 33 ā-mitr-i- 34 vyād-i-, 35 baij-i-, 36 ādhyasv-i-, 37 ā-ṇṣ-śams-i-, 38 śauṅg-i-, 39 āgni-śarm-i-, 40 bhauj-i-, 41 vārāṭak-i-, 42 vākmīk-i-, 43 kṣaima-vṛd-dh-i-, 44 āśvatth-i-, 45 aud-gāha-mān-i-, 46 aik-a-, 47 bindav-i-, 48 danta=agra-, 49 haṁśa-, 50 tantu=agra-, 51 utara-, 52 an-antara-, 53 #mukha-pārśva-tas-or lopa-ḥ#; 54 #jana-paray-or kyK ca#; 55 #deva-sya ca#; 56 #veṇuka=ādi-bhyaś chaN#. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

75. guḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.4.103 guḍa=ādi-bhyaś ṭhaN]

1 guḍa-, 2 kulmāṣa-, 3 sak-tu-, 4 apūpa-, 5 māmśa=odana-, 6 ikṣu-, 7 veṇu-, 8 saṁ-grāma-, 9 saṁ-ghāt-a-, 10 (saṁ-krām-a-), 11 (saṁ-vāh-a-), 12 pra-vās-a-, 13 ni-vās-a-, 14 upa-vās-a-.

76. guṇa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.176 na guṇa=āday-aḥ=ava-yav-āḥ]

1 guṇa-, 2 akṣara-, 3 adhy-āy-a-, 4 sūkta-, 5 chando-māna-.
ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam.

77. gr̥ṣṭi=āday-aḥ

[4.1.136 gr̥ṣṭi=ādi-bhyaś ca (ḍhaÑ 135)]

1 gr̥ṣṭi-, 2 hr̥ṣ-ṭi-, 3 bali-, 4 hali-, 5 aja-vasti-, 6 mitra-yu.

78. go-tra=ādī-n-i

[8.1.27 tiÑ-aḥ go-tra=ādī-n-i kuts-ana=ābhīkṣṇyay-oḥ]

1 go-tra-, 2 bruva-, 3 pra-vac-ana-, 4 pra-has-ana-, 5 pra-kath-ana-, 6 praty-ay-ana-, 7 pra-pañca-, 8 pr-ā-ya-, 9 ny-āy-a-, 10 pra-cakṣ-āṇa-, 11 vi-cakṣ-āṇa-, 12 ava-cakṣ-āṇa-, 13 sv-ā-dhy-āy-a-, 14 bhū-y-iṣṭha-, 15 #vā nāma#. [Cf. 8.1.69].

79. go-pav-ana=āday-aḥ

[2.4.67 na go-pav-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ luK 58]

1 go-pav-ana-, 2 śigru-, 3 bindu-, 4 bhāj-ana-, 5 aśva=ava-tān-a- (aśva-, ava-tān-a-), 6 śyāmāka-, 7 śyāmaka-, 8 śyā-parṇa-.

80. go-ṣad-āday-aḥ

[5.2.62 go-ṣad-ādi-bhyaḥ=vuN]

1 go-ṣad-, 2 iṣ-e tvā, 3 mātari-śvan-, 4 deva-sya tvā, 5 devī-r āp-aḥ, 6 kṛṣṇo'-sya=ākhare-ṣṭha-ḥ, 7 devī-r dhiya (daivī-r dhiya), 8 rakṣo-haṇ-a-, 9 yuñj-āna-, 10 añj-ana-, 11 pra-bhū-ta-, 12 pra-tūr-ta-, 13 kṛśānu-.

81. ¹gaura=āday-aḥ

[4.1.41 Ṣ-it=gaura=ādi-bhyaś ca (ÑiṢ 40)]

1 gaur-a-, 2 matsya-, 3 manusya-, 4 śṛṅga-, 5 piṅga-la-, 6 haya-, 7 gavaya-, 8 mukaya-, 9 ṛśya-, 10 (puṭa), 11 (tūṇa-), 12 dru-ṇa-, 13 droṇa-, 14 harina-, 15 kokaṇa- (kākaṇa-), 16 paṭara-, 17 uṇaka-, 18 āmalaka- (āmala-), 19 kuvala-, 20 bimba-, 21 badara-, 22 pharkaraka-

(karkaraka-), 23 tarkāra-, 24 śarkāra-, 25 puṣkara-, 26 śikhaṇḍa-, 27 salada-, 28 śaṣkaṇḍa-, 29 sananda-, 30 su-śama-, 31 su-śav-a-, 32 alinda-, 33 gaḍula-, 34 śaṇḍaśa-, 35 ādhaka-, 36 ā-nand-a-, 37 śśvattha-, 38 sṛpāṭa-, 39 ākhaka- (āpaccika-), 40 śaṣ-kula-, 41 sūrya- (sūrma-), 42 sūrpa-, 43 sūca-, 44 yūṣa- (pūṣa-), 45 yūtha-, 46 sūpa-, 47 metha-, 48 vallaka-, 49 dhātaka- (ghāt-aka-), 50 sallaka-, 51 mālaka-, 52 mālata-, 53 śālvaka-, 54 vetasa-, 55 vṛkṣa- (vṛsa-), 56 atasa-, 57 ubhaya-, 58 bhṛṅga-, 59 maha-, 60 maṭha-, 61 ched-a-, 62 peś-a-, 63 med-a-, 64 śvan-, 65 takṣan-, 66 anaḍuḥi, 67 anadṛvāḥi, 68 #eṣ-aṇa-ḥ kar-aṇ-e#; 69 deha-, 70 deha-la-, 71 kāk-ā-d-ana-, 72 gava=ad-ana-, 73 tej-ana-, 74 raj-ana-, 75 lav-aṇa-, 76 aud-gāh-a-mān-i-, 77 gautama- (go-tama-), 78 (pāraka-), 79 ayaḥ-sthūṇa- (āyasthūṇa-), 80 bhaurik-i-, 81 bhaulik-i-, 82 bhau-liṅg-i-, 83 yāna- (pāna-), 84 medh-a-, 85 ā-lamb-i-, 86 ā-laj-i-, 87 ā-lab-dh-i-, 88 ā-lakṣ-i-, 89 kevala-, 90 āpaka-, 91 ā-raṭ-a-, 92 naṭa-, 93 ṭoṭa-, 94 noṭa-, 95 mūlāṭa-, 96 śāt-ana-, 97 (pot-ana-), 98 pāt-ana-, 99 pāt-ana- (pānata-), 100 ā-star-aṇa-, 101 adhi-kar-aṇa-, 102 adhi-kār-a-, 103 āgra-hāy-aṇ-I, 104 prati=ava-roh-iṇ-I, 105 (sec-ana-), 106 #su-maṅgal-āt samjñā-y-ām#; 107 aṇḍara-, 108 sundara-, 109 maṇḍala-, 110 manthara-, 111 maṅgala-, 112 paṭa-, 113 piṇḍa-, 114 (ṣaṇḍa-), 115 ūrda-, 116 gurda-, 117 śama-, 118 sūda-, 119 auḍa- (ārdra-), 120 hṛda- (hṛd-), 121 pāṇḍa-, 122 bhāṇḍa- (bhāṇḍala-), 123 (loha=aṇḍa-), 124 kadara-, 125 kandara-, 126 kadala-, 127 taruṇa-, 128 taḷuna-, 129 kalmāṣa-, 130 bṛh-at-, 131 mah-at-, 132 (soma-), 133 sau-dharma-, 134 #roh-iṇ-I nakṣatr-e#; 135 #re-vat-I nakṣatr-e#; 136 vi-kala-, 137 niṣ-kala-, 138 puṣ-kala-, 139 #kaṭ-āt=śroṇi-vac-an-e#; 140 #pippalī=āday-aś ca#: pippal-I, 141 harītak-I, 142 kośātak-I, 143 Śam-I, 144 var-I, 145 śar-I, 146 pṛthiv-I, 147 kroṣ-ṭu-, 148 mātāmaha-, 149 pitāmaha-.

82. ²gaura=āday-aḥ

[6.2.194 up-āt ¹dvy=aC=²ajinam a-gaura=āday-aḥ (anta-ḥ 143 udātta-h 64)]

1 gaur-a-, 2 taiṣ-a-, 3 tail-a-, 4 leṭa-, 5 loṭa-, 6 jihvā, 7 kṛṣ-ṇā, 8 kanyā, 9 gudh-a-, 10 kalpa-, 11 pēd-a-.

83. graha=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134 ¹nand-i=²grah-i-³paca=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹Lyu-²Ṇiṇi=³aC-aḥ]

1 grāh-I, 2 ut-sāh-I, 3 ud-dās-I, 4 ud-bhās-I, 5 sthā-y-I, 6 mantr-I, 7 sam-mard-I, 8 #rakṣa-sru-vapa-ś-ām n-au#: nī-rakṣ-I, 9 nī-srāv-I, 10 nī-vāp-I, 11 nī-śa-y-I; 12 #¹yācR-²vy-ā-hṛ-³saṁ-vy-ā-hṛ-⁴vrajā-⁵vadg-⁶vas-ām prati-śid-dhā-n-ām#: 13 a-yāc-I, 14 a-vy-ā-hār-I, 15 a-saṁ-vy-ā-hār-I, 16 a-vrāj-I, 17 a-vād-I, 18 a-vās-I; #aC-ām a-cit-ta-kar-tṛ-kā-ṇ-ām (prati-śid-dhā-n-ām)#: 19 a-kār-I, 20 a-hār-I, 21 a-vi-nā-y-I; 22 vi-śā-y-I (*a-vi-śā-y-i), 23 vi-śā-y-I (*a-vi-śā-y-I): #vi-śā-y-I deś-e#: 24 vi-śa-y-I, 25 vi-śa-y-I; 26 abhi-bhāv-I bhū-t-e; 27 apa-rādh-I, 28 upa-rodh-I, 29 pari-bhav-I, 30 pari-bhāv-I.

84. ghoṣa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.85 ghoṣa=ādi-ṣu ca (pūrva-padam 1 ādi=udātta-m 84)]

1 ghoṣ-a, 2 ghaṭ-a- (kaṭa-), 3 vallabha-, 4 hrada-, 5 badarī, 6 piṅgala-, 7 piśaṅga-, 8 mālā, 9 rakṣā, 10 śālā, 11 kūṭa-, 12 śālmālī, 13 aśvattha-, 14 tṛṇa-, 15 (silp-I), 15 muni-, 16 prekṣākū (prekṣā).

85. ca=āday-aḥ

[1.4.57 ca=āday-aḥ a-sat-tv-e (nīpāt-aḥ 56)]

1 ca, 2 vā, 3 ha, 4 aha, 5 eva, 6 evam, 7 nūnam, 8 śasvat, 9 yugapat, 10 (bhūyas), 11 sūpat, 12 kūpat, 13 kuvit, 14 net, 15 cet, 16 caṆ, 17 kac-cit, 18 ya-tra, 19 ta-tra, 20 naha, 21 hanta, 22 mākim, 23 mākīm, 24 mākīr, 25 nakim, 26 nakīm, 27 nakir, 28 (ākīm), 29 māṆ, 31 tā-vat, 32 yā-vat, 33 tvā, 34 tve 35 tvai, 36 (dvai), 37 rai, 38 re, 39 śrauṣaṭ, 40 vaṣaṭ, 41 vaṣaṭ, 42 svāhā, 43 svadhā, 44 om, 45 tathāhi, 46 khalu, 47 kila, 48 atha, 49 su, 50 suṣṭhu, 51 sma, 52 a, 53 i, 54 u, 55 ṛ, 56 ḷ, 57 e, 58 ai, 59 o, 60 au, 61 adaha (daha), 62 uṆ, 63 ukaṆ, 64 velā-y-ām, 65 mātṛā-y-ām, 66 ya-thā, 67 yat, 68 tat, 69 kim, 70 purā, 71 vadhā (vadhvā), 72 dhik, 73 hāhā, 74 hehai (hahe), 75 pāt, 76 pyāt, 77 āho, 78 utāho, 79 ho, 80 aho, 81 no (nau), 82 atho, 83 nanu, 84 man-y-e, 85 mithyā, 86 a-si, 87 brū-hi, 88 tu, 89 nu, 90 iti, 91 iva, 92 vat, 93 vāt, 94 cana, 95 bata, 96 sam, 97 vaśam, 98 śikam, 99 dikam (hikam), 100 sanukam, 101 chambat (chamvat, chamvata), 102 śaṅk-e, 103 śukam, 104 kham, 105 sanāt, 106 sanutar, 107 nahikam, 108 satyam, 109 ṛtam, 110 iddhā, 111 addhā, 112 nocet, 113 nacet, 114 nahi, 115 jātu, 116 ka-

tham, 117 ku-taḥ, 118 ku-tra, 119 ava, 120 anu, 121 ha, 122 he, 123 (hai), 124 āhosvit, 125 śam, 126 kam, 127 kham, 128 diṣ-ty-ā, 129 paśu, 130 vaṭ, 131 saha, 132 (anu-ṣaṭ), 133 ānu-ṣak, 134 aṅga, 135 phaṭ, 136 tṣ-jaka (bhājak), 137 aye, 138 are, 139 vāt (cāṭu), 140 kum, 141 khum, 142 ghum, 143 am, 144 īm, 145 sīm, 146 sim, 147 si, 148 val; 149 #¹upa-sarga-²vi-bhak-ti-³svara-prati-rūpak-ās ca nipāt-āḥ#.

86. cāru=āday-aḥ

[6.2.160 ¹kṛtya=²uka=³iṣṇuC-⁴cāru=āday-aś ca]

1 cāru-, 2 sādhu-, 3 yaudhaki (yaudhika-), 4 an-aṅga-m-ej-aya-, 5 vadānya-, 6 a-ka-smāt, 7 #¹varta-māna-²vardha-māna-³tvar-a-māna-⁴dhri-ya-māna-⁵kṛi-ya-māna-⁶roc-a-māna-⁷śobh-a-mān-āḥ samjñā-y-ām#; 8 #¹vi-kār-a-²sa-dṛś-e vy-as-t-e sam-as-t-e#; 9 gr̥ha-pati-, 10 gr̥ha-pati-ka-; 11 #¹rāja(n)=²ahn-oś chand-as-i#.

87. cihāṇa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.125 ādi-ś cihāṇa=ādī-nām]

1 cihāṇa-, 2 madura- (maḍara-), 3 madrumara- (madgura-/maḍu-ra-), 4 vaitula-, 5 paṭatka-, 6 baidāl-i-karṇaka-, 7 baidāli-karṇ-i-, 8 kukkuṭa-, 9 cikkaṇa-, 10 citkaṇa-.

88. curA=āday-aḥ

[3.1.25 ¹satyāpa-²pāśa- . . . ¹³curA=ādi-bhyah NaC]

See under Dhp X 1-395.

89. cūrṇa=ādī-n-i

[6.2.134 cūrṇa=ādī-n-i=a-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ]

1 cūrṇa-, 2 kariva-, 3 karipa-, 4 śākina-, 5 śākata-, 6 drākṣā, 7 tūsta-, 8 kunduma-, 9 dalapa-, 10 camas-I, 11 cakkana-, 12 caul-a.

90. chat-tra=ādī-n-i

[4.4.62 chat-tra=ādī-bhyah Na-ḥ]

1 chat-tra-, 2 śikṣā, 3 pra-roh-a-, 4 sthā, 5 bubhuḥṣ-ā, 6 cur-ā, 7 titikṣ-ā, 8 upa-sthāna-, 9 kṛṣ-i-, 10 kar-man-, 11 viśva-dhā, 12 tap-as-, 13

satya-, 14 an-ṛ-ta-, 15 vi-sikhā, 16 bhakṣ-ā, 17 uda-sthāna-, 19 puroḍā, 20 vikṣā, 21 cukṣā, 22 mandra-.

91. chāttri=āday-aḥ

[6.2.86 chāttri=āday-aḥ śālā-y-ām]

1 chāttri-, 2 peli-, 3 bhāṇḍ-i-, 4 vyāḍ-i-, 5 ā-khaṇḍ-i-, 6 āṭ-i-, 7 gom-i.

92. ched-a=āday-aḥ

[5.1.64 ched-a=ādi-bhyaḥ=ni-t-yam]

1 ched-a-, 2 bhed-a-, 3 droh-a-, 4 doh-a-, 5 nart-i (nart-a), 6 karṣa-, 7 (tīrtha-), 8 sam-pra-yog-a-, 9 vi-pra-yog-a-, 10 pra-yog-a-, 11 (vi-pra-karṣ-a-), 12 pr-eṣ-aṇa-, 13 sam-praś-na-, 14 vi-praś-na-, 15 vi-karṣ-a-, 16 pra-karṣ-a-, 17 #vi-rāg-a vi-raṅga-m ca#.

93. jakṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ

[6.1.6 jakṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ ṣaṭ (abhy-as-ta-m 5)]

Dhp II 62 jákṣÁ ¹bhakṣa-²hás-anay-oḥ; 63 jágṛ nidrā-kṣay-é; 64 dāridrā dur-gá-t-au; 65 cākāśĪ dīp-t-au; 66 śāsÚ anu-sīṣ-ṭ-au; 67 dīdhiŃ ¹dīp-ti-²dév-anay-oḥ; 68 vévīŃ vé-ti-nā túl-y-e.

94. ju-hó-ti=āday-aḥ

[2.4.75 ju-hó-ti=ādi-bhyaḥ Ślu-ḥ]

See Dhp III 1-25

95. jválÁ=āday-aḥ

[3.1.140 jvál-iti-kás=ante-bhyaḥ Ņa-ḥ]

See Dhp I 884-913.

96. Ḍatara=āday-aḥ

[7.1.25 adḌ Ḍatara=ādi-bhyaḥ pañca-bhyaḥ]

See under 241 below: 5 Ḍatara-, 6 Ḍatama-, 7 itara-, 8 anya-, 9 anyatara-.

97. takṣa-silā=āday-aḥ

[4.3.93 sindhu-takṣa-silā=ādi-bhya=¹aṇ=²aṇ-au]

1 takṣa-silā, 2 vatsa=ud-dhar-aṇa-, 3 kair-med-ura-, 4 grāma-ṇī-, 5 chagala-, 6 kroṣṭu-karṇa-, 7 simha-karṇa-, 8 saṁ-kuc-i-ta-, 9 kīṁ-nara-, 10 kāṇḍa-dhār-a-, 11 parvata-, 12 ava-sāna-, 13 barbara-, 14 kaṁsa-.

98. tan=āday-aḥ

[3.1.79 tan=ādi-ḱṛṇ=bhyaḥ u-ḥ]

See under Dhp VIII 1-9. Cf. 2.4.79.

99. tan-6-ti=āday-aḥ

[6.4.37 anudātta=upadeśa-van-a-ti-tan-o-ti=ādi-n-ām . . .]

See under Dhp VIII 1-9, with the exception of 2 śānṬ dān-e. Cf. 6.4.42, 43.

100. tasil-āday-aḥ

[6.3.35 tasil-ādi-ṣu a-ḱṛtvasuC-aḥ]

Listed under 6.3.35 above.

101. tārakā=āday-aḥ

[5.2.36 tad a-sya saṁ-jā-ta-m tārakā=ādi-bhyaḥ itaC]

1 tārakā, 2 puṣ-pa-, 3 karṇa-ka-, 4 mañjarī, 5 ṛjīsa-, 6 (kṣaṇa-), 7 (sūca-), 8 mūtra-, 9 niṣ-kram-aṇa-, 10 purīṣa-, 11 uc-cār-a-, 12 pra-cār-a-, 13 vi-cār-a-, 14 kuḍmala-, 15 kaṇṭh-aka-, 16 musala-, 17 mukula-, 18 kusuma-, 19 kutūhala-, 20 stabaka-, 21 kisalaya-, 22 pallava-, 23 (khaṇḍa-), 24 vega-, 25 nidrā, 26 mudrā, 27 bubhuḥṣ-ā, 28 dhenusyā, 29 pipāsā, 30 śraddhā, 31 abhra-, 32 pulaka-, 33 aṅgāraka-, 34 varṇaka-, 35 droh-a-, 36 doh-a-, 37 su-kha-, 38 duḥ-kha-, 39 ut-kaṇṭh-ā, 40 bhar-a-, 41 vy-ā-dh-i-, 42 var-man-, 43 vrapa-, 44 gaurav-a-, 45 śāśa-tra-, 46 taram-ga-, 47 tilaka-, 48 candra-ka-, 49 andha-kār-a-, 50 garva-, 51 kumura- (mukura-), 52 harṣ-a-, 53 ut-karṣ-a-, 54 (raṇa-), 55 kuvalaya-, 56 gardha-, 57 kṣudh-, 58 śimanta-, 59 jvar-a-, 60 gar-a-, 61 rog-a-, 62 romāñca-, 63 paṇḍā, 64 kaj-jal-a-, 65 tṛṣ-, 66 koraka-, 67 kal-lol-a-, 68 stha-put-a-, 69 phala-, 70 kañcuka-, 71 śṛṅgāra-, 72 aṅkura-, 73 śeṅvala-,

74 bakula-, 75 śvabhra-, 76 āraḷa-, 77 kalaṅka-, 78 kardama-, 79 kandaḷa-, 80 mūrcha-, 81 aṅgāra-, 82 hasta-ka-, 83 prati-bimba-, 84 vighna-tantra-, 85 praty-ay-a-, 86 dīkṣā-, 87 garj-a-, 88 #garbh-āt a-prāṇ-in-i#. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

102. tāla=āday-aḥ

[4.3.152 tāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=aN]

1 #tāl-āt=dhanuṣ-i#; 2 bārhiṇ-a-, 3 indrālīśa-, 4 indrā-dṛś-a-, 5 indr-ā-yudh-a-, 6 cay-a-, 7 śyāmāka-, 8 pṛyūkṣā.

103. tika=āday-aḥ

[4.1.154 tika=ādi-bhyaḥ phiN̄]

1 tika-, 2 kitava-, 3 sam-jñ-ā, 4 bālā, 5 śikha, 6 uras- (uraśa-), 7 sāṭh-ya-, 8 saindhav-a-, 9 yamunda-, 10 rūpya-, 11 grām-ya-, 12 nīla-, 13 a-mi-tra-, 14 gau-kakṣ-ya-, 15 kuru-, 16 deva-ratha-, 17 taittala-, 18 auras- (auraśa-), 19 kaurav-ya-, 20 bhaurik-i-, 21 bhaulik-i-, 22 caupayat-a-, 23 caitayat-a-, 24 śikayat-a- (śaikayat-a-), 25 kṣaitayat-a-, 26 vājavat-a-, 27 candra-mas-, 28 śubha-, 29 gaṅgā, 30 var-anya-, 31 su-pāman-, 32 ā-raṭav-a (ā-rab-dha-), 33 vahyakā, 34 khalyā (khalyakā), 35 vṛṣ-a-, 36 lomaka-, 37 udanya-, 38 yaj-ña-.

104. tika-kitava=āday-aḥ

[2.4.68 tika-kitava=ādi-bhyaḥ dvamdv-e]

1 tika-kitav-āḥ, 2 vaṅkhara-bhaṇḍī-rath-āḥ, 3 upaka-lamak-āḥ, 4 paphaka-narak-āḥ, 5 baka-nakha-guda-pari-ṇad-dh-āḥ, 6 ubja-kaku-bh-āḥ, 7 laṅka-śān-ta-mukh-āḥ, 8 uttara-śalānkaṭ-āḥ, 9 kṛṣṇa=ajina= kṛṣṇa-sundar-āḥ, 10 bhraṣṭa-ka-kapi-ṣṭhal-āḥ, 11 agni-veda-daśeruk-āḥ.

105. tiṣṭh-ad-gu-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[2.4.17 tiṣṭh-ad-gu-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca]

1 tiṣṭh-ad-gu, 2 vah-ad-gu, 3 ā-yat-t-gav-am, 4 khale-yav-am, 5 khale-bus-am, 6 lū-na-yav-am, 7 lū-ya-māna-yav-am, 8 pū-ta-yav-am, 9 pū-ya-māna-yav-am, 10 sam-hṛ-ta-yav-am, 11 sam-hri-ya-māna-yav-am, 12 sam-hṛ-ta-bus-am, 13 sam-hri-ya-māna-bus-am, 14 sama-bhūmi, 15 sama-padāti, 16 su-ṣam-am, 17 vi-ṣam-am, 18 duḥ-ṣam-am, 19

niḥ-sam-am, 20 apa-sam-am, 21 āyatī-sam-am, 22 (proḍh-am), 23 pāpa-sam-am, 24 puṇya-sam-am, 25 prāhṇ-am, 26 pra-rath-am, 27 pra-mṛg-am, 28 pra-dakṣiṇ-am, 29 (apara-dakṣiṇ-am), 30 sam-pratī, 31 a-sam-pratī; 32 #iC-praty-aya-ḥ samāsa=anta-ḥ#.

106. tuj-āday-aḥ

[6.1.7 tuj-ādī-nam dīrgha-ḥ abhy-āsa-sya]

No list given. Examples cited in Kāśika from Vedic: tu-tuj-āna-, mā-mah-āna-, dā-dhār-a, mī-māy-a.

107. tudĀ=āday-aḥ

[3.1.77 tudĀ=ādi-bhyaḥ Śa-ḥ]

See Dhp VI 1-143.

108. tunda=āday-aḥ

[5.2.117 tunda=ādi-bhyaḥ=ilaC ca]

1 tunda-, 2 udara-, 3 picaṇḍa-, 4 yav-a, 5 vṛhi-, 6 #sva=aṅg-āt vi-vṛd-dh-au#.

109. tṛṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Śa-]

1 tṛṇa-, 2 naḍa-, 3 mūla-, 4 vana-, 5 parṇa-, 6 varṇa-, 7 varāṇa-, 8 bila-, 9 pula-, 10 phala-, 11 arjuna-, 12 arṇa-, 13 su-varṇa-, 14 bala-, 15 car-aṇa-, 16 busa-.

110. taulvali=āday-aḥ

[2.4.61 na taulvali-bhyaḥ]

1 taulval-i-, 2 dhāraṇ-i-, 3 pāraṇ-i-, 4 rāvaṇ-i-, 5 dai-ṇp-i-, 6 kaivat-i-, 7 vārkal-i-, 8 naivat-i- (naivak-i-), 9 daiva-mitr-i- (daiva-mat-i-), 10 daiva-yaj-ñ-i-, 11 cāphaṭṭak-i-, 12 bailvak-i-, 13 vaik-i- (vaiñk-i-) 14 ānu-hārat-i- (ānu-rāhat-i-), 15 paṣkara-sād-i-, 16 ānu-roh-a-t-i-, 17 ānut-i-, 18 prā-doh-an-i-, 19 naimiśr-i-, 20 prāḍāhat-i-, 21 dāndhak-i-, 22 vaiśīt-i-, 23 āsinās-i-, 24 ā-hiṃs-i-, 25 āsur-i-, 26 naimiṣ-i-, 27 āsi-bandh-ak-i-, 28 paṣp-i-, 29 kāreṇu-pāl-i-, 30 vaikarṇ-i-, 31 vairak-i-, 32 vaihat-i-.

111. tyad=āday-aḥ

See under 241: 1.1.74; 2.72; 3.2.80; 7.2.102.

112. daṇḍa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.68 daṇḍa=ādi-bhyaḥ (yaT 65)]

1 daṇḍa-, 2 musala-, 3 madhu-park-a-, 4 kaśā, 5 argha-, 6 megha-, 7 medhā, 8 su-varṇa-, 9 udaka-, 10 vadha-, 11 yuga-, 12 guhā, 13 bhāg-a-, 14 ibha-, 15 bhaṅg-a-.

113. dadhi-paya=ādī-n-i

[2.4.14 na dadhi-paya-ādī-n-i (eka-vac-anā-ni 1)]

1 dadhi-payas-I, 2 sarpīr-madhu-n-I, 3 madhu-sarpiṣ-I, 4 brahma-praja-pat-I, 5 śiva-vaiśravaṇ-au 6 skanda-vi-śākh-au, 7 pari-vrāj-aka-kausik-au (parivṛāt-kausik-au), 8 pra-varg-ya=upa-sad-au, 9 śukla-kṛṣṇ-au, 10 idhma-barhiṣ-I, 11 dīkṣā-tapas-ī, 12 śraddhā-tapas-I, 13 medhā-tapas-I, 14 adhy-ay-ana-tapas-I, 15 ulūkhala-musal-e, 16 ādi=av-sān-e, 17 śraddhā-medh-e, 18 ṛk-sām-e, 19 vān-manas-e.

114. dāmani=āday-aḥ

[5.3.116 dāmani=ādi-tri-garta-ṣaṣṭh-āt=cha-ḥ]

1. dāman-i, 2 aulap-i, 3 baija-vāp-i, 4 audak-i-, 5 audaṅk-i, 6 ā-cyutant-i- (acyutant-i), 7 ā-cyu-ta-dant-i- (a-cyu-ta-dant-i), 8 śākuntak-i-, 9 ākidant-i- (āktidant-i), 10 auḍav-i-, 11 kāka-dant-i-, 12 śātrum-tap-i-, 13 sārva-sen-i-, 14 bindu-, 15 baṇḍav-i-, 16 tulabha-, 17 mauñj-āyana-, 18 kākandi-, 19 sāvitṛ-putra-.

115. dāstī-bhār-āḥ

[6.2.42 ¹kuru-gārh-pata-²rik-ta-guru- . . . ⁷dāstī-bhārā-ṇām ca]

1 dāstī-bhār-a-ḥ, 2 deva-hū-ti-ḥ, 3 deva-bhṛ-ti-ḥ, 4 deva-lā-ti-ḥ, 5 vasu-nī-ti-ḥ, 6 auṣadhi-ḥ, 7 candra-māḥ.

116. diś=āday-aḥ (= diḡ-āday-aḥ)

[4.3.54 diś=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaT]

1 diś-

vārgya=āday-aḥ (cf. 208 below and 6.2.131)

2 varga-, 3 pūga-, 4 gaṇa-, 5 pakṣa-, 6 dhāyā-, 7 mi-tra-, 8 medhā-, 9 antara-, 10 pathin-, 11 rahas-, 12 aṅka-, 13 ukhā-, 14 sākṣin-, 15 deś-a-, 16 ādi-, 17 anta-, 18 mukha-, 19 jaghana-, 20 megha-, 21 yūtha-, 22 #udak-āt samjñā-y-ām#; 23 ny-āy-a-, 24 vaṁśa-, 25 veśa-, 26 kāla-, 27 ā-kāś-a-.

117. div=āday-aḥ

[3.1.69 div=ādibhyaḥ ŚyaN]

See Dhp IV 1-137.

118. dṛ-ḍha=āday-aḥ

[5.1.123 ¹varṇa-²dṛ-ḍha=ādibhyaḥ ŚyaN=ca]

1 dṛ-ḍha-, 2 vṛ-ḍha-, 3 pari-vṛ-ḍha-, 4 bhṛśa-, 5 kṛś-a-, 6 (vakra-), 7 śukra-, 8 cukra-, 9 āmra-, 10 kṛṣ-ṭa-, 11 lav-aṇa-, 12 tāmra-, 13 śī-ta-, 14 uṣ-ṇa-, 15 jaḍa-, 16 badhira-, 17 paṇḍ-ita-, 18 madhu-ra-, 19 mūrkhā-, 20 mūka-, 21 #ve-r ¹yā-ta-²lā-ta-³ma-ti-⁴manas=⁵śāradā-nām#; 22 #sam-aḥ ¹ma-ti-²manas-oḥ#; 23 jav-ana-.

119. deva-patha=āday-aḥ

[5.3.100 deva-patha=ādi-bhyaś ca (kaN-aḥ 95 luP 98)]

1 deva-path-a-, 2 hamsa-path-a-, 3 vāri-path-a-, 4 ratha-path-a-, 5 sthala-path-a-, 6 kari-path-a-, 7 aja-path-a-, 8 rāja-path-a-, 9 śata-path-a-, 10 śaṅku-path-a-, 11 sindhu-path-a-, 12 śid-dha-ga-ti-, 13 uṣṭra-griva-, 14 vāma-rajju-, 15 hasta-, 16 indra-, 17 daṇḍa-, 18 puṣpa-, 19 matsya-, *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

120. dyútA=āday-aḥ

See under Dhp I 777-799. Cf. 1.3.91; 3.1.55.

121. dvāra=āday-aḥ

[7.3.4 dvāra=ādī-nām ca]

1 dvāra-, 2 svar-a-, 3 sva-grāma- (sva=adhy-āy-a-), 4 vyalka-śa-, 5 sv-as-ti, 6 svar-, 7 sphya-kṛ-t- (sphya-kṛ-ta-), 8 svādu-mṛdu-, 9 śvas-, 10 śva-.

122. dvi-daṇḍ-i=āday-aḥ

[5.4.128 dvi-daṇḍ-i=ādī-bhiś ca (iC 127)]

1 dvi-daṇḍ-i, 2 dvi-musal-i, 3 ubha=añjal-i, 4 ubha-ya=añjal-i, 5 ubha-dant-i, 6 ubha-ya-dant-i, 7 ubha-hast-i, 8 ubha-ya-hast-i, 9 ubha-karṇ-i, 10 ubha-ya-karṇ-i, 11 ubha-pāṇi, 12 ubha-ya-pāṇi, 13 ubha-bāhu, 14 ubha-ya-bāhu, 15 eka-pad-i, 16 proṣṭha-pad-i, 17 ādhyā-pad-i (ācya-pad-i), 18 sa-pad-i, 19 ni-kuc-ya-karṇ-i, 20 sam-ha-ta-pucch-i, 21 ante-vās-i.

123. dvi=āday-aḥ

[5.3.2 ¹kim-²sarva-nāma-³bahu-bhyaḥ a-dvi=ādi-bhyaḥ]

See under 241: 25 dvi-, 26 yuṣmad-, 27 asmad-, 28 bhavatU, 29 kim-.

124. dhūma=āday-aḥ

[4.2.127 dhūma=ādi-bhyaś ca (vuñ 121)]

1 dhūma-, 2 ṣaḍ-aṇḍa-, 3 śaśa=ad-ana-, 4 arjunāva-, 5 māvaka-sthaḥ, 6 ānaka-sthaḥ, 7 māhiṣa-sthaḥ, 8 māna-sthaḥ, 9 aṭṭa-sthaḥ, 10 madruka-sthaḥ, 11 samudra-sthaḥ, 12 dāṇḍ-āyana-sthaḥ, 13 rāja-sthaḥ, 14 vi-deh-a-, 15 rāja-grha-, 16 sātrā-sāha-, 17 śaṣpa-, 18 mitra-vardhra- (mitra-vardha-), 19 bhakṣaḥ, 20 mad-ra-kūla-, 21 ājī-kūla-, 22 dvi=ā-hāv-a-, 23 tri=ā=hāv-a-, 24 sam-sphī-ya-, 25 barbara-, 26 varj-ya-, 27 garta-, 28 ā-nart-a-, 29 māṭhara-, 30 pāth-eya-, 31 ghoṣ-a-, 32 palḥ, 33 ā-rājñ-I, 34 dhārta-rājñ-I, 35 ā-vay-a-, 36 tīrtha-, 37 #kul-āt sauviṛe-ṣu#; 38 #samudr-āt nāv-i manuṣy-e ca#; 39 kuksi-, 40 antar-Ipa-, 41 dvi-pa-, 42 aruṇa-, 43 uj-jay-an-I, 44 paṭṭāra-, 45 dakṣiṇa=ay-ana-, 46 sāketa-.

125. ¹naḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.99 naḍa=ādi-bhyaḥ phaK]

1 naḍa-, 2 cara-, 3 baka-, 4 muñja-, 5 itika-, 6 itisa-, 7 upaka-, 8 eka-, 9 lamaka-, 10 #śalaṅku śalaṅka-m ca#; 11 sapta-la-, 12 vājapya-, 13 tika-, 14 #agni-śarman-vṛṣa-gaṇ-e#; 15 pr-ā-ṇa-, 16 nara-, 17 sāsya-, 18 dāsa-, 19 mi-tra-, 20 dvīpa-, 21 piṅgara-, 22 piṅgala-, 23 kiṁ-kar-a-, 24 kiṁ-kal-a-, 25 kātara-, 26 kātala-, 27 kāsya-, 28 kāsya-, 29 kālya- (kāvya-), 30 aja-, 31 amu-ṣya-, 32 #kṛṣ-ṇa-raṇ-au brāhmaṇa-vāsiṣṭh-e#; 33 a-mi-tra-, 34 ligu-, 35 citra-, 36 kumāra-, 37 #kroṣṭu kroṣṭa-m ca#; 38 loha-, 39 durga-, 40 stam-bha-, 41 śiṁśapā-, 42 agra-, 43 tṛṇa-, 44 śakaṭa-, 45 su-man-as-, 46 su-ma-ta-, 47 mimata-, 48 ṛc-, 49 jalam-dhar-a-, 50 adhvara-, 51 yugam-dhara-, 52 haṁsaka-, 53 daṇḍ-in-, 54 hast-in-, 55 piṇḍa-, 56 pañcāla-, 57 camas-in-, 58 su-kṛt-ya-, 59 sthiraka-, 60 brāhmaṇa-, 61 caṭaka-, 62 badara-, 63 aśvala-, 64 kharapa-, 65 laṅka-, 66 indha-, 67 astra-, 68 kāmuka-, 69 brahma-dat-ta-, 70 udumbara-, 71 śoṇa-, 72 a-loha-, 73 daṇḍapa-.

126. ²naḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.91 naḍa=ādi-nām kuK ca (cha-ḥ ca90)]

1 naḍa-, 2 plakṣa-.

bilva-ka=āday-aḥ (cf. 165 below and 8.4.153)

3 bilva-, 4 veṇu-, 5 vetra-, 6 vetasa-, 7 ikṣu-, 8 kāsṭha-, 9 kapota-, 10 tṛṇa-, 11 #kruñcā hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 12 #takṣan na-lopa-ś ca#.

127. nadī=āday-aḥ

[4.2.97 nadī=ādi-bhyaḥ dhaK]

1 nad-I, 2 mah-I, 3 vārāṇas-I, 4 śrāvast-I, 5 kauśāmb-I, 6 vana-kauśāmb-I, 7 kāsāpar-I, 8 kāsāphar-I, 9 khādir-I, 10 pūrva-nagar-I, 11 pāṭhā, 12 māyā, 13 śālvā, 14 dārvā, 15 setak-I, 16 #vaḍavā-y-āḥ vṛṣ-e#.

128. nand-i=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134. ¹nand-i-²grah-i-³pac=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹Lyu-²Nini=³aC-aḥ]

#¹nand-i-²vās-i-³mad-i-⁴dūṣ-i-⁵sādh-i-⁶vardh-i-⁷śobh-i-⁸roc-i-

bhyaḥ=Ni=ante-bhyaḥ samjñā-y-ām#: 1 nānd-ana-h, 2 vās-ana-h, 3

mád-ana-h, 4 dūs-aṇa-h, 5 sādḥ-ana-h, 6 vārdh-ana-h, 7 śóbh-ana-h, 8 róc-ana-h; #¹sah-i-²tap-i-³dam-aḥ saṁjñā-y-ām#: 9 sáh-ana-h, 10 táp-ana-h, 11 dām-ana-h, 12 jálp-ana-h, 13 rām-aṇa-h, 14 dārp-aṇa-h, 15 saṁ-kránd-ana-h, 16 saṁ-kārṣ-aṇa-h, 17 saṁ-harṣ-aṇa-h, 18 jana=árd-ana-h, 19 yáv-ana-h, 20 madhu-súd-ana-h, 21 vi-bhīṣ-aṇa-h, 22 lāv-aṇa-h, 23 cit-ta-vi-nās-ana-h, 24 kula-dām-ana-h, 25 (śatru-dām-ana-h).

120. nir-udaka=ādī-n-i

[6.2.184 nir-udaka=ādī-n-i ca (anta=79=udattā-n-i 1)]

1 nir-udaká-, 2 nir-upalá- (nir-ulapá-), 3 nir-makṣiká-, 4 nir-maśaká-, 5 niṣ-kāl-aká-, 6 niṣ-kāl-iká-, 7 niṣ-peṣá-, 8 duṣ-tar-īpá-, 9 niṣ-tar-īpá-, 10 niṣ-tarīká-, 11 nir-ajiná-, 12 ud-ajiná-, 13 upa=ajiná-, 14 #pare-r ¹hasta-²pāda-³keśa-⁴karṣ-āḥ-#.

130. niṣka=āday-aḥ

[5.1.20 a-sam-ās-e niṣka=ādi-bhyaḥ (thaK 19)]

1 niṣka-, 2 paṇa-, 3 pāda-, 4 māṣa-, 5 vāha-, 6 droṇa-, 7 ṣaṣṭi-.

131. nyan̐ku=āday-aḥ

[7.3.53 nyan̐ku=ādī-nām ca (ca-j-oḥ kU-h 52)]

1 nyan̐ku-, 2 madgu-, 3 bhṛgu-, 4 dūre-pāk-a-, 5 phale-pāk-a-, 6 kṣaṇe-pāk-a-, 7 dūre-pāk-ā-, 8 phale-pāk-ā-, 9 dūre-pāk-u-, 10 phale-pāk-u-, 11 takra-, 12 vakra- (cakra-), 13 vy-ati-ṣaṅg-a-, 14 anu-ṣaṅg-a-, 15 ava-sarg-a-, 16 upa-sarg-a-, 17 śva-pāk-a-, 18 mām̐sa-pāk-a-, 19 mūla-pāk-a-, 20 kapota-pāk-a-, 21 ulūka-pāk-a-, 22 #saṁjñā-y-ām ¹megha-²nī-dāgha-³ava-dāgha-⁴argh-āḥ-#; 23 nyag-rodha-.

132. pakṣa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +phaK]

1 pakṣa-, 2 tukṣa-, 3 tuṣa-, 4 kuṇḍa-, 5 aṇḍa-, 6 kamba-lika-, 7 valika-, 8 citra-, 9 as-ti-, 10 #path-in pantha ca#; 11 kumbha-, 12 śīraka-, 13 sar-aka-, 14 sakala-, 15 sarasa-, 16 samala-, 17 ati-śvan-, 18 roman-, 19 loman-, 20 hastin-, 21 makara-, 22 lomaka-, 23 śīrṣa-, 24

ni-vā-ta-, 25 pāk-a-, 26 sīmha-ka- (sahaka-), 27 aṅkuśa-, 28 su-varṇa-ka-, 29 haṁśaka-, 30 hīṁśa-ka-, 31 kutsa-, 32 bila-, 33 khila-, 34 yamala-, 35 hasta-, 36 kalā-, 37 sa-karṇa-ka-.

133. pac-á=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134 ¹nand-i-²grah-i-²pacá=ādibhyaḥ ¹Lyu-²Ṇinī=³áC-aḥ]

1 pac-á-, 2 vac-á-, 3 vap-á-, 4 vad-á-, 5 cal-á-, 6 pat-á-, 7 nad-áṭ, 8 bhaṣ-áṭ, 9 plav-áṭ, 10 car-áṭ, 11 gar-áṭ, 12 tar-áṭ, 13 car-áṭ, 14 gāh-áṭ, 15 sūr-áṭ, 16 dev-áṭ, 17 doṣ-áṭ, 18 raj-á- (jar-á-), 19 mar-á-, 20 kṣam-á- (kṣap-á-), 21 sev-á-, 22 meṣ-á-, 23 kop-á- (koṣ-á-/krodh-á-), 24 medh-á-, 25 nart-á-, 26 vraṇ-á-, 27 darś-á-, 28 sarp-á-, 29 dambh-á-, 30 darp-á-, 31 jār-a-bhar-á-, 32 śva-pac-á-. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

134. pad=āday-aḥ

[6.1.63, 161]

1 pad-, 2 dat-, 3 nas-, 4 mās-, 5 hṛd-, 6 niś-, 7 asan-, 8 yūṣan-, 9 doṣan-, 10 yakan-, 11 śakan-, 12 udan-, 13 āsan-.

135. parpa=āday-aḥ

[4.4.10 parpa=ādi-bhyaḥ=ṢṭhaN]

1 parpa-, 2 aśva-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 ratha-, 5 jāla-, 6 ny-ās-a-, 7 vy-āl-a-, 8 pād-a-.

136. parśu=āday-aḥ

[5.3.117 ¹parśu=ādi-²yaudheya=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹aN=²aN-au]

1 parśu-, 2 asura-, 3 rakṣ-as-, 4 bāhlika-, 5 vasyas-, 6 vasu-, 7 marut-, 8 satvat-, 9 daśārha-, 10 piśāca-, 11 aśani-, 12 kārṣāpaṇa-.

136a. paladi=āday-aḥ

[4.2.110 pra-stha=uttara-pada-paladī=ādi-k-opadhāt aN]

1 paladī, 2 pari-śad-, 3 romaka- 4 vāhika-, 5 kala-kīṭa-, 6 bahu-kīṭa-, 7 jala-kīṭa-, 8 kamala-kīṭa-, 9 kamala-kīkara-, 10 kamala-bhid-ā, 11 gausthī, 12 naikatī, 13 pari-khā-, 14 sūra-sena-, 15 go-mat-ī, 16 paṭac-cara-, 17 uda-pāna-, 18 yakṛt=loma-.

137. palāśa-āday-aḥ

[4.1.141 palāśa=ādi-bhyaḥ vā (aṆ 139)]

1 palāśa-, 2 khadira-, 3 śīmśapā, 4 spand-ana- (syand-ana-), 5 pulāka-, 6 karīra-, 8 śirīṣa-, 9 yavāsa-, 10 vi-kaṅkata-.

138. pātre-samita=āday-aḥ

[2.1.48 pātre-samita=ādayas=ca (tatpuruṣaḥ 22)]

1 pātre-samit-aḥ (pātre-sam-mit-aḥ), 2 pātre-bahul-aḥ, 3 údumbara-maśaka-h (údumbara-maśak-aḥ), 4 údumbara-kṛmi-h, 5 kūpa-kacchapa-h, 6 ávaṭa-kacchapa-h, 7 kūpa-maṇḍūka-h, 8 kúmbha-maṇḍū-ka-h, 9 úda-pāna-maṇḍūka-h, 10 nágara-kāka-h, 11 nágara-vāyasa-h 12 mātari-puruṣa-h, 13 piṇḍī-sūra-h (pijī-sūra-h), 14 pitar-i-sūra-h, 15 géhe-sūra-h, 16 géhe-nardī, 17 géhe-kṣvedī, 18 géhe-vi-jitī, 19 géhe-vy-āḍa-h, 20 géhe-mehī, 21 géhe-dāhī, 22 géhe-dṛp-ta-h, 23 géhe-dhṛṣ-ṭa-h, 24 gárbhe-tṛp-ta-h, 25 ā-khanika-baka-h, 26 góṣṭhe-sūra-h, 27 góṣṭhe-vi-jī-tī, 28 góṣṭhe-kṣvedī, 29 góṣṭhe-paṭu-h, 30 góṣṭhe-paṇḍ-ita-h, 31 góṣṭhe-pra-galbha-h, 32 kárṇe-ṭiritirā, 33 kárṇe-curucurā. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-h ayam*. Cf. 187 yúkt-ā-rohī=āday-aḥ.

139. pāma (n)=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 ¹lom=ādi-²pām=ādi-³piccha=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹śa-²na=³ilaC-aḥ]

1 pāman-, 2 vāman-, 3 veman-, 4 heman-, 5 śleṣman-, 6 kadrū- (kadru-), 7 bali-, 8 sāman-, 9 ūṣman-, 10 kṛmi-, 11 #aṅg-āt kalyāṇ-e #; 12 #śāktī-palālī-dadrū-ṇām hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 13 #visv-ag iti=uttara-pada-lopa-s ca=a-kṛ-ta-samdhē-h#; 14 #lakṣmy-aḥ=aT=ca#.

140. pāras-kara-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[6.1.157 pāra-s-kar-a-pra-bhṛ-bhṛ-tī-ni ca sam]ñā-y-ām]

1 pāra-s-kara-h deśa-h; 2 kāra-s-kara-h vṛkṣa-h; 3 rath-s-pā nadī; 4 kiṣku-h pra-māṇa-m, 5 kiṣkindhā nagarī, 6 #¹tad-²bṛh-at-oḥ ¹kara-²paty-oḥ ¹cora-²deva-tay-oḥ suT ta-lopa-s ca# (ta-s-kara-h cora-h, bṛh-as-pati-h deva-tā); 7 #pr-āt tump-a-t-au gav-i kar-tar-i# (pra-stump-a-ti-h gau-h).

141. pāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.49 pāśa=ādi-bhyaḥ ya-ḥ]

1 pāśa-, 2 tṛṇa-, 3 dhūma-, 4 vā-ta-, 5 aṅgāra-, 6 (pāṭāla-), 7 pota-, 8 gala-, 9 pītaka-, 10 śakaṭa-, 11 hala-, 12 (naṭa-), 13 vana-.

142. piccha=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 ¹loma=ādi=²pāma=ādi=³piccha=ādi-bhyaḥ śa-na=ilaC-aḥ]

1 picchā- (piccha-), 2 uras-, 3 dhuvaka-, 4 dhruvaka-, 5 #jaṭā-ghaṭa-kāl-aḥ kṣep-e#; 6 varṇa-, 7 udaka-, 8 paṅka-, 9 prajñā-

143. pīlu=āday-aḥ

[5.2.24 ta-sya ¹pāka=²mūl-e ¹pīlu=ādi=²karṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹kuṇaP-²jāhaC-au]

1 pīlu-, 2 karkandhu- (karkandhū-), 3 śamī, 4 karīra-, 5 kuvala-, 6 badara-, 7 aśvattha-, 8 khadira-.

144. puro-hita=āday-aḥ

[5.1.128 ¹pati=anta=²puro-hita=ādi-bhyaḥ yaK]

1 puro-hita-, 2 #rāja=a-se#; 3 grām-ika-, 4 piṇḍ-ika-, 5 su-hi-ta-, 6 bāla-, 7 manda- (bāla-manda-), 8 khaṇḍ-ika-, 9 daṇḍ-ika-, 10 varm-ika-, 11 karm-ika-, 12 dharm-ika-, 13 sit-ika (sīlika-), 14 sūt-ika-, 15 mūl-ika-, 16 tilaka-, 17 añjal-ika-, 18(antal-ika-, añjanika-), 19 rūp-ika- (ṛṣika-), 20 putr-ika-, 21 avika-, 22 chattra-ika-, 23 paṇḍ-ika-, 24 pathi-ka-, 25 carm-ika-, 26 pratika-, 27 sārathi-, 28 āstika-, 29 sūc-ika-, 30 saṁ-rakṣa-, 31 sūc-aka- (saṁ-rakṣa-sūc-aka-), 32 nāsti-ka-, 33 a-jñān-ika-, 34 śākvara-, 35 nagara-, 36 cūḍ-ika-.

145. puṣĀ=āday-aḥ

[3.1.55 puṣĀ=ādi-dyútA=ādi-ḷ,T=IT-aḥ parasmai-padeṣu (Cle-ḥ 44 aṅ 52)]

See DhP IV 73-137.

146. puṣkara=āday-aḥ

[5.2.135 puṣkara=ādi-bhyaḥ deś-e (ini-ḥ 128)]

1 puṣkara-, 2 padma-, 3 ut-pala-, 4 tamāla-, 5 kumuda-, 6 naḍa-, 7 kapittha-, 8 bisa-, 9 mṛṇāla-, 10 kardama-, 11 śāluka-, 12 vi-garha-, 13 karīṣa-, 14 śī-rīṣa-, 15 yavāsa-, 16 (pra-vāsa-/pra-vāha-), 17 hiraṇya-, 18 kairava-, 19 kallola-, 20 taṭa-, 21 taraṁ-ga-, 22 paṅka-ja-, 23 saro-ja-, 24 rājīva-, 25 nālīka-, 26 saro-ruh-a-, 27 puṭaka-, 28 aravinda-, 29 ambho-ja-, 30 ab-ja-, 31 kamala- (kallola-), 32 payas-.

147. pr̥thu=āday-aḥ

[5.1.122 pr̥thu=ādi-bhyaḥ imānīC vā]

1 pr̥th-u-, 2 mṛd-u-, 3 mah-at-, 4 paṭ-u-, 5 tan-u-, 6 lagh-u-, 7 bah-u-, 8 sādḥ-u-, 9 śś-u-, 10 ur-u-, 11 gur-u-, 12 bah-u-la-, 13 khaṇḍ-a-, 14 daṇḍ-a-, 15 caṇḍ-a-, 16 a-kiṁ-cana-, 17 bāl-a-, 18 hoḍ-a-, 19 pāk-a-, 20 vat-sa-, 21 mand-a-, 22 svād-u-, 23 hras-va-, 24 dīrgh-a-, 25 priy-a-, 26 vṛṣ-a-, 27 ṛj-u-, 28 kṣip-ra-, 29 kṣud-ra-, 30 aṇ-u-.

148. pr̥ṣodara=ādī-n-i

[6.3.109 pr̥ṣodara=ādī-n-i yath-o-pa-diṣ-ṭa-m]

1 pr̥ṣodara-, 3 pr̥ṣ-ot-thāna-, 3 balāhaka-, 4 jīmūta-, 5 śmaśāna-, 6 ulūkhala-, 7 piśāca-, 8 bṛsī, 9 mayūra-. *ā-kṛ-ti-haṇa-ḥ ayam*.

149. paila=āday-aḥ

[2.5.59 paila=ādi-bhyaś ca (yūn-i luK 58)]

1 pail-a-, 2 śālaṅk-i-, 3 sātyak-i-, 4 sātyaṁ-kām-i- (sātya-kām-i-), 5 rāhav-i-, 6 rāvaṇ-i-, 7 audaṅc-i-, 8 auda-vraj-i-, 9 auda-megh-i-, 10 auda-majj-i- (auda-vyajr-i-), 11 auda-bhṛjj-i-, 12 daiva-sthān-i-, 13 paiṅgal-aud-āyani- (paiṅgal-āyani-), 14 rāha-kṣati- (rāha-, kṣati-), 15 bhauṅg-i-, 16 rāṇ-i-, 17 audany-i-, 18 aud-gāha-mān-i-, 19 auj-jih-ān-i-, 20 auda-śud-dh-i- (auda-buddh-i-), 21 #tad-rāj-āt=ca aṇ-aḥ#. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

150. pragadi(n)=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Ñya]

1 pra-gad-in, 2 magad-in-, 3 madad-in, 4 kavila- (kaliva-), 5 dhaṇḍ-i-ta-, 6 gad-i-ta-, 7 cūḍāra-, 8 maḍāra-, 9 mandara-, 10 kovidāra-.

151. pra-jña=āday-aḥ

[5.4.38 pra-jña=ādi-bhyaś ca (áN 36)]

1 pra-jña-, 2 vañij-, 3 uñij-, 4 uṣñij- (for uṣñih-), 5 praty-akṣ-a, 6 (vid-vas-), 7 vid-an, 8 ṣoḍ-an-, 9 vid-yā, 10 man-as-, 11 #śro-traṁ śarīr-e#; 12 juh-v-at-, 13 #kṛṣṇa mṛg-e#; 14 ci-kīr-ṣ-at-, 15 cor-a-, 16 śatru-, 17 yodh-a-, 18 cakṣ-us-, 19 vas-u-, 20 (en-as-), 21 marut-, 22 kruñc-a-, 23 sat-vant-U-, 24 daśārha-, 25 vay-as-, 26 vy-ā-kṛ-ta-, 27 asura-, 28 rakṣ-as 29 piśāca-, 30 aśani-, 31 kārṣāpaṇa-, 32 deva-tā, 33 bandh-u-.

152. prati-jana=āday-aḥ

[4.4.99 prati-jana=ādi-bhyaḥ khaÑ]

1 prati-jana-, 2 idaṁ-yuga-, 3 saṁ-yuga-, 4 sama-yuga-, 5 para-yuga-, 6 para-kula-, 7 para-sya-kula-, 8 amu-ṣya-kula-, 9 sarva-jana-, 10 viśva-jana-, 11 mahā-jana-, 12 pañca-jana-.

153. pra-vṛd-dha=āday-aḥ

[6.2.147 pra=vṛd-dha=ādi-nām ca (anta-ḥ 143 udātta-ḥ 64)]

1 pra-vṛ-d-dhā-m yāna-m; 2 pra-vṛd-dhā-ḥ vṛṣala-ḥ; 3 pra-yutā(h) su=uṣṇav-aḥ (pra-yuk-t-āḥ saktav-aḥ); 4 #ā-karṣ-e ava-hi-tā-ḥ#; 5 #ava-hi-tā-ḥ bhog-e-ṣu#; 6 khaṭvā=ā-rū-dhā-h; 7 kavi-śas-tā-ḥ.

154. pra=āday-aḥ

[1.4.58 pra=āday-aḥ (a-sat-tve 57 nipāt-āḥ 56)]

1 prā-, 2 pārā-, 3 āpa-, 4 sām-, 5 ānu-, 6 āva-, 7 nīa-, 8 nīr-, 9 dūs-, 10 dūr-, 11 vī-, 12 āN-, 13 nī-, 14 ādhi-, 15 āpi-, 16 āti-, 17 sū-, 18ūd-, 19 abhī-, 20 prāti-, 21 pári-, 22 úpa-.

155. pri-yā=āday-aḥ

[6.3.34 striy-āḥ puṁ-vat . . . a-pūraṇī-priya=ādi-ṣu]

1 priyā, 2 manojñā, 3 kalyāṇī, 4 su-bhagā, 5 dur-bhagā, 6 bhak-ti-ḥ, 7 sacivā, 8 (svā), 9 kān-tā, 10 (kṣān-tā), 11 samā, 12 capalā, 13 duhitā, 14 vāmanā, 15 (tanayā).

156. pr-e-kṣā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ini]

1 pr-e-kṣā, 2 phalakā (halakā), 3 bandhu-kā, 4 dhruva-kā, 5 kṣip-akā, 6 nyag-rodha-, 7 ikkaṭa-, 8 kaṅkaṭa-, 9 sam-kaṭa-, 10 kaṭa-, 11 kūpa-, 12 buka-, 13 puka-, 14 puṭa-, 15 maha-, 16 pari-vāp-a-, 17 yavāṣa- (yavāsa-), 18 dhruva-kā, 19 garta-, 20 kūpa-ka-, 21 hiraṇya-.

157. plakṣa=āday-aḥ

[4.3.164 plakṣa=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṆ]

1 plakṣa-, 2 nyag-rodh-a-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 iṅgud-ī, 5 śigru-, 6 (ruru-), 7 kakṣatu-, 8 bṛh-at-ī.

158. pū=āday-aḥ

[7.3.80 pū=ādi-nām hrasva-ḥ]

See under Dhp IX 12-32.

159. phaṇA=āday-aḥ

[6.4.125 phaṇ-āṁ ca sapta-nām]

See under Dhp I 873-79.

160. ¹bala=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ya-]

1 bala-, 2 cula-, 3 nala-, 4 dala-, 5 vaṭa-, 6 lakula-, 7 urala-, 8 pula- (pukha-), 9 mūla-, 10 ula-, 11 ḍula- (ula-ḍula-), 12 vana-, 13 kula-.

161. ²bala=āday-aḥ

[5.2.136 bala=ādi-bhyaḥ matUP anya-tara-syām]

1 bala-, 2 ut-sāh-a-, 3 ud-bhās-a- (ud-bhāv-a-), 4 (ud-vās-a-), 5 ud-dās-a-, 6 śikhā-, 7 kula-, 8 cūḍā-, 9 sula-, 10 kūla-, 11 ā-yām-a-, 12 vy-ā-yām-a-, 13 upa-yām-a-, 14 ā-roh-a-, 15 ava-roh-a-, 16 pari-ṇāh-a-, 17 (yud-dha-).

162. bahu=āday-aḥ

[4.1.45 bahu=ādi-bhyaś ca (striy-ām 3 NfṢ 40)]

1 bah-u-, 2 pad-dha-ti-, 3 aṅc-ati-, 4 aṅk-ati-, 5 amhati-, 6 śakaṭi-, 7 #śak-ti-ḥ śas-tr-e#; 8 śāri-, 9 vāri-, 10 rā-ti-, 11 rā-dhi-, 12 śā-dhi-, 13 ah-i-, 14 kap-i-, 15 yaṣ-ṭi-, 16 mun-i-, 17 #iT-aḥ prāṇi=aṅg-āt#; 18 #kṛt=i-kār-āt a-KtiN-aḥ#; 19 #sarva-taḥ a-KtiNn arth-āt ity anye#; 20 caṇḍa-, 21 arāla-, 22 kṛpaṇa-, 23 kamala-, 24 vi-kaṭā-, 25 vi-sālā-, 26 vi-saṅkaṭā-, 27 bharuja-, 28 dhvaja-, 29 #candra-bhāgā nady-ām#; 30 kalyāṇa-, 31 udāra-, 32 purāṇa-, 33 ahan-, 34 kroḍa-, 35 nakha-, 36 khura-, 37 śikhā-, 38 vāla-, 39 śapha-, 40 gu-da-. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

163. bāhu=āday-aḥ

[4.1.96 bāhu=ādi-bhyaś ca (iN 95)]

1 bāh-u-, 2 upa-bāh-u-, 3 upa-vāk-u-, 4 ni-vāk-u-, 5 śivāku-, 6 vaṭāku-, 7 upa-nind-u- (upa-vind-u-), 8 vṛṣālī-, 9 vṛkalā-, 10 cūḍā-, 11 balākā-, 12 mūṣikā-, 13 kuśalā-, 14 chagalā-, 15 dhruvakā-, 16 dhuvakā-, 17 su-mitrā-, 18 dur-mitrā-, 19 puṣkara-sad-, 20 anu-har-at-, 21 deva-śar-man-, 22 agni-śar-man-, 23 bhadra-śar-man-, 24 su-śar-man-, 25 ku-nām-an-, 26 su-nām-an-, 27 pañcan-, 28 saptan-, 29 aṣṭan-, 30 #a-mita=ojas-aḥ sa-lop-a-s ca#; 31 sudhā-vat-, 32 ud-aṅc-u-, 33 śiras-, 34 māṣa-, 35 śarā-vin-, 36 marīci-, 37 kṣema-vṛd-dh-in-, 38 śṛṅkhala-tod-in-, 39 khara-nēd-in-, 40 nagara-mard-in-, 41 prā-kāra-mard-in-, 42 loman-, 43 aji-garta-, 44 kṛṣṇa-, 45 yudhi-ṣṭhira-, 46 arjuna-, 47 sām̐ba-, 48 gada-, 49 pra-dyumna-, 50 rām-a-, 51 (ud-aṅka-), 52 #udaka-ḥ sam̐-jñā-y-ām#; 53 #¹sam-bhū-yas=²ambh-as-oḥ sa-lop-a-s ca#. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

164. bida=āday-aḥ

[4.1.104 an=ṛsi=ān-antar-ye bida=ādi-bhya=aṅ]

1 bida-, 2 urva-, 3 kaśyapa-, 4 kuśika-, 5 bharad-vāja-, 6 upa-man-yu-, 7 kilāta-, 8 kandarpa- (kim-darbhā-), 9 viśvā-nara-, 10 ṛṣi-seṇa- (ṛṣi-seṇa-), 11 ṛta-bhāga-, 12 hary-aśva-, 13 pri-ya-ka-, 14 āpastamba-, 15 kūrca-vāra-, 16 śarad-vat-, 17 śunaka-, 18 dhe-nu-, 19 go-pav-ana-, 20 śigru-, 21 bind-u- (vind-u-), 22 (bhog-aka-), 23 bhaj-ana-, 24 (śam-ika-), 25 aśva=ava-tāna-, 26 śyāmāka-, 27 śyāmaka-, 28 (śyāvali-), 29 śyā-parṇa-;

harita=āday-aḥ (4.1.100); cf. 259 below

30 harita-, 31 kim-dāsa-, 32 baḥyāśka-, 33 arka-jūṣa- (arka-juṣa-) (arka-lūṣa-), 34 badhyoga- (vadhyoga-), 35 viṣṇu-, 36 vṛd-dha- (viṣṇu-vṛd-dha-), 37 prati-bodh-a-, 38 rathī-tara-, 39 ratham-tara-, 40 gavi-ṣṭhira-, 41 ni-śād-a-, 42 (śabara-), 43 (a-las-a-), 44 maṭhara-, 45 (mṛdāku-), 46 (sṛpāku-), 47 mṛd-u-, 48 punar-bhū-, 49 pu-tra-, 50 duh-i-tṛ-, 51 nanāndṛ-, 52 #para-strī para-śum ca#.

165. bilva-ka=āday-aḥ

[6.4.153 bilva-ka=ādi-bhyaś cha-sya luK]

See under 126: naḍa=āday-aḥ 3.12.

166. bilva=āday-aḥ

[4.3.136 bilva=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṅ]

1 bilva-, 2 vṛthi-, 3 kāṇḍa-, 4 mudga-, 5 masūra-, 6 go-dhūma-, 7 ikṣu-, 8 veṇu-, 9 gavedhuka-, 10 karpāś-, 11 pāṭaḥ, 12 karkandhū-, 13 kuṭṭira-.

167. brāhmaṇa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.124 guṇa-vac-ana-brāhmaṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ kar-maṇ-] ca (bhāve 119 Śyaṅ 123)]

1 brāhmaṇa-, 2 vāḍava-, 3 māṇava-, 4 #arh-at-aḥ nuM ca#; 5 cor-a-, 6 dhūrta-, 7 ā-rādh-ay-a-, 8 vi-rādhay-a-, 9 apa-rādh-ay-a-, 10 upa-rādh-ay-a-, 11 eka-bhāv-a-, 12 dvi-bhāv-a-, 13 tri-bhāv-a-, 14 anya-bhāv-a-, 15 a-kṣe-tra-jña-, 16 sam-vād-in-, 17 sam-veś-in-, 18 sam-bhāṣ-in-, 19 bahu-bhāṣ-in-, 20 śrīṣa-ghāt-in-, 21 vi-ghāt-in-, 22

sama-stha-, 23 vi-ṣama-stha-, 24 parama-stha-, 25 madhya-ma-stha-, 26 an-iś-vara-, 27 kuśa-la-, 28 capala-, 29 nipuṇa-, 30 piśuna-, 31 kutūhala-, 32 kṣe-tra-jña-, 33 niśna-, 34 bālīśa-, 35 a-las-a-, 36 duṣ-puruṣa-, 37 kṣa-puru-ṣa-, 38 rāj-an-, 39 gaṇa-pati-, 40 adhi-pati-, 41 gaḍula-, 42 dāyāda-, 43 vi-śas-ti-, 44 vi-ṣama-, 45 vi-pāt-a-, 46 ni-pāt-a-, 47 #sarva-veda=ādi-bhyaḥ sva=arth-e#; 48 #catur-veda-sya=ubha-ya-pada-vṛd-dhi-s ca#; 49 śauṇḍra-. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-h ayam*.

168. bharga=āday-aḥ

[4.1.178 na prāc-ya-bharga=ādi-yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaś ca]

1 bharg-a-, 2 karuśa-, 3 kekaya-, 4 kaśmīra-, 5 sālva-, 6 su-sthāla-, 7 uras- (urasa-), 8 kaurav-ya-.

169. bhastrā=āday-aḥ

[4.4.16 bhastrā=ādi-bhyaś SthaN]

1 bhastrā, 2 bharaṭa-, 3 bhar-aṇa-, 4 śīrṣa-bhār-a-, 5 śīrṣe-bhār-a-, 6 aṁsa-bhār-a-, 7 aṁse-bhār-a-.

170. bhikṣ-ā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.38 bhikṣ-ā=ādi-bhyaḥ āN]

1 bhikṣ-ā, 2 garbh-in-I, 3 kṣe-tra-, 4 karīṣa-, 5 aṅgāra-, 6 car-man- (carm-in-), 7 sahasra-, 8 yuva-ti-, 9 padāti-, 10 pad-dha-ti-, 11 atharvan-, 12 dakṣiṇā, 13 bhū-ta-, 14 vi-śay-a-, 15 śro-tra-.

171. bhidā=āday-aḥ

[3.3.104 ¹Ṣ=it=²bhidā=ādi-bhyaḥ āN]

1 bhid-ā vi-dār-aṇ-e; 2 chid-ā dvaidhī-kar-aṇ-e; 3 vid-ā, 4 kṣip-ā, 5 #guh-ā ¹giri=²ośadhy-oḥ#; 6 srad-dh-ā, 7 medh-ā, 8 go-dh-ā, 9 #ār-ā śastry-ām#; 10 hār-ā, 11 #kār-ā bandh-an-e#; 12 kṣiy-ā, 13 #tār-ā jyot-iṣ-i#; 14 #dhār-ā pra-pat-an-e#; 15 rekh-ā, 16 cūḍ-ā, 17 pīḍ-ā, 18 vap-ā, 19 vas-ā, 20 vajj-ā, 21 #krapeḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m ca# : kṛp-ā.

172. bhī-ma=āday-aḥ

[3.4.74 bhī-ma=āday-aḥ=ap-ā-dān-e]

1 bhī-ma-, 2 bhīs-ma-, 3 bhayānaka-, 4 vaha-, 5 caru- (vaha-caru-), 6 pra-skand-ana-, 7 pra-pat-ana- (pra-tap-ana-), 8 sam-ud-ra-, 9 sruva-, 10 sruc- (sruc-), 11 (sṛṣ-ṭi-), 12 rakṣ-as-, 13 (śaṅku-), 14 (suka-/śaṅku-suka-), 15 mūrkhā-, 16 khalatī-.

173. bhū-v=āday-aḥ

[1.3.1 bhū-v=āday-aḥ dhātav-aḥ]

See Dhṛp I 1-1059.

174. bhṛśa=āday-aḥ

[3.1.12 bhṛśa=ādi-bhyaḥ bhuv-i a-Cve-r lopaś ca haL-aḥ]

1 bhṛśa-, 2 śīghra-, 3 capala-, 4 manda-, 5 paṇḍ-ita-, 6 ut-suka-, 7 su-man-as-, 8 dur-man-as-, 9 abhi-man-as-, 10 un-man-as-, 11 rah-as-, 12 roh-at-, 13 reh-at-, 14 saṁ-ścat-, 15 tṛp-at-, 16 śāśvat-, 17 bhram-at-, 18 veh-at-, 19 śuc-is-, 20 śuci-varc-as-, 21 aṇḍa-ra-, 22 varc-as- (aṇḍa-ra-varc-as-), 23 oj-as-, 24 su-raj-as-, 25 a-raj-as-.

175. bhaurik-i=āday-aḥ

[4.2.54 ¹bhaurik-i=ādi=²yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaḥ ¹vidhaL-²bhaktal-au]

1 bhaurik-i-, 2 bhaulik-i-, 3 caupayata-, 4 caitayata- (cautayata-), 5 kām-eya-, 6 vāṇijaka-, 7 vāṇikājya- (vālikājya-), 8 saikayata-, 9 vaikayata-.

176. madhu=āday-aḥ

[4.2.86 madhu=ādi-bhyaś ca (matUP 85)]

1 madhu-, 2 bisa-, 3 sthāṇu-, 4 veṇu-, 5 karkandhu-, 6 śamī-, 7 karīra-, 8 hima-, 9 kīśarā-, 10 śaryāṇa-, 11 marut-, 12 vārdāṇi-, 13 śara-, 14 iṣṭakā-, 15 ā-su-ti-, 16 śak-ti-, 17 āsandī-, 18 śakala-, 19 śalākā-, 20 āmiṣī-, 21 ikṣu-, 22 roman-, 23 ruṣ-ṭi-, 24 ruṣ-ya-, 25 takṣa-sīlā-, 26 khada-, 27 vaṭa-, 28 veṭa-.

177. mano-jña=āday-aḥ

[5.1.133 dvaṁdva-mano-jña=ādi-bhyaś ca (vuṆ 132)]

1 mano-jña-, 2 pri-ya-rūpa-, 3 abhi-rūpa-, 4 kalyāṇa-, 5 medhā-vin-, 6 āḍhya-, 7 kula-putra-, 8 chāṇdas-a, 9 chāttra-, 10 śrotr-īya-, 11 cor-a-, 12 dhūrta-, 13 viśva-deva-, 14 yuvan-, 15 ku-putra-, 16 grāma-putra-, 17 grāma-kulāla-, 18 grāma-śaṇḍa-, 19 grāma-kumāra-, 20 su-kumāra-, 21 bahu-la-, 22 (avaśya-putra-), 23 amu-śya-putra-, 24 amu-śya-kula-, 25 sāra-putra-, 26 śata-putra-.

178. mayūra-vy-aṁsaka=āday-aḥ

[2.1.72 mayūra-vy-aṁsaka=ādayaś ca (tat-puruṣ-āḥ 22 sam-as-āḥ 3)]

1 mayūra-vy-aṁsaka-, 2 chāttra-vy-aṁsaka-, 3 kamboja-muṇḍa-, 4 yavana-muṇḍa-, 5 #chand-as-i haste-grh-ya- (hasta-grh-ya-)#; 6 pāde-grh-ya- (pāda-grh-ya-), 7 lāṅgula-grh-ya- (lāṅgule-grh-ya-), 8 punar-dā-ya-, 9 #ehi=īda=āday-aḥ anya-pad-ā-rth-e#, 10 ehi=īda-m vart-a-te, 11 ehi-yava-m vart-a-te; 12 ehi-vāṇijā kri-yā, 13 apa=ihi-vāṇijā, 14 pra=ihi-vāṇijā, 15 ehi-svāgatā, 16 apa=ihi-svāgatā, 17 ehi-dvi-tīyā, 18 apehi-dvi-tīyā, 19 prehi-dvi-tīyā, 20 ehi-kaṭā, 21 apehi-kaṭā, 22 prehi-kaṭā; 23 ā-hara-kaṭā, 24 prehi-kardamā, 25 proha-kardamā, 26 vi-dhama-cūḍā, 27 ud-dhama-cūḍā (ud-dhara-cūḍā), 28 ā-hara-celā, 29 ā-hara-vasanā, 30 (ā-hara-senā), 31 ā-hara-van-ītā (ā-hara-vi-na-tā), 32 kṛn-ta-vi-cakṣ-aṇā, 33 ud-dhara=ut-sṛjā, 34 ud-dhara=ava-sṛjā, 35 ud-dhama-vi-dhamā, 36 ut-paca-ni-pacā, 37 ut-pata-ni-patā, 38 uccā-vaca-m, 39 ucca-nīca-m, 40 āca=upaca-m, 41 āca-parāca-m, 42 nakha-praca-m, 43 nīca-praca-m, 44 a-kim-cana-, 45 anā-tvā-kālaka-, 46 pī-tvā-sthiraka-, 47 bhuk-tvā-su-hi-ta-, 48 proṣ-ya-pap-īyān, 49 ut-pat-ya-pākalā, 50 ni-pat-ya-roh-iṇī, 51 ni-ṣaṇ-ṇa-syāmā, 52 apehi-pra-ghasā, 53 ehi-vighasā, 54 iha-pañca-m-ī, 55 iha-dvi-tīyā, 56 #ja-hi kar-maṇ-ā bahu-lam ābhikṣṇ-ye kar-tār-am ca abhi-da-dhā-ti#; 57 jahi-joḍa-ḥ (*-joḍam), 58 jahi-stambam (*-stamba-ḥ), 59 uj-jahi-stamba-m, 60 #ā-khyā-ta-m ā-khyā-tena kri-yā-sātat-y-e#; 61 aś-nī-ta-pib-a-tā, 62 pac-a-ta-bhrjj-a-tā; 63 khād-a-ta-mod-a-tā, 64 khād-a-ta-vam-a-tā (*-cam-a-tā), 65 ā-hara-ni-vap-ā, 66 ā-vap-a-niṣ-kir-ā (ā-hara-niṣ-kir-ā), 67 ut-pac-a-ni-pac-ā, 68 bhin-dhi-lavaṇā, 69 kṛn-dhi-vi-cakṣ-aṇā, 70 pac-a-lav-aṇā, 71 pa-ca-pra-kūṭ-ā. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

179. mahiṣī=āday-aḥ

[4.4.48 áN mahiṣī=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 mahiṣ-ī, 2 prajā-pati, 3 prajā-vat-ī, 4 pra-lep-ik-ā, 5 vi-lep-ik-ā, 6 anu-lep-ik-ā, 7 puro-hita-, 8 maṇi-pāl-ā, 9 anu-cār-aka- (anu-vār-akak-), 10 ho-tṣ-, 11 yaj-a-māna-.

180. mālā=āday-aḥ

[6.2.88 mālā=ādi-nām ca (ādir udātta-ḥ 64)]

1 mālā, 2 śālā, 3 śoṇā (śoṇa-), 4 drākṣā, 5 srākṣā, 6 kṣāmā, 7 kāñci, 8 eka-, 9 kāmā-.

181. muc=āday-aḥ

[7.1.59 Śe muc=ādi-nām (nuM 58)]

See under Dhp VI 136-143.

182. yajA=āday-aḥ

[6.1.15 ¹vaci-²svapi-³yajA=ādi-nām K-IT-i (sam-pra-sār-aṇam 13)]

See under Dhp I 1051-1059.

183. yava=āday-aḥ

[8.2.9 ¹m-²a=āt upa-dhāyās ca matOr va-ḥ=a-yava=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 yav-a-, 2 dalmi-, 3 ūrmi-, 4 bhūmi-, 5 kṛmi-, 6 kruñcā, 7 vaśā, 8 drākṣā, 9 dhrākṣā, 10 dhraji-, 11 dhvaji, 12 niji-, 13 siji-, 14 sañji-, 15 harit-, 16 kakud-, 17 marut-, 18 garut-, 19 ikṣu-, 20 dru-, 21 madhu.
ā-kṣ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam.

184. yaska=āday-aḥ

[2.3.63 yaska=ādi-bhyaḥ go-tr-e (luK 58)]

1 yaska-, 2 lab-ya- (labh-ya-), 3 druh-ya-, 4 (ayaḥ-sthūṇa-), 5 tṛṇa-karṇa-, 6 sadā-matta-, 7 kambala-hāra- ("bhāra-), 8 bahir-yog-a-, 9 karṇāḍhaka- (karṇāṭaka-), 13 vi-śri-, 14 ku-dri-, 15 aja-basti-, 16 mitra-yu-, 17 rakṣo-mukha-, 18 jaṅghā-ratha-, 19 ut-kās-a-, 20 kaṭuka-, 21 manthaka- (math-aka-kaṭuka-manth-aka-), 22 puṣkara-sad-, 23

viṣa-puta-, 24 upari-mekhala-, 25 kroṣṭu-māna-, 26 kroṣṭu-pāda-, 27 kroṣṭu-māya-, 28 śrīṣa-māya-, 29 kharapa-, 30 padaka-, 31 varṣuka-, 32 bhalandana-, 33 bhaḍila-, 34 bhaṇḍila-, 35 bhaḍita-, 36 bhaṇḍita-.

185. yāj-aka=āday-aḥ

[2.2.9 yāj-aka=ādi-bhiś ca (saṣṭhi 8)]

1 yāj-aka-, 2 pūj-aka-, 3 pari-cār-aka-, 4 pari-veṣ-aka- (pari-ṣec-aka-), 5 snā-p-aka-, 6 adhy-ā-p-aka-, 7 ut-sāh-aka-, 8 ud-vart-aka-. 9 ho-tṛ-, 10 bhar-tṛ-, 11 ratha-gaṇ-aka-, 12 patti-gaṇ-aka-.

186. yāva=āday-aḥ

[5.4.29 yāva=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN]

1 yāva-, 2 maṇi-, 3 asthi-, 4 (tālu-), 5 jānu-, 6 sāndra-, 7 pī-ta-, 8 stamba-, 9 #ṛt-au ¹us-ṇa-²śi-te#; 10 #paś-au ¹ū-na-²vi-pā-t-e#; 11 #aṇu ni-puṇ-e#; 12 #putra kṛ-trim-e#; 13 #snā-ta veda-sam-āp-t-au#; 14 #śūnya rik-te#; 15 #dāna kuts-it-e#; 16 #tanu sūtr-e#; 17 #īyas-aś ca#; 18 jñā-ta-, 19 a-jñā-ta-, 20 #kumārī-kṛd-anā-ni ca (°-kṛd-anakā-ni ca)#.

187. yuk-ta=ā-roh-i(n)=āday-aḥ

[6.2.81 (adi=udatt-aḥ 64)]

1 yúk-ta=ā=roh-I, 2 ā-ga-ta-roh-I, 3 ā-ga-ta-yodh-I, 4 ā-ga-ta-vañc-I, 5 ā-ga-ta-nand-I (°-nard-I), 6 ā-g-ta-pra-hār-I, 7 ā-ga-ta-matsya-ḥ 8 kṣīra-ho-tā, 9 bháginī-bhar-tā, 10 grāma-go-dhuk, 11 áśva-tri-rātra-ḥ, 12 gárga-tri-rātra-ḥ, 13 vy-áṣ-ṭi-tri-rātra-ḥ, 14 gāṇa-pāda-ḥ, 15 éka-sīti-pād, 16 #pātre-samita=āday-aś ca#.

188. yuva(n)-āday-aḥ

[5.1.130 hā-y-ana=anta=yuva(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 yuvan-, 2 sthav-ira-, 3 ho-tṛ-, 4 yaj-a-māna-, 5 #puruṣa a-se#, 6 bhrā-tṛ, 7 kutuka-, 8 śram-aṇa- (śraṇama-), 9 kaṭuka-, 10 kamaṇḍalu-, 11 ku-strī, 12 su-strī, 13 duḥ-strī, 14 su-hṛd-aya-, 15 dur-hṛd-aya-, 16 su-hṛd-, 17 dur-hṛd-, 18 su-bhrā-tṛ-, 19 dur-bhrā-tṛ-, 20 vṛśala-, 21 pari-vrāj-aka-, 22 sa-brahma-cār-in-, 23 a-nṛ-śaṁsa-, 24 #hṛd-aya a-se#; 25 kuśala-, 26 capala-, 27 nipuṇa-, 28 piśuna-, 29 kutūhala-, 30 kṣetr-jñā-, 31 #kṣetr-īya-sya ya-lopa-ś ca#.

189. ¹yaudh-eya-āday-aḥ

[4.1.178 na ¹prāc-ya-²bharga=ādi-³yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaś ca (luK 175)]

1 yaudh-eya-, 2 śaukr-eya-, 3 śaubhr-eya-, 4 jyā-bāṇ-eya-, 5 dhārt-eya- (dhaurt-eya-), 6 tri-garta-, 7 bharata-, 8 uśī-nara-,

190. ²yaudh-eya=āday-aḥ

[5.3.117 ¹parśu=ādi-²yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaś ¹aṇ=²aṇ-au]

1 yaudh-eya-, 2 kauś-eya-, 3 śaukr-eya-, 4 śaubhr-eya-, 5 dhārt-eya-, 6 ghārt-eya-, 7 jyā-bāṇ-eya-, 8 tri-garta-, 9 bhar-a-ta, 10 uśī-nara-.

191. rajata=āday-aḥ

[4.3.154 prāṇi(n)=rajata=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṇ]

1 rajata-, 2 śīsa-, 3 loha-, 4 udumbara-, 5 nīpa-, 6 dāru-, 7 rohitaka-, 8 vibhītaka-, 9 pīta-dāru-, 10 tīvra-dāru-, 11 tri-kaṇṭaka-, 12 kaṇṭakāra-.

192. radhĀ=āday-aḥ

[7.2.45 radhĀ=ādi-bhyaś ca (ārdha-dhatuka-sya iṭ'=vaḷ-āde-h 35 vā 44)]

See under Dhp IV 84-91.

193. rasa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.95 rasa=ādi-bhyaś ca (matUP 94)]

1 rasa-, 2 rūpa-, 3 varṇa-, 4 gandha-, 5 sparsa-, 6 śabda-, 7 sneha-, 8 bhāv-a-, 9 #guṇ-āt#, 10 #eka=aC-aḥ#.

194. rāja-danta=āday-aḥ

[2.2.31 rāja-danta=ādi-ṣu para-m]

1 rāja-dantā-h, 2 agre-vaṇá-m, 3 lip-ta=ava-si-tá-m, 4 nag-na-muṣ-i-tá-m, 5 śik-ta-sam-mṛṣ-tá-m, 6 mṛṣ-ṭa-luñc-i-tá-m, 7 ava-klīn-na-pakvá-m, 8 arp-i-ta=up-tá-m, 9 up-ta-gā-dhá-m, 10 ulūkhala-musalá-m, 11 taṇḍula-kiṇvá-m, 12 dṛṣad-upalá-m, 13 ārag-vāy-ana-bandhakī (āraḍ-vāy-aní-), 14 citra-ratha-bāḥhiká-m, 15 avanti=aśma-ká-m, 16 sūdra=āryá-m, 17 snā-ta-ka-rājān-aú, 18

viṣvak-sena=arjun-aú, 19 akṣi-bhruvám, 20 dāra-gavám, 21 śabda=arth-aú, 22 dharma=arth-aú, 23 kām=arth-aú, 24 artha-śabd-aú, 25 artha-kām-aú, 26 vaikāri-ma-tám, 27 gaja-vāṣám, 28 go-pāla-dhānī-pūlāsám (go-pāli-dhāna-pūlāsám), 29 pūlāsaka-kuraṇḍám (pūlāsa-kāraṇḍám), 30 sthūla-pūlāsám (sthulāsám), 31 uśtra-bījám, 32 (jijñāsthí-), 3 siñja=aśvatthám (siñjāsthám), 34 citrā-svāt-í, 35 bhār-yā-pat-í, 36 dam-pat-í, 37 jam-pat-í, 38 jāyā-pat-í, 39 putra-pat-í, 40 putra-paśú, 41 keśa-śmaśrú, 42 śiro-bījám (° bījú-), 43 śiro-jānú-, 44 sarpir-madhu-n-í, 45 madhu-sarpiṣ-í, 46 ādy=ant-aú, 47 anta=ad-í, 48 guṇa-vṛd-dh-í, 49 vṛd-dhi-guṇ-aú.

195. rājan-ya=āday-aḥ

[4.2.53 rājan-ya=ādi-bhyaḥ vuñ]

1 rājan-ya-, 2 an-ṛta-, 3 bābhrav-ya-, 4 śālaṅk-āyana-, 5 daiva-yā-ta- (daiva-yātava-), 6 (a-vṛīḍa-), 7 (varatrā), 8 jā-lam-dhar-āyana-, 9 (rājāyana-), 10 telu-, 11 ātma-kām-eya-, 12 ambarīṣa-putra-, 13 vasāti-, 14 bailva-vana-, 15 śailūṣa-, 16 udumbara-, 17 tīvra-, 18 bailva-ja-, 19 ārjun-āyana-, 20 sam-pri-ya-, 21 dākṣ-i-, 22 ūṇa-nābh-a-.

196. rúd=āday-aḥ

[7.2.76 rúd=ādi-bhyaḥ sārva-dhātuk-e (iṭ vaḷ-āde-ḥ 35)]

See under Dhp II 58-62; cf. 7.3.98ff.

197. rudh=āday-aḥ

[3.1.78 rudh=ādi-bhyaḥ ŚnaM]

See under Dhp VII 1-25.

198. re-vat-ī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.146 re-vat-ī=ādi-bhyaḥ ṭhaK]

1 re-vat-ī, 2 aśva-pāl-ī, 3 maṇi-pāl-ī, 4 dvāra-pāl-ī, 5 vṛka-vañc-in-, 6 vṛka-bandhu-, 7 vṛka-grāh-a-, 8 karna-grāh-a-, 9 daṇḍa-grāh-a-, 10 kukkuṭa=akṣa-, 11 (cāmara-grāh-a-).

199. raivat-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.131 raivat-ika=ādi-bhyaś cha-ḥ]

1 raivat-ika-, 2 svāpīś-i-, 3 kṣaima-vṛd-dh-i-, 4 gaura-grīva-
(°-grīv-i-), 5 auda-megh-i-, 6 auda-vāp-i-, 7 baija-vāp-i-.

200. loma(n)=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 ¹loma(n)=ādi-²pāma(n)=ādi-³piccha-ādi-bhyaḥ ¹śā-²nā=
³ilāC-aḥ]

1 loman-, 2 roman-, 3 babhru-, 4 hari-, 5 giri-, 6 karka-, 7 kapi-, 8
muni-, 9 taru-.

201. ¹lohita=āday-aḥ

[3.1.13 lohita=ādi-ḌāC=bhyaḥ KyāŚ]

1 lohita-, 2 car-ita-, 3 nīla-, 4 phena-, 5 madra-, 6 har-i-ta-, 7 dāsa-, 8
manda-.

202. ²lohita=āday-aḥ

[4.1.18 sarva-tra ¹lohita=ādi-²kata=ante-bhyaḥ (striy-ām 3 Ṣpha-ḥ 17)]

See under 71: garga=āday-aḥ, 25-52.

203. lū=āday-aḥ

[8.2.44 lū=ādi-bhyaḥ (niṣṭhā-t-aḥ na-ḥ 42)]

See under Dhṛ IX 13-32.

204. vaṁśa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.50 tad=¹har-a-ti-²vah-a-ti=³ā-vah-a-ti bhār-āt=vaṁśa=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 vaṁśa-, 2 kuṭa-ja-, 3 balva-ja-, 4 mūla-, 5 sthūṇā (sthūṇa-), 6
akṣa-, 7 aśman-, 8 aśva-, 9 ślakṣṇa-, 10 ikṣu-, 11 khaṭvā.

205. vānas-pāti-āday-aḥ

[6.2.140 ubh-e vānas-pāti=ādi-su yagapat (pra-kṛ-ty-ā 137)]

1 vān-as-pāti-ḥ, 2 bhā-as-pātiḥ, 3 śācī-pāti-ḥ, 4 tāntū-nāpāt, 5 nārā-śāmsa-ḥ, 6 sūn-aḥ-śépha-ḥ, 7 śāṇḍā-mārk-au, 8 tṛṣṇā-varutr-ī, 9 lambā-viśvá-vayas-au, 10 mār-mṛtyú-ḥ.

206. var-aṇā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.82 var-aṇā=ā-di-bhyaś ca (luP 81)]

1 var-aṇ-ā, 2 śṛṅg-ī, 3 śālmali-, 4 sūṇḍ-ī, 5 śayāṇḍ-ī, 6 parṇ-ī, 7 tāmra-parṇ-ī, 8 go-da-, 9 ā-liṅg-y-āyana-, 10 jāna-pad-ī (jāla-pad-ī), 11 jambū, 12 puṣkara-, 13 campā, 14 pampā, 15 valgu-, 16 uj-jay-lu-ī (uj-jay-an-ī), 17 gayā, 18 mathurā, 19 takṣa-sīlā, 20 uras-ā, 21 go-mat-ī, 22 valabh-ī.

207. varāha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +kaK]

1 varāha-, 2 palāśa-, 3 śirīṣa-, 4 pi-nad-dha-, 5 ni-bad-dha-, 6 balāha-, 7 sthū-la-, 8 vi-dag-dha-, 9 vi-jag-dha-, 10 vi-bhag-na-, 11 vi-mag-na-, 12 bāhu-, 13 khadira-, 14 śarkarā.

208. varḡ-ya=āday-aḥ

[6.2.131 varḡ-ya=āday-aḥ (uttara-pada=ādi-ḥ 111 udātta-ḥ 64)]

See under 116 above: 2-27.

209. vas-anta=āday-aḥ

[4.2.63 vas-anta=ādi-bhyaś=ṭhaK]

1 vas-ant-a-, 2 grīṣma-, 3 varṣā, 4 śarad-, 5 hemanta-, 6 śīśira-, 7 prathama-, 8 guṇa-, 9 carama-, 10 anu-guṇa-, 11 athar-van-, 12 ātharvaṇ-a-.

210. vākina=āday-aḥ

[4.1.158 vākina=ādi-nām kuK ca]

1 vākina-, 2 gaudh-erā-, 3 kārkaṣ-a-, 4 kākā-, 5 laṅkā, 6 #¹carmi(n)=²varm-in-or na-lopaś ca#.

211. vi-nay-a=āday-aḥ

[5.4.34 vi-nay-a=ādi-bhyaḥ ṭhaK]

1 vi-nay-a-, 2 sam-ay-a-, 3 #up-ā-y-āt hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 4 sam-prati-, 5 sam-ga-ti-, 6 katham-cit-, 7 a-ka-smāt-, 8 sam-ā-cār-a-, 9 upa-cār-a-, 10 samaya=ā=cār-a-, 11 vy-ava-hār-a-, 12 sam-pra-dāna-, 13 sam-ut-karṣ-a-, 14 sam-ūh-a-, 15 vi-śeṣ-a-, 16 aty-ay-a-.

212. vi-muk-ta=āday-aḥ

[5.2.61 vi-muk-ta=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 vi-muk-ta-, 2 deva=asura-, 3 rakso'sura-, 4 upa-sad-, 5 su-varṇa-, 6 pari-sār-aka-, 7 sad-asad-, 8 vas-u-, 9 marut-, 10 patnī-vat-, 11 vasu-mat-, 12 mahīyatva-, 13 sat-vat-, 14 barha-vat-, 15 daśārṇa-, 16 daśārha-, 17 vayas-, 18 havir-dhāna-, 19 patatr-in-, 20 mahitr-I, 21 asy-a-ha-t-ya-, 22 somā-pūṣan-, 23 idā, 24 agnā-viṣṇ-u-, 25 urvaś-I, 26 vṛtra-han-.

213. vi-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i

[6.2.94 vi-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i guṇa-vac-ane-ṣu (tatpuruṣ-e 2 pra-kṛ-ty-ā 1)]

1 vi-spaṣ-ṭa-, 2 vi-citra-, 3 vi-cit-ta-, 4 vy-ak-ta-, 5 sam-pan-na-, 6 paṭ-u-, 7 paṇḍ-ita-, 8 kuśala-, 9 capala-, 10 nipuṇa-.

214. vṛt

[1.3.92 vṛt=bhyaḥ sya-saṇ-oh (vā 90 kar-tar-i parasmaipadam 78)]

See Dhṛ 1 795-799. Cf. 7.2.59.

215. vṛṣa=āday-aḥ

[6.1.203 vṛṣ-a=ādī-nām ca (ādi-ḥ 197 udātta-ḥ 159)]

1 vṛṣ-a-ḥ, 2 ján-a-ḥ, 3 jvár-a-ḥ, 4 gráh-a-ḥ, 5 háy-a-ḥ, 6 gáy-a-ḥ, 7 náy-a-ḥ, 8 táy-a-ḥ, 9 táy-a-ḥ, 10 cáy-a-ḥ, 11 ám-a-ḥ, 12 véd-a-ḥ, sūd-a-ḥ, 14 áms-a-ḥ, 15 gúh-ā, 16 #¹sám-a-²rāṇ-au saṁ-jñā-y-ām sam-ma-t-au ¹bhāv-a-²kar-man-oh#; 17 mán-tra-ḥ, 18 śán-ti-ḥ, 19 kām-a-ḥ, 20 grām-a-ḥ, 21 ār-ā, 22 dhār-ā-, 23 kār-ā, 24 vāh-a-ḥ, 25 kálp-a-ḥ, 26 pád-a-ḥ. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

216. vetana=āday-aḥ

[4.4.12 vetana=ādi-bhyaḥ jīv-a-ti (+ṭhaK 1)]

1 vetana-, 2 vāh-ana-, 3 ardha-vāh-ana-, 4 dhanur-daṇḍa-, 5 jāl-a-, 6 veś-a-, 7 upa-veś-a-, 8 pr-eṣ-ana-, 9 upa-vas-ti-, 10 su-kha-, 11 śay-yā, 12 śak-ti-, 13 upa-ni-śad-, 14 upa-deś-a-, 15 sphij- (sphija-), 16 pād-a-, 17 upa-stha-, 18 upa-sthāna-, 19 ups-has-ta-.

217. vy-ā-ghra=āday-aḥ

[2.1.56 upa-mi-ta-m vy-ā-ghra=ādi-bhiḥ sāmānya=a-pra-yog-e]

1 vy-ā-ghra-, 2 śimha-, 3 ṛkṣa-, 4 ṛṣabha-, 5 cand-ana-, 6 vṛka-, 7 vṛṣ-a-, 8 varāha-, 9 hast-in-, 10 tar-u-, 11 kuñjara-, 12 ruru-, 13 pṛṣ-at-, 14 puṇḍarīka-, 15 palāśa-, 16 kitava-. *ā-kr-ti-gaṇa-ayam*.

218. vy-uṣ-ṭa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.97 vy-uṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN]

1 vy-uṣ-ṭa-, 2 ni-tya-, 3 niṣ-kram-aṇa-, 4 pra-veś-ana-, 5 (upa-saṁ-kram-aṇa-), 6 tīrtha-, 7 (ā-star-aṇa-), 8 saṁ-grāma-, 9 saṁ-ghāt-a-.

219. vr̥hi=āday-aḥ

[5.2.116 vr̥hi=ādi-bhiḥ ca (ini-ṭhaN-au 115)]

1 vr̥hi-, 2 māyā, 3 (śālā), 4 śikhā, 5 mālā, 6 mekhalā, 7 kekā, 8 aṣṭakā, 9 paṭākā, 10 car-man-, 11 kar-man-, 12 var-man-, 13 daṁṣ-ṭrā, 14 saṁ-jñā, 15 vaḍavā, 16 kumār-I, 17 nau-, 18 vīṇā, 19 balākā, 20 yava-khada- (yava-khad-an-au*), 21 #śrṣ-āt=nañ-aḥ#.

220. śaṇḍ-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.92 śaṇḍ-ika=ādi-bhyaḥ Ōya-ḥ]

1 śaṇḍ-ika-, 2 sarva-sena-, 3 sarva-keśa-, 4 śaka-, 5 śaṭa, 6 raka-, 7 śaṅkha-, 8 bodha-.

221. śām=āday-aḥ

[3.2.141 śām-ity-aṣṭā-bhyaḥ GHinuN]

See under Dhp IV 92-99. Cf. 7.3.74 śām-ām aṣṭā-nām dīrgha-ḥ SyaN-i.

222. śarad=pra-bhṛ-tay-aḥ

[5.4.107 avyay i-bhāv-e śarad=pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ (TāC 91)]

1 śarad-, 2 vi-pāś-, 3 an-as-, 4 man-as-, 5 upā-nah-, 6 anaḍ-uh-, 7 div-, 8 hima-vat-, 9 hiruk-, 10 vid-, 11 sad-, 12 diś-, 13 dṛś-, 14 viś-, 15 catur-, 16 tyad-, 17 tad-, 18 yad-, 19 k-iy-at-, 20 #jarā-y-āḥ jar-as=ca#; 21 #¹prati-²para-³sam-⁴anu-bhyaḥ akṣṇ-aḥ#; 22 pathin-.

223. ¹śara=āday-aḥ

[4.3.144 ni-tya-m vṛd-dha-śara=ādi-bhyaḥ (mayaT 143)]

1 śar-a-, 2 darbha-, 3 mṛd-, 4 kuṭ-i-, 5 tṛṇa-, 6 soma-, 7 balva-ja- (balba-ja-).

224. ²śara=āday-aḥ

[6.3.120 śara=ādi-nām ca (matAU 119 dīrgha-ḥ 111)]

1 śara-, 2 varṣa-, 3 dhūma-, 4 ah-i-, 5 kapi-, 6 maṇi-, 7 mun-i-, 8 śuc-i-, 9 tan-u-.

225. śarkarā=āday-aḥ

[5.3.107 śarakarā=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN]

1 śarkarā, 2 kapāl-ikā, 3 kapāṭ-ikā, 4 kan-iṣṭhikā (kapi-ṣṭh-ikā), 5 puṇḍarikā, 6 śata-patra-, 7 go-loman-, 8 loman-, 9 go-puccha-, 10 narācī, 11 na-kula-, 12 sikatā.

226. śākhā=āday-aḥ

[5.3.103 śākhā=ādi-bhyaḥ yāT]

1 śākhā, 2 mukha-, 3 jaghana-, 4 śṛṅga-, 5 megha-, 6 abhra-, 7 car-aṇa-, 8 skandha-, 9 skanda- (skada-), 10 uras-, 11 śiras-, 12 agra-, 13 śar-aṇa- (śāṇa-).

227. śārṅgarava=āday-aḥ

[4.1.73 śārṅgarava=ādi=aN-aḥ NIN]

1 śārṅgarava-, 2 kāpaṭava-, 3 gauggulava-, 4 brāhmaṇa-, 5 baida-, 6 gautama-, 7 kāmāṇḍal-eya-, 8 brāhmaṇa-kṛt-eya-, 9 (ā-ni-ce-ya-), 10 ā-ni-dhe-ya-, 11 āśok-eya-, 12 vātsy-āyana-, 13 maunj-āyana-, 14 kaikasa- (kaikas-eya-), 15 kāv-ya-, 16 śaib-ya-, 17 ehi-, 18 pary-ehi-, 19 āśma-rath-ya-, 20 auda-pā-na-, 21 a-rāla-, 22 caṇḍāla-, 23 vataṇḍa-, 24 #bhog-a-vad-gauri-mat-oḥ saṁ-jñā-yām GHA=ādi-ṣu nityaṁ hrasva=artham#; 25 #nṛ-naray-or vṛddhiś ca#.

228. śiva=āday-aḥ

[4.1.112 śiva=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 śiva-, 2 praṣṭha- (praṣṭha-), 3 praṣṭh-ika-, 4 caṇḍa-, 5 jambha-, 6 bhūri-, 7 daṇḍa-, 8 kuṭhāra-, 9 kakubh-, 10 an-abhi-miś-na-, 11 kohita-, 12 mukha-, 13 saṁ-dh-i-, 14 mun-i-, 14a kakut-stha-, 15 kahoda-, 16 kohada-, 17 kahūya- (kahūṣa-), 18 kahaya-, 19 rodh-a-, 20 kapiñjala- (ku-piñjala-), 21 khañjana-, 22 vataṇḍa-, 23 tṛṇa-karṇa- (tūṇa-karṇa-), 24 kṣīra-hrada-, 25 jala-hrada-, 26 parila-, 27 (pathi-ka-), 28 piṣ-ṭa-, 29 haihaya-, 30 (pārṣikā), 31 gop-ikā, 32 kapil-ikā, 33 jaṭil-ikā, 34 badhir-ikā, 35 mañjiraka-, 36 (majiraka-), 37 vṛṣṇi-ka-, 38 khañjāra-, 39 khañjāla-, 40 karmāra-, 41 rekh-a-, 42 lekh-a-, 43 ā-lekh-ana-, 44 vi-śrav-aṇa-, 45 rav-aṇa-, 46 vart-ana=akṣa-, 47 grivākṣa-, 48 vitapa-, 49 piṭaka-, 50 piṭaka-, 51 tṛkṣāka-, 52 nabhāka-, 53 ūṇa-nābha-, 54 jar-at-kār-u-, 55 prthā, 56 ut-kṣep-a-, 57 puro-hit-ikā, 58 su-roh-it-ikā, 59 su-roh-ikā, 60 ārya-śveta-, 61 su-piṣ-ṭa-, 62 masura-karṇa- (masūra-karṇa-), 63 mayūra-karṇa-, 64 kharjura-karṇa- (kharjūra-karṇa-), 65 khadūra-, 66 takṣan-, 67 ṛṣṭi-seṇa-, 68 gaṅgā, 69 vi-pāś- (vi-pāśā-), 70 yaska-, 71 lah-ya-, 72 druh-ay-, 73 ayaḥ-sthūṇa-, 74 tṛṇa-, 75 karṇa- (tṛṇa-karṇa-), 76 parṇa-, 77 bhalandana-, 78 vi-rūpa=akṣa-, 79 bhūmi-, 80 ilā, 81 sa-pat-n-I, 82 #dvy=aC-aḥ=nady-aḥ#; 83 #tri-veṇī tri-vaṇāṁ ca#.

229. śuṇḍ-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.76 śuṇḍ-ika=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 śuṇḍ-ika-, 2 kṛkaṇa-, 3 sthaṇḍila-, 4 uda-pāna-, 5 upala-, 6 bhūmi-, 7 tṛṇa-, 8 parṇa-.

230. śubh-ra=āday-aḥ

[4.1.123 śubh-ra=ādi-bhyaś ca (dhaK 120)]

1 śubh-ra-, 2 viṣṭa-, 3 pura- (viṣṭa-pura-), 4 brahma-kṛ-ta-, 5 śālāthala-, 6 śālākā-bhrū-, 7 lekhā-bhrū- (lekhābhra-), 8 vi-kas-a- (vi-kas-ā-), 9 roh-iṇī-, 10 ruk-miṇī-, 11 dharm-iṇī-, 12 diś- (diśā-), 13 śāluka-, 14 aja-vas-ti-, 15 śakandhi-, 16 vi-mā-tṛ-, 17 vidhavā-, 18 śuka-, 19 viśa-, 20 deva-tara-, 21 śakuni-, 22 śuk-ra-, 23 ug-ra-, 24 jñā-ta-la- (śāta-la-), 25 bandhakti-, 26 sṛkaṇḍu-, 27 visri-, 28 atithi-, 29 go-danta-, 30 kuśāmba-, 31 sakaṣṭu-, 32 śātā-hara-, 33 pavaṣṭurika-, 34 su-nām-an-, 35 #¹lakṣmaṇa-²śyāmay-or vāsisth-e#; 36 godhā-, 37 kṛkalāsa-, 38 aṇṭva-, 39 pra-vāh-aṇa-, 40 bhārata- (bharata-), 41 bharama- (bhārama-), 42 mṛkaṇḍu-, 43 karpūra-, 44 itara-, 45 any-atara-, 46 ā-lī-dha-, 47 su-danta-, 48 su-dakṣa-, 49 su-vakṣ-as- (su-cakṣas-), 50 su-dā-man-, 51 kadru-, 52 tud-a-, 53 aka-śāya-, 54 kumār-ikā-, 55 kuṭhār-ikā-, 56 kiśor-ikā-, 57 amb-ikā-, 58 jihma=ās-in-, 59 pari-dh-i-, 60 vāyu-dat-ta-, 61 śakala-, 62 śālākā-, 63 khadūra-, 64 kuber-ikā-, 65 aśokā-, 66 gandha-pīṅgalā-, 67 khada=un-mat-tā-, 68 anu-dṛṣṭ-in- (anu-dṛṣṭi-), 69 jar-at-in-, 70 bālī-vard-in-, 71 vigra-, 72 bīja-, 73 jīva-, 74 śvan-, 75 aś-man-, 76 ajira-, *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

231. śauṇḍ-āḥ

[2.1.40 sapta-m-ī śauṇḍ-aiḥ]

1 śauṇḍa-, 2 dhūrta-, 3 kitava-, 4 vy-āḍa-, 5 pra-vīṇa-, 6 saṁ-vī-ta-, 7 antara-, 8 adhi-, 9 paṭ-u- (adhī-paṭ-u-), 10 paṇḍ-ita-, 11 kuśa-la-, 12 capala-, 13 nipuṇa-.

232. śaunaka=āday-aḥ

[4.3.106 śaunaka=ādi-bhyaś ca chandas-i (Nīnī-ḥ 106)]

1 śaunaka-, 2 vāja-san-eya-, 3 śārṅgarava-, 4 śāp-eya-, 5 śāśp-eya-, 6 khāḍ-āyana-, 7 stambha- (skambha-), 8 skandha-, 9 deva-dars-ana-, 10 rajju-bhāra-, 11 rajju-kaṇṭha-, 12 katha-sātha-, 13 kaśāya-, 14 tala-, 15 daṇḍa-, 16 puruṣa=aṁśaka-, 17 aśva-peja- (aśva-pe-ya-).

233. śramaṇā=āday-aḥ

[2.1.70 kumāra-ḥ śramaṇā=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 śram-aṇ-ā, 2 pra-vraj-it-ā, 3 kulaṭ-ā, 4 garbh-iṇī, 5 tāpas-I, 6 dās-I, 7 bandh-ak-I, 8 adhy-āp-aka-, 9 abhi-rūpaka-, 10 paṭ-u-, 11 mṛd-u-, 12 paṇḍ-ita-, 13 kuśala-, 14 capala-, 15 nipuṇa-.

234. śreṇi-āday-aḥ

[2.1.59 śreṇi-āday-aḥ kṛ-ta=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 śreṇi-, 2 (ūka-/eka-), 3 pūga-, 4 kunduma- (mukunda-, kunda-), 5 rāśī-, 6 ni-cay-a-, 7 vi-śeṣ-a-, 8 nidhāna- (vi-dhāna-, nidhana-), 9 (para-), 10 indra-, 11 dev-a-, 12 muṇḍa-, 13 bhū-ta-, 14 śram-aṇa-, 15 vadānya-, 16 adhy-āp-aka-, 17 abhi-rūp-aka-, 18 brāhmaṇa-, 19 kṣatr-īya-, 20 vi-śiṣ-ṭa- (vi-sīkha-), 21 paṭ-u-, 22 paṇḍ-ita-, 23 kuśa-la-, 24 capala-, 25 nipuṇa-.

235. sakhi=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +dhañ]

1 sa-kh-i-, 2 agni-datta-, 3 vāyu-dat-ta-, 4 sakhi-dat-ta-, 5 (gop-ila-/go-hi-ta-/goh-ila-), 6 bhalla-pāla- 7 (bhalla-, pāl-a-), 8 cakra-, 9 cakra-vāk-a-, 10 chagala-, 11 a-śok-a-, 12 kara-vīra-, 13 vāsav-a-, 14 vīra-, 15 pūra-, 16 vajra-, 17 kuśīra-ka-, 18 sīhara-, 19 saraka- (sakara-), 20 sarasa-, 21 samara-, 22 samala-, 23 su-rasa-, 24 roh-a-, 25 tamāla-, 26 kadala-, 27 sapta-la-.

236. saṁ-kala=āday-aḥ

[4.2.75 saṁ-kala=ādi-bhiḥ ca (śN 71)]

1 saṁ-kal-a-, 2 puṣkala-, 3 uttama-, 4 uḍupa-, 5 ud-vep-a- (ud-vap-a-), 6 ut=puṭ-a-, 7 kumbha-, 8 ni-dhāna- (vi-dhāna-), 9 su-dakṣa-, 10 su-dat-ta-, 11 su-bhū-ta-, 12 su-pū-ta-, 13 su-ne-tra-, 14 su-maṅgala-, 15 su-piṅgala-, 16 sū-ta-, 17 sikata- (sikatā-), 18 pū-ti-ka (pū-ti-kā-, pū-ti-kt-), 19 pūlāsa-, 20 kū-lāsa-, 21 palāśa-, 22 ni-veś-a-, 23 gav-eṣa-, 24 gambhīra-, 25 itara-, 26 ān, 27 ahan-, 28 so-man-, 29 ve-man-, 30 varuṇa- (car-aṇa-), 31 bahu-la-, 32 sadyo-ja-, 33 abhi-śik-ta-, 34 go-bhṛt-, 35 rāja-bhṛt-, 36 bhalla-, 37 malla-, 38 māla-.

237. saṁ-kāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Nya]

1 saṁ-kāśa-, 2 kapila-, 3 kasmīra-, 4 (samīra-), 5 sūra-sena- (sūra-sena-), 6 saraka-, 7 sūra-, 8 #su-panth-in pantha ca#; 9 yūpa- (yūtha-), 10 aśśa-, 11 aṅga-, 12 nāsā, 13 pal-ita-, 14 anu-nāśa-, 15 aś-man-, 16 kūṭa-, 17 mal-ina-, 18 daśa-, 19 kumbha-, 20 śrṣa-, 21 vi-ra-ta- (ciranta-), 22 samala-, 23 śira-, 24 pañjara-, 25 mantha-, 26 nala-, 27 roman-, 28 loman-, 29 pulina-, 30 su-pari-, 31 kaṭipa-, 32 sa-karṇa-ka-, 33 vṛṣ-ṭi-, 34 tīrtha-, 35 agasti-, 36 vi-kar-a-, 37 nāsikā.

238. saṁ-tāp-a=āday-aḥ

[5.1.101 ta-smai pra-bhav-a-ti saṁ-tāp-a=ādi-bhyaḥ (ṭhaÑ 18)]

1 saṁ-tāp-a-, 2 saṁ-nāh-a-, 3 saṁ-grāma-, 4 saṁ-yog-a-, 5 sam-par-āy-a-, 6 (saṁ-veś-ana-), 7 sam-peṣ-a-, 8 niṣ-peṣ-a-, 9 sarg-a-, 10 ni-sarg-a-, 11 vi-sarg-a-, 12 upa-sarg-a-, 13 pra-vās-a-, 14 upa-vās-a-, 15 saṁ-ghāt-a-, 16 saṁ-veṣ-a-, 17 saṁ-vās-a-, 18 sam-mod-ana-, 19 (sak-tu-), 20 #māmsa=odan-āt vi grh-t-t-ād api#.

239. saṁ-dhi-velā=āday-aḥ

[4.3.16 ¹saṁ-dhi-velā=ādi=²ṭtu=³nakṣatre-bhyaḥ=āN]

1 saṁ-dhi-velā, 2 saṁ-dhyā, 3 amā-vāsyā, 4 trayo-daś-I, 5 catur-daś-I, 6 pañca-daś-I, 7 paurṇa-mās-I, 8 prati-pad-, 9 #saṁ-vat-sar-āt ¹phala-²parvaṇ-oh#.

240. sa-pat-nī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.35 ni-tyaṁ sa-pat-nī=ādi-ṣu (na-ḥ 33)]

1 sa-māna-, 2 eka-, 3 vīra-, 4 piṇḍa-, 5 śva- (śīr-), 6 bhṛā-tṛ-, 7 bhad-ra-, 8 putra-, 9 #dās-āt=chandas-i#.

241. sarva=ādīni

[1.1.27 sarva=ādī-n-i sarva-nāmā-n-i]

1 sarva-, 2 viśva-, 3 ubha-, 4 ubha-ya;

Ḍatara=āday-aḥ (7.1.25); cf. 96 above

5 Ḍatara-, 6 Ḍatama-, 7 itara-, 8 anyatara-, 10 tvā-(tvaT-), 11 tva-,

12 nema-, 13 sama-, 14 śīma-, 15 #¹pūrva-²para=³avara=⁴dakṣiṇa-
⁵uttara=⁶apara=⁷adharā-ṇ-i vy-ava-sthā-y-ām a-saṁ-jñā-y-ām (P.
 1.1.34)#; 16 #svam a-¹jñā-ti-²dhana=ākhyā-yām (P. 1.1.35)#; 17
 #antaram ¹bahir-yoga=²upa-saṁ-vy-ānay-oḥ (P. 1.1.38)#;
 tyad=āday-aḥ (1.1.74; 2.72; 3.2.60; 7.2.102); cf. 111 above
 18 tyad-, 19 tad-, 20 yad-, 21 etad-, 22 adas-, 23 idam, 24 eka-;
 dvi=āday-aḥ (5.3.2); cf. 123 above
 25 dvi-, 26 yuṣm-ad-, 27 asm-ad-, 28 bhavatU, 29 kim.

242. sav-ana=āday-aḥ

[8.3.110 na ra-para-sṛpi-sṛji-sṛṣī-sṛṇhi-sav-ana=ādī-nām (s 55)]

1 sav-ane sav-ane, 2 sū-te sū-te, 3 some some, 4 sav-ana-mukhe sav-
 ana-mukhe, 5 #kisa-ḥ kiṁsa-ḥ# kiṁsam kiṁsam, 6 anu-sav-anam anu-
 sav-anam, 7 go-san-im go-san-i-m, 8 aśva-sanim asva-sanim,

Alternate List: 1 sav-ane sav-ane, 2 sav-ana-mukhe sav-ana-mukhe, 3
 anusav-anam anu-sav-anam, (anu-sv-ane anu-sav-ane), 4 #saṁ-jñā-y-ām
 br̥has-pati-sav-a-ḥ#; 5 śakuni-sav-anam, 6 some some, 7 sute sute (sū-te
 sū-te), 8 saṁ-vat-sare saṁ-vat-satre, 9 bisam bisam, 10 kisam kisam, 11
 musalam musalam, 12 go-san-im, 13 aśva-samin.

243. sāksāt-pra-bhṛ-tī-ni

[1.4.74 sāksāt-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca (gatay-aḥ 56)]

1 sāks-āt, 2 mithyā, 3 cintā, 4 bhad-rā, 5 roc-anā (loc-anā), 6 ā-sthā,
 7 amā, 8 addhā, 9 prājaryā (prājāyā), 10 prājaruhā, 11 bījaryā, 12
 bīja-ruhā, 13 saṁ-sar-yā, 14 arthe, 15 lav-aṇam, 16 uṣ-ṇam, 17 śī-tam,
 18 uda-kam, 19 ārdram, 20 agn-au, 21 vaś-e, 22 vi-kas-an-e, 24 pra-sah-
 ane (pra-has-ane), 25 pra-tap-ane, 26 prādus, 27 namas. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ
 ayam*.

244. sidhma=āday-aḥ

[5.2.97 sidhma=ādi-bhyaś ca (laC 96)]

1 sidhma-, 2 gaḍu-, 3 maṇi-, 4 nābhi-, 5 bīja- (jīva-), 6 (vīṇā), 7
 kṛṣ-ṇa-, 8 niṣ-pāv-a-, 9 pāṁsu-, 10 pārśva-, 11 pārśu- (paraśu-), 12
 hanu-, 13 sak-tu-, 14 māṁsa- (māsa-), 15 #¹pārṣṇi-²dham-any-oḥ
 dīrgha-ś ca#; 16 #¹vā-ta-²danta-³bala-⁴lalāṭā-nām ūN ca#; vātū-la,
 dantū-la-, balū-la-lalāṭū-la-; 17 #¹jaṭā-²ghaṭā-³kaṭā-⁴kāl-āḥ kṣep-e#; 18

parṇa-, 19 uda-ka-, 20 pra-jñā, 21 sak-thi, 22 karṇa-, 23 sneh-a-, 24 śi-ta-, 25 śyāma-, 26 piṅga-, 27 pitta-, 28 puṣka- (śuṣ-ka-), 29 pṛth-u-, 30 mṛd-u-, 31 mañju-, 32 (maṇḍa-), 33 pat-tra-, 34 caṭu-, 35 kapi-, 36 gaṇḍu- (kaṇḍu-), 37 granth-i-, 38 śrī, 39 kuśa-, 40 dhārā, 41 varṣ-man-, 42 pakṣ-man-, 43 śleṣ-man-, 44 peś-a-, 45 niṣ-pād-, 46 kuṇḍa-, 47 #¹kṣud-ra-jantu=²upa-tāp-ay-oś ca#.

245. sindhu=āday-aḥ

[4.3.93 ¹sindhu-²takṣa-sīlā=ādi-bhyaḥ=¹áN²aN-au]

1 sindhu-, 2 varṇu-, 3 madhu-mat-, 4 kamboja-, 5 sālva-, 6 kaśmīra-, 7 gandhāra-, 8 kiṣkindhā, 9 urasā (urasa-), 10 darada- (darad-), 11 gandika- (gabdika-).

246. ¹sukha=ādī-n-i

[3.1.18 sukha=ādi-bhyaḥ kar-tṛ-ved-anā-y-ām]

1 su-kha-, 2 duḥ-kha-, 3 tṛp-ta-, 4 kṛechra-, 5 asra-, 6 āsra-, 7 alīka-, 8 prat-ī-pa-, 9 karuṇa-, 10 kṛpaṇa-, 11 so-ḍha-. Cf. 6.2.170.

247. ²sukha=ādī-n-i

[5.2.131 sukha=ādi-bhyaś ca (ini-ḥ 128)]

1 su-kha-, 2 duḥ-kha-, 3 tṛp-ta- (tṛp-ra-), 4 kṛechra-, 5 asra- (āsra-), 6 āsra- (asra-), 7 alīka-, 8 karuṇa-, 9 so-ḍha-, 10 prat-ī-pa-, 11 śīla-, 12 hala-, 13 #mālā kṣep-e#; 14 kṛpaṇa-, 15 pra-ṇāy-a- (pra-ṇay-a-), 16 dala-, 17 kakṣa-.

248. sutaṁ-gam-a=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +iN]

1 su-ta-ṁ-gam-a-, 2 muni-cit-ta-, 3 vi-pra-cit-ta-, 4 mahā-cit-ta-, 5 mahā-putra-, 6 svan-a-, 7 śvet-a-, 8 gaḍika- (khaḍika-), 9 śuk-ra-, 10 vigra-, 11 bīja-vāp-in-, 12 arjuna-, 13 śvan-, 14 ajira-, 15 jīv-a-, 16 khaṇḍ-i-ta-, 17 karṇa-, 18 vi-grah-a-.

249. su-vāstu=āday-aḥ

[4.2.77 su-vāstu=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN]

1 su-vāstu-, 2 varṇu-, 3 bhaṇḍ-u-, 4 khaṇḍ-u-, 5 sevālīn-, 6 karpūr-in-, 7 śikhāṇḍ-in-, 8 garta-, 9 karkaśa-, 10 śakaṭi-karṇa-, 11 kṛṣṇa-karṇa-, 12 karka-, 13 karkandhu-mat-I, 14 goha-, 15 ahi-saktha-.

250. su-śāma(n)āday-aḥ

[8.3.98 su-śāma(n)=ādi-ṣu ca (s-aḥ 58 mūrdhanya-ḥ 55)]

1 su-śāmā, 2 niḥ-śāmā, 3 duḥ-śāmā, 4 su-śedh-a-ḥ, 5 ni-śedh-a-ḥ (niḥ-śedh-a-ḥ), 6 duḥ-śedh-a-ḥ, 7 su-śam-dhi-ḥ, 8 niḥ-śam-dh-i-ḥ (ni-śam-dh-i-ḥ), 9 duḥ-śam-dh-i-ḥ, 10 su-ṣṭhu- (su-ṣṭu-), 11 du-ṣṭhu- (du-ṣṭu-), 12 #gauri-śaktha-ḥ sam-jñā-y-ām#; 13 prati-ṣṇikā, 14 jalā-śāham, 15 nau-śec-anam (°-sev-anam), 16 dundubhi-sev-anam (°-śec-anam), 17 #eTī sam-jñā-y-ām a-g-āt# (P. 8.3.99): hari-ṣeṇa-ḥ; 18 #nakṣatr-āt=vā# (P. 8.3.100): rohiṇi-ṣeṇa-ḥ. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

251. sthū-la=āday-aḥ

[5.4.3 sthū-la=ādi-bhyaḥ pra-kāra-vac-an-e kaN]

1 sthū-la-, 2 aṇu-, 3 māṣa-, 4 iṣu-, 5 #kṛṣ-ṇa tile-ṣu#; 6 #yav-a vrīhi-ṣu#; 7 #¹ikṣu-²tila-³pād-ya-⁴kāla=⁵ava-dāt-āḥ surā-y-ām#; 8 #go-mūtra ācchād-an-e#; 9 #surā ah-au#; 10 #jūr-ṇa śālī-ṣu#; 11 #¹pac-a-²mūl-e sam-as-ta-vy-as-t-e#; 12 kumārī-putra-, 13 kumārī-śvaśura-.

252. snā-tvī=āday-aḥ

[7.1.49 snā-tvī=āday-as ca]

1 snā-tvī, 2 pī-tvī. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

253. svāpA=āday-aḥ

[8.1.188 svāpA-hims-ām aC-i an-iṭ-i]

See DhP II 59-61.

254. svar=ādi-n-i

[1.1.37 svar-ādi-ni-pāt-am avyayam]

1 svár-, 2 antár-, 3 prātár- (anta=udātt-āḥ), 4 púnar-, 5 sánutar-, 6 úcc-ais-, 7 níc-ais-, 8 sán-ais-, 9 ŋdhak, 10 ŋte, 11 yúgapat-, 12 ārat, 13 (ántik-āt-), 14 pŋthak (ādy-udātt-āḥ), 15 hyás-, 16 śvás-, 17 div-ā, 18 rātr-aú, 19 sāyám, 20 círam, 21 manák, 22 Iśát, 23 śasvát, 24 jośám, 25 tūsnŋm, 26 bahís-, 27 adh-ās- (avás-), 28 samayā, 29 nikaśā, 30 svayám, 31 mŋśā, 32 naktám, 33 náñ, 34 het-aú, 35 hé, 36 haí, 37 iddhā, 38 addhā, 39 sāmí (anta=udātt-āḥ), 40 vát, 41 báta-, 42 sánat-, 43 sánāt-, 44 tīras- (ādy-udātt-āḥ), 45 antarā (anta=udātta ḥ); 46 (ántar-eṇa), 47 mák, 48 jyók, 49 yók, 50 nák, 51 kám, 52 sám, 53 sánā, 54 sáhas-ā, 55 srád-dhā, 56 álam, 57 svá-dhā, 58 váṣaṭ, 59 ví-nā, 60 ná-nā, 61 svásti, 62 ányad-, 63 ás-ti, 64 úpa=amśu-, 65 kśámā, 66 víhāyas-ā, 67 dóśā, 68 súdhā, 69 díṣ-ty-ā, 70 vŋthā, 71 mīthyā, 72 #¹Ktvā-²tosuN-³kasuN-ah# (P. 1.1.40); 73 #¹kŕt-²ma-kāra-³sam-dhi=akṣara=anta-ḥ avyayī-bhāva-s ca# (cf. 1.1.39,41); 74 pūrā, 75 mītho, 76 mīth-as-, 77 prāyas-, 78 mūhus-, 79 prá-vāh-ukam, 80 (prá-vāh-ikā), 81 ārya-halam, 82 ábhikṣam, 83 śákam, 84 sárdham, 85 śatram, 86 sámam, 87 nám-as-, 88 híruk, 89 #tasīL=āday-as taddhit-āḥ edhāC-pary-ant-āḥ# (cf. P. 5.3.7-46); 89a #¹śas-²tas-i-, kŕtvasuC, suC ¹aC-²thal-au Cvi=arth-ās ca#; 90 átha, 91 ám, 92 ām, 93 prátām, 94 (prá-tān), 95 práśān; *ā-kŕ-ti-gaṇ-aḥ ayam*; t-ena any-e api: tathā-hi: 96 mán, 97 śrám, 98 káman, 99 (prá-kāman), 100 bhūyas-, 101 páram, 102 śákṣāt, 103 śáci, 104 sátyam, 105 mañkṣu, 106 sám-vat-, 107 ávaśyam, 108 sápad-i, 109 práduś, 110 áviś-, 111 ánísam, 112 nítyam, 113 nítyadā-, 114 sádā, 115 ájasram, 116 sám-ta-tam, 117 ūśā, 118 óm, 119 bhūr-, 120 bhúvar-, 121 jhát-iti, 122 táras-ā, 123 sú-ṣṭhu, 124 kú, 125 āñjas-ā, 126 á, 127 mīthu-, 128 víthak, 129 bhājak, 130 ánv-ak, 131 cīr-āya, 132 cīra-m, 133 cīra-rātr-āya, 134 cīra-sya, 135 cīr-eṇa, 136 cīr-āt, 137 ás-tam, 138 ānuśak, 139 ānuśak, 140 ānu-ṣaṭ, 141 āmnas-, 142 āmnar-, 143 sthān-e, 144 váram, 145 dúṣṭhu, 146 báí-āt, 147 sú, 148 árvāk, 149 súd-i-, 150 vād-i ity-ādi. tasīL-āday-aḥ prāk pásāP-aḥ; śas-pra-bhŕ-tay-aḥ prāk samāsa=ante-bhyaḥ; ma=anta-ḥ kŕtvas=artha-ḥ; ¹tasi-²vat-I, nā-nañ-au iti.

255. svasṛ=āday-aḥ

[4.1.10 na ṣaṭ=svasṛ=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 svasṛ-, 2 duhitṛ-, 3 nanāndṛ-, 4 yātṛ-, 5 mātṛ- 6 tisṛ-, 7 catasṛ-.

256. svāgata=ādī-n-i

[7.3.7 svāgata=ādī-nām ca]

1 sv-ā-ga-ta-, 2 sv-adhvara-, 3 sv-aṅga-, 4 vy-aṅga-, 5 vy-aḍa-, 6 vy-ava-hār-a-, 7 sva-pati-.

257. sU=āday-aḥ

[1.4.17 sU=ādi-ṣu=a-sarva-nāma-sthān-e]

All affixes beginning with sU (4.1.2) and ending with kaP (5.3.70).

258. su=āday-aḥ

[3.1.73 su=ādi-bhyaḥ Śnu-ḥ]

See under Dhp V 1-34.

259. harita=āday-aḥ

[4.1.100 hārita=ādibhyaḥ=añ-aḥ]

See under 164: bīd=āday-aḥ, 30-55.

260. harītakī=āday-aḥ

[4.3.167 harītakī=ādi-bhyaś ca (luP 166)]

1 harītakī, 2 kośātakī, 3 nakha-raj-anī, 4 śaṣkaṇḍī, 5 dāḍī, 6 doḍī, 7 śveta-pāki, 8 arjuna-pāki, 9 drākṣā, 10 kālā, 11 dhvākṣā (dhvāṅkṣā), 12 gabhīkā, 13 kaṇṭakārikā, 14 pippalī, 15 cimpā (ciñcā), 16 śephālikā.

261. hastī(n)=āday-aḥ

[5.4.138 pāda-sya lopa-ḥ=a-hastī(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 hast-in-, 2 (kuddāla-), 3 (asva-), 4 (kaśika), 5 (kuruta-), 6 kaṭola-, 7 kaṭolaka-, 8 gaṇḍola-, 9 gaṇḍolaka-, 10 kaṇḍola-, 11 kaṇḍolaka-, 12 aja-, 13 kapota-, 14 jālar-, 15 gaṇḍa-, 16 mahelā (mahilā), 17 dāsī, 18 gaṇ-ikā, 19 kusūla-.

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